COBBETT'S

POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. XIX.

FROM JANUARY TO JUNE,

1811.

LONDON:

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1811.



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TABLE of the Number of CHRISTENINGS and BURIALS within the Bills of Mortality, from January to June 25, 1811.

Epochs.	CHRISTENED		BURIED.													
	Male.	Female	Under 2 Years.	2 to 5	5 to 10	10 to 20	20 to 30	30 to 40	40 to 50	50 to 60	60 to 70	70 to 80	80 to 90	90 to 100, &c.	Total Buried. Males	Females
January	938	830	401	140	50	42	94	146	152	136	144	108	41	6	770	690
February	695	694	358	152	45	41	11[illegible]	147	159	163	159	107	60	10*	778	740
March	871	891	428	143	52	37	132	160	165	155	137	116	46	5	816	760
April	782	783	384	116	55	35	70	101	127	131	105	68	35	5†	665	568
May	848	865	403	138	57	53	109	140	143	137	112	110	42	—	739	705
June	781	784	332	93	40	35	71	99	93	81	66	59	20	3	490	502
	4,915	4,847	2,306	782	299	243	593	793	839	803	723	568	244	29	4,258	3,965

Total Christ^s... 9,762 Total Burials... 8,223

* One of these aged 102. † One of these aged 103.

Table of the Prices of MEAT, SUGAR, SALT, and COALS, in LONDON, from January 1811 to June 1811, inclusive.

	Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	April	May	June	
	s. d.	*s. d.*	*s. d.*	*s. d.*	*s. d.*	*s. d.*	
Beef...	6 4	6 0	6 4	6 0	6 4	6 0	per Stone of 8lb. to sink the offal.
Mutton	6 8	6 0	6 4	5 8	6 0	6 4	
Pork...	7 4	7 0	7 0	6 8	6 8	6 4	
Sugar	45 9¼	42 1¼	43 7	42 10	36 10	36 4	Cwt.
Salt ...	20 0	20 0	20 0	20 0	20 0	20 0	Bushel
Coals ..	60 0	56 0	55 0	57 0	55 0	54 0	Chald.

Price of the QUARTERN LOAF, according to the Assize of Bread in LONDON, for the Six Months ending with June, 1811, taking the average of the four Assizes in each Month.—N. B. The Weight of the Loaf, according to Law, is 4lb. 5oz. 8dr.

	s.	d.
January	1	3
February........................	1	2¼
March	1	2¼
April	1	2
May..............................	1	1¾
June	1	1½
Average Price during the Six Months	1	2¼ ⅛

Prices of the ENGLISH FUNDS, or STOCKS, as shown from the Prices here given of the *Three per Cent.* Consolidated Annuities, for the six Months, ending with June, 1811.—N. B. The Prices here given are the *average* Prices for each Month.

January	66½
February	65¾
March	65
April	64¾
May	64⅝
June	64

Number of BANKRUPTCIES as announced in the London Gazette, between the 20th of Dec. 1810, and 30th of June 1811.

From 20 Dec. to 20 Jan.	207
20 Jan. to 20 Feb.	226
20 Feb. to 20 March................	189
20 March to 20 April................	167
20 April to 20 May	171
20 May to 30 June	264
Total.........	1,224

Average Prices of CORN, through all England and Wales, and of HAY, STRAW, and FARNHAM HOPS, in London, from January to June, 1811, both Months inclusive.

Corn per Quarter of 8 Winchester Bushels.					Hay per Load.	Straw per Load.	Hops per Cwt.
Wheat.	Rye.	Barley.	Oats.	Beans.			
s. d.	*s. d.*	*s. d.*	*s. d.*	*s. d.*	*£. s. d.*	*£. s. d.*	*£. s. d.*
90 11	46 9	38 10	26 3	45 3	8 17 4	3 9 10	10 13 4

LIST OF HIS

MAJESTY'S MINISTERS,

1811.

CABINET MINISTERS.

Earl Camden	Lord President of the Council.
Lord Eldon	Lord High Chancellor.
Earl of Westmorland	Lord Privy Seal.
Earl Bathurst	President of the Board of Trade.
Right Hon. Spencer Perceval	First Lord of the Treasury (Prime Minister) Chancellor and Under-Treasurer of the Exchequer, also Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.
Right Hon. Charles Philip Yorke	First Lord of the Admiralty.
Lord Mulgrave	Master-General of the Ordnance.
Right Hon. Richard Ryder	Secretary of State for the Home Department.
Marquis Wellesley	Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.
Earl of Liverpool	Secretary of State for the Department of War and the Colonies.

NOT OF THE CABINET.

Right Hon. Robert Saunders Dundas (now Lord Melville)	President of the Board of Controul for the Affairs of India.
Right Hon. George Rose	Vice-President of the Board of Trade and Treasurer of the Navy.
Viscount Palmerston	Secretary at War.
Lord Charles Somerset Right Hon. Charles Long	Joint Paymaster-General of the Forces.
Earl of Chichester Earl of Sandwich	Joint Postmaster-General.
Richard Wharton, esq. Charles Arbuthnot, esq.	Secretaries to the Treasury.
Sir William Grant	Master of the Rolls.
Sir Vicary Gibbs	Attorney-General.
Sir Thomas Plomer	Solicitor-General.

PERSONS IN THE MINISTRY OF IRELAND.

Duke of Richmond	Lord Lieutenant.
Lord Manners	Lord High Chancellor.
W. Wellesley Pole	Chief Secretary.
Right Hon. John Foster	Chancellor of the Exchequer.

// COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. XIX. No. 1.] LONDON, WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 2, 1811. [Price 1s.

——— He who contends for Freedom,
Can ne'er be justly deem'd his Sovereign's foe;
No, 'tis the wretch that tempts him to subvert it,
The soothing slave, the Traitor in the bosom,
Who best deserves that name; he is the worm
That eats out all the happiness of kingdoms."——THOMSON.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

THE REGENCY.——Look at the motto, English reader! Look at the motto! It contains a truth, important at all times to be borne in mind, but especially at the present time, and as connected with the conduct, and the apparent views, and expectations of public men.——In my last Number, (p. 1313 of Vol. XVIII) I took view of the language and sentiments of the notoriously venal prints with regard to a prominent feature in the intended limitations to the powers of the Regent; and, I think, I left no ground at all for doubt as to the *real* object of withholding the *Household and Privy Purse* (for, I have seen no exception with regard to the latter) from the Prince; nor do I think that I left any doubt as to the impropriety of such a measure. I noticed, and, I think, I refuted, the revived insinuations against his Royal Highness with regard to his debts and pecuniary embarrassments, which, as I there observed, ought never to have existed, and which did not arise from extravagant expenditure, but from his having had withheld from him that which was his *due* as much as the rents of the Duke of Northumberland, or the Duke of Bedford, is the due of either of them; and, I flatter myself that I left no doubt at all with regard to the malignity of the motives, which dictated the revival of those insinuations.——I shewed, too, that those who had been, and still were, most strenuous in their endeavours to obtain a reform of abuses; those who were most desirous to see corruption torn from its seat, had uniformly reprobated the means that had been used to keep the Prince of Wales in the back-ground, to misrepresent him, to whisper away his character, and to deprive him of all weight and consequence.——Upon this last topic, which is one of the greatest interest to both Prince and people, I think it necessary to say something more, especially after what has appeared in the venal prints within the last week.——The COURIER, which seems to be the chosen channel of attack and insinuation against the Prince of Wales, has represented, of *late*, that is to say, since it was announced that Mr. Perceval had been refused an interview by the Prince; *since* that time the COURIER has been extremely industrious to find out *reasons* for reviving the limitations of 1788; and amongst these reasons, is, the *hopes* and *expectations* in the Prince, which appear to be entertained by those, whom this venal gentleman chooses to call the "*Burdett gang*;" that is to say, all those (four fifths of the people of England) who wish for a reform of abuses, and, as the effectual means of accomplishing this, for *a reform of the Commons' House of Parliament.*——The words of the venal man are these:——"When it is considered, that "the *gang* of Burdett, Cobbett, & Co. "seem to expect *something in their way* "from an unlimited Regent, we agree "that the circumstances have changed, "but the change is *in favour of the necessity* "*of restrictions.*"——So, then, the necessity of restrictions, in the view of the venal and corrupt, is increased by the circumstance, that those who are for *a reform of abuses* have expressed their expectations, or *seem* to expect, "something in *their* "*way*" from an unfettered Regency. What a compliment to the Prince! What an argument, with *the people*, constitutionally to oppose the intended limitations!——Here the views of the corrupt, here the views of those vile men who deal in and fatten upon corruption, here the views of the people's enemies, are completely exposed. For, though they do not, in so many words, say, that they wish the Prince's powers to be limited, lest he should promote a reform of abuses and corruptions; though they do not directly say, that they wish to abridge his power, to shackle and to hamper him, lest he should use that power for the purpose

of giving the people a Reform of Parliament, and effect the great purpose of putting an end to seat-selling, and all its train of jobs and wickedness and national degradation and ruin; though they do not, in so many distinct words say, that this is one of *their* strong reasons in favour of limitations, they here clearly discover that such, in fact, is one of those reasons, and, I should not be at all surprised, if this was the very strongest of the reasons, for which they wish for limitations.——If, then, it be true, that you ought to avoid that which your *enemy* wishes you to do, the people must see, that they ought, by all the constitutional means in their power, to shew, that they are opposed to such limitations; and, to give his Royal Highness a proof of their confidence in him. If he, for a year, or for whatever length of time, be restrained, either directly or indirectly, from adopting such measures as he would, if possessing full powers, be disposed to adopt, the people can, in reason, expect nothing in the way of that *change of system,* which every disinterested man, that I have ever heard of, has long been wishing for. To act *freely,* the Regent, like other men, must be *free.* He may be, and I hope and believe, he would be, disposed to gratify fully all the just wishes of the people, in the whole of the kingdom; but if he be hampered with restrictions, how is he to do any thing which would be likely to give any satisfaction at all? For, though he would not, in direct terms, be prohibited from giving his assent to a measure for the reform of Parliament, for instance, yet, if by means of limitations, such a weight of influence was opposed to him as to render it impossible for him to carry such a measure, the effect would be the same; and he would be compelled to *act* upon the system, though, at the same time, he might *protest* against it. What the effects of such a state of things would be, the mind of man cannot conjecture. The *people,* therefore, at a time like this, when they have more at stake than they ever had before, should let their voice be heard, in a legal and constitutional way; and, should prove to his Royal Highness, that *they* are willing to confide in his wisdom and justice, in spite of all the insinuations that the venal and corrupt are, in their divers sorts of publications, pouring forth against him.——Another of the reasons of these venal men against putting full powers into the hands of the Prince, is, that he would be likely to grant as far as in him lay, those claims, which have so long been put forward by *the Catholics of Ireland.* The COURIER of the 29th of last month dwells very emphatically upon this point; and, as a proof of the justness of its suspicions, cites what has recently been said in Ireland with regard to the views of his Royal Highness respecting what is called the Catholic Question.——

"The Prince of Wales's name is made "use of at these Meetings in a way which "should be known to the whole empire. "His word is asserted to be *solemnly pledged* "to accede to the Catholic claims. We "quote the Speech of Mr. O'Connell, ""His Royal Highness's sentiments on "this subject were neither concealed nor "doubtful. He had communicated them, "as became him, unequivocally and without disguise, amongst others, to Catholics of rank and respectability. We "therefore do not proceed on precarious "grounds, when we announce emancipation as at hand. The word of the Prince "is pledged; we require not, neither could "we have, any more certain guarantee. "We know that his understanding, clear, "manly, and unimpaired, cannot be imposed on, nor his conscience surprised "by any idle or unfounded scruple."— "Meaning, we suppose, by this last sentence, to set the Prince's *intellects* in opposition to and *above that of his venerable* "*Father.* If the sentiments of his Royal "Highness be misunderstood by the Catholics, he will, no doubt, feel it necessary "to state the fact without loss of time."——

Here, again, it is not *openly avowed,* that one object of the limitations would be to prevent his Royal Highness from assenting to any measure for the relief of the Irish Catholics; this is not openly avowed, but that these venal men would wish that object to be accomplished by the limitations, there can, after the reading of this paragraph, be no doubt at all.——What, then, this impudent son of venality, calls upon the Prince to *deny* that he wishes to see the Catholics relieved! He presumes, or has, at least, the impudence to affect to presume, that it is an *offence* in the Prince to wish for such a measure, and especially to have *pledged his word* for it, if it came within his power; and, this, too, observe, while it is well known that *Mr. Pitt* and his colleagues gave the same pledge, in words as explicit as men could give any pledge. Let us hope, that the difference between them and the Prince would be, that his

pledge would be faithfully redeemed.——This venal gentleman affects to take it amiss, that the Prince's intellects are, by Mr. O'CONNELL, supposed to be less liable to expose him to be imposed upon than those of his venerable Father are so to expose the latter. This is very fine, to be sure, and especially after the publication of the evidence of the Physicians, who have given *proofs* of the melancholy state of his Majesty's mind.——It is, besides, notorious, that the objection to the measure of what has been called Catholic Emancipation, was, the *scruples* of the King. How far it was constitutional, or decent, to urge such an objection to a measure proposed to parliament, I shall not now inquire; but, as to the fact, nobody will attempt to deny it; and, if the Prince has no such scruples, the measure would by him, if he were unshackled, be, of course, assented to, and, indeed, brought forward by his ministers.——So far from the Prince's disposition towards the Catholics being an argument in favour of any limitations that might tend to thwart his views and clog his measures, it is a strong argument against all such limitations, with all those, at least, who desire to see Ireland tranquillized, and rendered invulnerable to the attempts of the enemy. The state of Ireland is not better known to us, than it is to that enemy. He regards Ireland almost as an *ally*. He may be mistaken in his opinion; but, while our venal prints themselves declare, that *a regular army is necessary to keep Ireland safe*, can we blame the enemy for his opinion? These venal men tell you, that Ireland is harrassed with *French* machinations and factions. How did they come there? How comes it that Ireland engenders these factions and machinations? Why, because the people are *discontented;* and, therefore, the way to put an end to the French factions and machinations, is, to put an end to the discontents of the people.——That the Prince, if left unshackled, would do this, there can be no doubt; and would not this be a very great blessing to the country? I mean, not merely to Ireland, but to the kingdom at large; for, those are very narrow-sighted people who suppose, that England is not affected by this discontented state of Ireland. We help to maintain *the army*, which we are told is so necessary to the guarding of Ireland. We pay *fifteen* parts out of *seventeen* of the expence of maintaining that army. From this expence we should be relieved by measures that would render the army unnecessary by doing away the discontents of the people of Ireland; and yet, would these venal men fain persuade us, that the Prince's known disposition to adopt measures calculated to remove those discontents is one reason why he should *not be entrusted* with the powers belonging to a King of the United Kingdom! He ought not, according to them, to be entrusted with kingly powers, because he would, in this instance, at least, adopt measures likely to restore harmony to the people, and to place the country in a state of secure defence; because (for there is the *rub*) he would adopt measures likely to make the people of one part of the kingdom an *united* people, than which there is nothing that venal and corrupt men more sincerely dread.——It is, as applied to this point, asked, how would the King feel, if, upon his recovery, he were to find, that the measure concerning which he had such scruples, had been adopted during his incapacity? The argument is a monstrous one, to be sure. It outrages common sense. Yet, it is no wonder to hear it urged, considering the quarter whence it comes. What a pretty state must the country be in, however, if such an argument were to have any weight? Admit this argument, and there is, at once, an end of all notion of the Kingly Office being established and upheld *for the good of the people.* It becomes a personal property, and the exercise of it dependent upon mere whim and caprice. What lessons of republicanism are these "loyal" writers now inculcating! They have long told us of the *scruples* of the King; these scruples have long been urged as an obstacle to a measure so anxiously desired by a considerable part of his subjects, a measure promised by one set of ministers and actually brought, in part, into parliament by another set of his ministers, where it was received without any opposition, and was proceeding towards its accomplishment, till those scruples were expressed; the King, who had those scruples, is now declared in a state of incapacity, in a state between delirium and insanity, in a state of mental derangement; and, we are now to look upon it as a bar to giving his son full powers to act in his stead, lest he, when he recovers, if he should recover, should feel displeased at this measure having been adopted during his incapacity! Any thing so monstrous as this has seldom been broached in private conversation, and to put it in print requires, one would think,

more impudence and more perfect contempt of public opinion, than has ever been known to be possessed by mortal man. If such an argument can have any weight, what a state, I again ask, must this nation be in? To what a degree of degradation must we be fallen if such an argument can have weight with any considerable number of people? Nay, the bare commission of it to print is but too strong a proof of the tameness, not to call it cowardice, which the writer, at least, believes to exist in the nation; for, were not such his opinion of the public, he never would have ventured to use such an argument.——Another argument against vesting the Prince with full powers, is, that, if unchecked, he might put an end to *the wars in Spain and Portugal;* and, then, if the King should recover his senses, what would be his feelings to see his measures, as to this important point, totally changed. This was the argument made use of by corrupt men at the outset of the disputes upon the Regency question; and, indeed, it was saying nothing more than that, if the Regent *changed the ministers,* he would do all that was wrong; and the plain truth is, that the limitations upon him are nothing more, and can be nothing more, than so many means in the hands of those who would be in opposition to his new ministers, to thwart his views and his measures. It does not suit the venal writers to say, in plain terms, that measures ought to be taken to render it impossible for the Prince to go on without keeping the same ministers that now are in place; that, *if he will not agree to keep them,* he ought to be so hampered as to be nearly *disabled from carrying on the government;* it does not suit them to say this in plain terms, but that this is what they mean there can be no doubt at all, and to this object have all their efforts tended. And, indeed, why not this as well as any of the other reasons? For, what would be more likely to injure the King's feelings, than finding, upon his recovery, that *his servants had been dismissed?* It would, therefore, be much fairer dealing, if the venal and corrupt authors of the divers publications in question were, at once, to tell us, that they wish for such limitations as shall compel the Regent to keep the present men in their places, during his and their natural lives.——The public have often heard me say, that the venal and corrupt, who have been incessantly accusing us of Jacobinical principles and traitorous views and intentions; that the venal and corrupt crew; that tribe of hypocrites, who have assumed the appellations of "*the loyal,*" and "the *King's* "*friends;*" the public have often been told by me, that this crew have a regard for the kingly government only in so much as it may be useful to them in their venal and corrupt practices; and, that, if they were once to perceive, that they could no longer profit from it in this way, they would not scruple to become its most deadly enemies.——This I have always thought. It was reasonable that it should be so. But, though I am not, when I reflect, at all *surprised* at what I now see, I did not, I must confess, *expect* to see such undisguised hostility as these corrupt men now discover towards the Prince of Wales and his Brothers, who have come in for their share, from the moment it was known, that they also were opposed to a limited Regency; that is to say, that they were opposed to the measure intended to keep part of the kingly power in the hands, in all probability, of those men who are now in place; the moment the venal and corrupt writers discovered this, they fell, tooth and nail, upon the Prince's Brothers as well as upon himself.——The history of the Protest of the Royal Dukes has been given in the preceding Volume, at page 1297, but, as the Copies of the papers which passed between them and Mr. PERCEVAL have not been before inserted by me, I here subjoin them in a note*.

* *Letter to Mr.* PERCEVAL, *dated, Wednesday night,* 12 *o'clock,* 12*th Dec.* 1810.—SIR; The Prince of Wales having assembled the whole of the male branches of the Royal Family, and having communicated to us the plan intended to be proposed by his Majesty's Confidential Servants, to the Lords and Commons, for the establishment of a restricted Regency, should the continuance of his Majesty's ever-to-be-deplored illness render it necessary; we feel it a duty we owe to his Majesty, to our Country, and to Ourselves, to enter our solemn Protest against measures we consider as perfectly unconstitutional, as they are contrary to, and subversive of the principles which seated our Family upon the Throne of this Realm.—(Signed)—Frederick; William; Edward; Ernest; Augustus Frederick; Adolphus Frederick; William Frederick.

Mr. Perceval's Answer, dated, Downing Street, 20th Dec. 1810, shall be inserted in the next Number.

——After this protest, there could remain no doubt as to the part which the Princes would take; and, as I before observed, from that moment the venal and corrupt fell upon them without mercy; and, since the Debate in the House of Lords, in which the Dukes of Sussex and of York took so decided, so manly, and so efficient a part, the rage of the corrupt writers, of all sizes and descriptions, has been unbridled. They have now shown themselves in their *true* colours; their mortification has now de-deprived them of the use of their hypocrisy and cant; they seem to have made up their minds that fawning and professed loyalty can no longer serve their turn; and they have now given the public a specimen of what *they* can do in the way of degrading dignities and pulling down kingly government.——The article, which I am about to insert from the COURIER news-paper of the 31st of December surpasses, perhaps, any thing of the kind. There is certainly nothing to beat it either in PAINE or in BARLOW; and, the reader has only to bear in mind the print that it comes from! for then he will be at no loss to guess at its source, and at the real object of its author. After inserting it I shall offer such remarks upon it as it seems to me to call for.——"The *public jealousy* "of the *new Estate* which has so unexpect-"edly sprung up in the realm, should not "be allowed to sleep. "*The College of* "*Princes,*" asserting an *initiative*, is a new, "extraordinary, and alarming institution in "this Country. One of the most important "principles in our Constitution is, that pub-"lic servants shall be responsible. Hence it has been truly affirmed, that no son or brother of our King can constitutionally be permitted to hold any office of trust, as family feeling would rescue him from punishment in the event of misconduct. *A great and striking instance of this nature lately occurred.* But if that doctrine be sound, what should be our astonishment at finding not a Prince or two holding public offices, but a new class, *a new estate starting up* to assert a right of giving an opinion on any great measure *in the contemplation of Government.* The College of Princes! Such a College existed in the *Germanic* Constitution, *lately laid low*; but now, for the first time, it is heard of in the *armies* of Great Britain. The Princes protest against certain proceedings *contemplated* for the establishment of a Regency; their protest is solicited and organized by the intend-"ed Regent. "Once a Captain, always "a Captain," it is said in the play, and so, "no doubt, will say the Princes. "Your "Royal Highness the Regent has called "upon us, in our character, as a Class, as "Princes, as the Blood Royal, to exercise "our initiative on the proceeding founding "your Government; *and if we have the* "*power upon the most important measure, we* "*must, of course, have it upon inferior pro-* "*ceedings.* In future, therefore, we shall "assemble in a body, *discuss and decide* "*upon every step in the contemplation of* "*Government.* We have *got a veto,* and "are established in *the right of deciding* "*what measures shall or shall not come before* "*Parliament.* Shew us the Ministry that "shall, in future, attempt any great mea-"sures, without *the previous sanction of our* "*initiative!* We; the superior class in the "State, the Princes, the Blood Royal!" "Such might justly be the language of "the Princes, if their Protest were any "thing more than waste paper, at which "*the lowest Clerk in the Treasury must sneer.*" "Sad and *melancholy is the prospect* to the "Country arising from this most unwise "and unconstitutional proceeding! Who "is the evil genius that could advise the "Prince of Wales to resort to it? It is "as unconstitutional and arbitrary in its "nature, as the attempted cry against ""Fresh Taxes" for a due income to "support the Regent, is mean, narrow-"minded, and vulgar.—That the Princes, "themselves, have resorted to this course "of their own free will and mere notion, is "a fact incredible. They must know, "that as Princes, they were nothing "more than *great Babies,* with royal "*Corals and Bells,* just learning to walk in "the paths of State; and that by making "them *English noblemen,* with seats in Par-"liament, the King *breeched* them into "political manhood. As Prince Ernest "and Prince Adolphus they were nothing "more than *great Boys,* kindly regarded "by the public, but without power or "weight in the community; *pretty crea-* "*tures* for a Duchess to have dancing at "her ball, but of no influence in the Go-"vernment. To give them this influence "they were made Peers of Parliament, to "associate them with the most powerful "class they were made English Noble-"men of the most exalted rank. If the "character of Prince be not inferior to "that of Duke, why were they created? "why not left with the title to which they "were born? As English Noblemen of the

"highest title they command respect, be-"cause their class is most eminently re-"spectable. *As Princes* they *sink back* "into the character of *great looby boys,* "with *toys* and *rattles*. What evil genius "has persuaded them to drop their par-"liamentary for their princely character? "To take a step which, as they knew it "would be disregarded, must expose their "impotence and *excite derision?* Let "them act in Parliament, but let them "never be heard again in their princely "collective capacity, if they do not wish "to become obnoxious. *The history of* "*the class of French Princes is not for-*"*gotten.*"——Well said, "*the loyal!*" Well said, "*King's friends!*" Well said "*Antijacobins!*" Where is now Mr. YORKE's "Jacobinical Conspiracy" to destroy the House of Brunswick? Where are all the associators against "Re-"publicans and Levellers?" Where are now all, or any of, those myriads of "the loyal," who seemed ready to tear out the heart of MR. WARDLE about two years ago? Where are they all now?——But, thus are our assertions completely verified. We always said, that when these corruption-mongers, these publishers of fawning paragraphs, these flatterers of the Princes, these varnishers of their faults, these hypocritical and canting slaves, these MEAN, MERCENARY and MALIGNANT men; we always said, that when these corruption-mongers should no longer find their private *interest* to square with the cry of "*loyalty*," they would discover themselves to be the most bitter of all the enemies of the Royal Family and of kingly government. And, here we now see them actually at work to insult, degrade, and blacken the whole of the Princes in a lump; to hold them up as objects of public jealousy, and at the same time, as objects of contempt and derision. The lowest clerk in the Treasury, we are told, must sneer at their protest; and, we are told, that they have sunk back into great looby boys, in putting their names to that which must excite derision; and, further, that this act of theirs, gives the country a "*sad and melancholy prospect*" for the future.——Leaving all these contemptuous expressions to be digested as they may by the persons upon whom they have been bestowed, and who may now, perhaps, begin to perceive, that there really are men in this kingdom, who would wish to see a power that should "*lord it over king and people*," let us take a view of the merits of the question. The charge against the Princes, is, that they have arrogated to themselves the right of exercising *a veto;* the right of *discussing and deciding upon every measure in the contemplation of Government;* the right of *deciding upon what measures shall, or shall not, come before Parliament.* And, the assertion of this right is, by this "*loyal*" man, put into the mouths of the Princes; they are, by him represented, as having *expressed themselves* in those very terms; they are, by him, exhibited to the country in this odious light; and they are further represented as having *called themselves* the "*College of Princes.*" And, *upon that ground,* he calls them *a new estate started up in the realm;* and, he thereupon asserts, in the fullness of his "*loyalty*," that the *public jealousy* is awakened against them, which he declares it to be his object *not to suffer to sleep.*——How barefacedly false this is the reader will not need be told, when he has read the Letter of the Princes to Mr. PERCEVAL, in which they do not call themselves a "College;" in which the word *college* is not used; in which they assert no right at all to dictate to either any ministry or to either House of Parliament; in which they assert no right and hint at no right to decide upon, or to discuss, any measure to be brought before parliament; and, in which they do no one of the things which this man, this mouth-piece of corruption, has not only represented them as having done, but has hinted pretty broadly that the having done which *ought to bring upon them the fate of the Princes of France.*——But, "have "they not *meddled* with a measure which "was in the *contemplation of the govern-*"*ment,* and which was about to be sub-"mitted *to the parliament.*"——To this question I answer, first, that, when we speak of *the government,* in this country, we always include *the King* as the *head* of it; and will it be pretended, that the King had this measure in *his contemplation?* The Princes were speaking, not to *the government,* as we understand that word, but to the *servants of the King,* who, it is well known, can legally do no act without his authority. There is, therefore, a great deal of difference between *meddling,* giving their opinion, upon a measure contemplated by the ministers, as they now are, and upon a measure that should be contemplated by the government with the King at its head.——But, how came they to meddle with this mea-

sure? What was it that *gave rise* to their interference? Why, it was the notification made by Mr. PERCEVAL to the Prince. It was Mr. Perceval who elicited the interference. It was he who took the first step. If the two Houses have a right to make what sort of Regency they please, without any appeal to either Prince or People, why was the plan of the intended Regency communicated to the Prince at all? If it was right to communicate it to him, he, of course, was expected to give *his opinion* upon it; he, of course, was, by those who communicated it, supposed to have a right to express his approbation, or disapprobation, of it; and, if he had this right, what was there, and what can there be, to prevent his brothers from having a similar right; in short, what is there to prevent *any man in the kingdom* from having such a right?——If to write a letter to Mr. Perceval against a measure which he is going to propose to parliament, be to assert "a "right of deciding previously upon what "measures shall, or shall not, come before "parliament;" if this be so, how is Mr. Perceval to find a justification for having laid that measure *previously* before the Prince of Wales? He, in that act, did not, surely, mean to mock the Prince; he must, however, so have meant it, if he did not mean to lay it before him as a matter for his consideration as to its propriety, or impropriety; and, if he was right in doing this; if he was right in submitting the measure to the Prince, to *one of the Princes*, for his approbation or disapprobation, had not the other Princes a right to give their opinions upon it too, they being all contingently interested in whatever shall affect the power and stability of the Kingly Office?——Mr. Perceval, in this transaction, can be considered merely as *a member of the House of Commons*. In that House he must propose the measure *as a member of the House*. Any other member might propose it. Any other member has the same right to do it that he has. He has but a vote like other members. It was as *a member of parliament*, then, that he communicated his intention to the Prince of Wales. How far this was right, or wrong, in a member of parliament, I shall not now attempt to ascertain; but, of this I am quite sure, that the making of the communication argues, on the part of him who made it, a clear acknowledgment of the right of the Prince to express his approbation, or disapprobation, of it. And, was he not to *consult* any one upon the subject? Was he to keep the thing to himself, and not communicate it to a living soul? Was he not to show it even to his Brothers? And, were not those Brothers, if they chose, to express their opinions upon a thing, which a member of parliament had submitted to the consideration of a person *out of the House*, without incurring the charge of erecting themselves into a *new estate*, into a *College*, having a *previous veto* as to all measures to be brought before parliament?——It is notorious, for we see the fact stated in the public prints several times in every year, that, when the minister has (how properly I shall not now decide) communicated some contemplated parliamentary measure to the President, or Chairman, or something else, of some trading or mercantile body, the body of traders, after taking it into consideration, send him the result of their deliberations, which is sometimes for, and sometimes against, the contemplated measure; and, we have generally, or, at least, very often seen the measure persevered in, abandoned, or modified, agreeably to such decision of the parties appealed to. But, in case of the measure being persevered in, did any one ever hear, or dream, of such trading body being accused of dictating to the government or the parliament? Did any one ever attempt to represent such body as having erected themselves into a new estate in the realm; as having assumed a right to decide upon what should and what should not be brought before parliament: as having assumed a right of *veto;* as having erected themselves into *a College* with a previous negative upon all parliamentary measures? Did any thing so absurd and so monstrous, so offensive to truth and to common sense, ever before enter into the mind of man?——But, it is not *folly* by which these venal and corrupt writers, of all sorts and in all forms, are actuated. They are actuated by the blackest of malice, that which arises from the fear of being deprived of the profits of their venality. They see, or they think they see, the days of delusion drawing to a close; they fear that things will change for the worse with them; they fear that to be the steady advocates of corruption will no longer be a thriving trade; and they are ready to tear to pieces, to reduce to atoms, every thing which, to them, appears to have this tendency. The cloak of "*loyalty*" will, they think, no longer serve their mercenary and corrupt purposes; they have, therefore, cast it off, and are ready to destroy that to which they have so long affected an inviolable

attachment.——I am, however, by no means sorry, that the MEAN, MERCENARY and MALIGNANT men have thus fully disclosed themselves. The country, the deceived country, will now, or *never*, see to the bottom of their corrupt souls. They will see, that these advocates of corruption had, at heart, nothing but their own private gains, while they were accusing others of *disloyal* intentions. The Prince and his Brothers, too, will, one would fain hope, perceive, that, it is not the friend of *freedom* who is their foe, but, according to the sentiment of my motto the wretch who would tempt them to subvert it; that this is the *real traitor*; that this is the worm, that eats out all the happiness of kingdoms. In short, they must now be as blind as the stones they tread on, if they do not see as clear as daylight, that *their true interests* and the *people's* are the same; that the best friends of the people are also their best friends; that those who are the people's enemies are, at bottom, *their enemies*; and that with the people they must stand or fall. Let the Prince say, in the language of MALLET:

> If not to build the public weal
> On the firm base, which can alone resist
> 'Both time and chance, fair *liberty* and *law*;
> If I for this great end am not ordained,
> May I ne'er poorly fill the throne of England!"

Let the Prince say this, let him *act* up to the sentiment, and he need fear no intrigues and cabals: he will want none of that support which corruption yields: he safely may, as I trust he will, scorn all disguise, all the arts of affectation and hypocrisy: he will be strong in that in which alone real strength is found when the day of trial comes, *the interest of the people* to defend their country, from which country the fate of himself and his family is inseparable. He has now had a pretty fair specimen of the reliance which is to be placed upon venality and corruption. He must now see, or he never will see, that he can safely rely upon none of those who are hostile to the liberties of the people. He has the example of Europe before him. He has seen many dynasties fall; and he has seen, in every instance, without a single exception, that the fall has been produced by those fawning slaves, who, after having seduced their sovereign to oppress and insult his people, have, in the hour of danger, been the very first to desert him. In such an hour, how can such a sovereign look his people in the face? How can he call upon them to risk their lives in defence of him and their country? Wretches that they are, they have *no country*; they have nothing to risk life for? they are stripped of their property, they are degraded in character; of the soil on which they feed they own nothing but the "*six by two*," and of that it is not in the power of any conqueror to deprive them. Thus it is that countries are conquered and that dynasties fall. Political institutions are not now-a-days to be upheld by mere *prejudice*. The world cannot unlearn what it has learnt. Nations now well know their *rights*, and, if they submit to oppression and insult, it is because they are *unable* to resist; and, their submission has no other measure than that of inability. Never was there so fair an opportunity for producing a great and salutary effects as the Prince of Wales now has. It is in his power, if the necessity of investing him with the kingly powers should continue, to rivet the affection of the people to him in a way to enable him to laugh to scorn all the attempts, which the venal and corrupt are now making against him. But, he should never forget, and those are his greatest enemies who would endeavour to make him overlook the fact, that it is in these days, only by the arms and the hearts of *the people*, that kingly governments, or, indeed, governments of any kind, can long be preserved. It cannot be unknown to him, that the people of this kingdom most anxiously desire a reform of abuses, and, as the only means of effecting that, a reform of the Commons House of Parliament; and, one would think, that if he had not before, he must now have seen enough to convince him, that such a reform is not less necessary to the support of the just prerogatives of the throne than it is to the freedom and happiness of the people. Those high-toned gentry, who are never wanting to a court, may tell him the contrary; they may tell him, that, while he has *armies*, he has nothing to fear from the people; but, after the experience of so many dynasties, now laid under his eyes, in the dust, he will, besides the integrity of his own heart, want nothing more to make him turn from such advisers.

W^M. COBBETT.

State Prison, Newgate, Tuesday,
January 1, 1811.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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THE REGENCY.

We have now before us, in the shape of Resolutions, proposed in the House of Commons, Mr. Perceval's project of limitations of the Royal Authority in the hands of the Prince of Wales. We will, therefore, now take a regular, though, perhaps, concise view of this project, and, at every look, we shall, I am persuaded, imbibe fresh conviction of its unfitness and injustice, and of the evil consequences, which, if adopted, it must tend to produce not only with regard to the Crown, but with regard also to the best interests of the people.——The Resolutions were *five* in number, and were, in substance, if not exactly word for word, as follows:

1. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, that for the purpose of providing for the exercise of the Royal Authority during the continuance of his Majesty's illness, in such manner, and to such extent, as the present circumstances, and the urgent concerns of the Nation appear to require, it is expedient, that his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, being resident within the Realm, shall be empowered to exercise and administer the Royal Authority, according to the Laws and Constitution of Great Britain, in the name, and on the behalf of his Majesty, and under the style and title of Regent of the Kingdom; and to use, execute, and perform, in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty, all Authorities, Prerogatives, Acts of Government, and Administration of the same, that belong to the King of this Realm to use, execute, and perform according to the law thereof, subject to such limitations and exceptions as shall be provided.

2. That it is the opinion of this Committee, That, for a time to be limited, the power so to be given to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales shall not extend to the granting of any rank or dignity of the peerage of the realm to any person whatever, except such person or persons as may perform some singular naval or military achievement.

3. That it is the opinion of this Committee, That, for a time to be limited, the said power shall not extend to the granting of any office whatever in reversion, or to the granting of any office, salary, or premium, for any other term than during his Majesty's pleasure, except such office as are by law required to be granted for life or during good behaviour.

4. That it is the opinion of this Committee, That such parts of his Majesty's private property as are not vested in trustees, shall be vested in trustees for the benefit of his Majesty.

5. That it is the opinion of this Committee, That the care of his Majesty's Royal Person, during the continuance of his Majesty's illness, shall be committed to the care of the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, *and that, for a time to be limited, her Majesty shall have the power to remove from, and to nominate and appoint such persons as she shall think proper, to the several Offices in his Majesty's Household, and to dispose, order, and manage all other matters and things relating to the care of his Majesty's Royal Person, during the time aforesaid*, and that, for the better enabling her Majesty to discharge this important task, it is also expedient that a Council shall be appointed to advise and assist her Majesty in the several matters aforesaid; and with power, from time to time, as they may see cause, to examine, upon oath, the Physicians and others attending his Majesty's Person, touching the state of his Majesty's health, and all matters relative thereto.

The four first resolutions were moved by Mr. Perceval, on Monday last, the 31st of December; and after a long Debate, were *carried* by a majority of 16, there being 226 for them and 210 against them. On the 1st instant the 5th Resolution was moved by him, and was lost, by 13 votes, there being 226 for an *amendment*, moved by Lord Gower, and 213

against the amendment; which was as follows: to leave out that part of the Resolution, which is distinguished by *italics*, and to insert other words in their stead, so that the Resolution was, when passed, changed into this:

That it is the opinion of this Committee, That the care of his Majesty's Royal Person, during the continuance of his Majesty's illness, shall be committed to the care of the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty: *together with the sole direction of such portion of his Majesty's Household as shall be deemed suitable to a due attendance and regard to his Royal Person;* and that for the better enabling her Majesty to discharge this important task, it is also expedient that a Council shall be appointed to advise and assist her Majesty in the several matters aforesaid; and with power, from time to time, as they may see cause, to examine, upon oath, the physicians and others attending his Majesty's person, touching the state of his Majesty's health, and all matters relative thereto.

Such were the proceedings thus far. What may finally be the fate of the Resolutions; how they may fare when they come to be embodied into a Bill; what they will have to encounter in the House of Lords; this cannot yet be known; but, thus far the thing has *gone*. We have the *project* before us; and, though it should finally fail, nothing can do away the *intention*. That is beyond the power of retractation or disguise. Let us, therefore, now proceed to take a view of this project, as it here lies before us.

The First Resolution is exceptionable only in as much as it talks of *limitations*, and as it implies the conferring of the powers by *Bill* instead of by *Address*, and as it may be construed to mean, that the two Houses of Parliament alone have the right of appointing *whom they please* to supply the place of the King, during his incapacity. All this, however, is little as to the *substance*. There is, in fact, no question as to *who* shall be Regent; and, though there is a good deal to be said as to the mode of proceeding, as to the mode of conferring the authority, still the great question is, whether the authority shall be really *conferred entire*, or whether it shall be partly withheld from the Regent.

The Second Resolution withholds from him the power of making peers, for a time to be limited, except in cases of singular naval or military achievements.——As to *time*, there is no argument that can have any weight for a year, which will not have equal weight for any longer period. Such arguments have been attempted; but they have all failed, and, indeed, they have all been anticipated and answered by me long enough ago.——I have shewn before, that, if the power of creating peers ought ever to exist in the hands of *the King*, it ought to exist in the hands of the Regent; that, to withhold the power from the Regent, is to declare, in acts, that the power is not necessary to the well-governing of the nation; and that, if it is unsafe to entrust it in the hands of the Prince, who is now 48 years of age, and who, in the course of nature, must be expected soon to be King, the inevitable conclusion is, that it is a power *that ought never to be entrusted to the King*.——Has this objection been *answered*? I have seen no answer to it at all. Nay, I have seen no *attempt* to answer it. What said Mr. Perceval in his defence of this part of his project? The following is given in the report of his speech of the 31st of December. "It cannot surely be gravely "argued that any serious inconvenience is "to be apprehended from withholding the "honours of peerage for twelve months, "when it is recollected that during the "last four years, excepting for naval and "military services, but *two new Peers have* "*been created*. When it is also remem-"bered, that in the short administration "which preceded the present, no less "than *eleven were added to the number of the* "*other House*, it is obvious that this is a "prerogative which may be *converted to* "*purposes of an ambiguous nature*; that it is a "power which may possibly be *abused*."—Now as to the exception with regard to Naval and Military Officers who may perform some great national service, what does this amount to? Why to a very good reason, *if it be worth any thing at all*, for taking from the King for ever the power of creating *any* peers but men who shall have performed some *singular* Naval or Military service. Besides, who is to be the *judge* of the nature of such service? Who is to say, whether it be *singular* or not? Who is to have the final determination of such a question?——But, why suffer him to advance Naval and Military officers rather than any body else? It has been truly observed by some one, that it is *statesmen* that we now stand in need of more than Naval and Military officers. The latter,

from the state of the war, cannot be reasonably expected to have any occasion soon offered them for performing wonderful and *singular* exploits, such as those of *Lords Gambier* and *Talavera*; while of statesmen, if to save a sinking nation; if to rescue the kingdom from the greatest danger that ever kingdom was placed in; if this be work that calls for the talents of statesmen, of great need do we stand of them; of great need do we stand of the immediate application of their talents; and, of course, if the prerogative of making peers be at any time necessary as a mean in the hands of the Sovereign of calling such talents into exertion, it would be necessary in the hands of the Regent; and, if not necessary then, if not necessary for year, can never be necessary at all.

Mr. Perceval discover nothing for statesmen to do, at this time? Does he look upon the state of the kingdom, whether with regard to its domestic or its foreign concerns, as being so *prosperous* as to require the application of no talents and exertions of a kind to merit the highest reward that the talents and exertions of statesmen can receive? Suppose some one were to discover and put in practice the means of *tranquillizing Ireland*, and of rendering an army unnecessary there; or, of putting a stop to the *further depreciation of money*; or, of giving us a *constitutional reform of parliament* and uniting us heart and hand against the enemy; or, of making *peace with Napoleon without disgrace or danger*. Would not such a man have a stronger claim to the gratitude of the nation, and to the highest reward which the sovereign has to bestow, than any Naval or Military man could possibly have? Where, then, is the reason for shutting such a person out from the peerage, while it is left open for Naval and Military men?——But, though Mr. Perceval did not observe, there is no objection, I take it, to our observing, that *all the* Naval and Military men, now in actual service, have had their appointments from *him* and his predecessors of the Pitt school, who have had the making of all appointments for the last *twenty-six years*; so that, what he would be willing to leave, as to peer- in the hands of the Prince, would to the rank of peers, any amongst those, who have in fact, been selected by *himself* and *his party*; which, to be sure, is a very generous and gracious concession, and, to which, in order to round the proposition, and give it a finished neck, there really does appear nothing wanting, but a further exception in favour of those candidates for the peerage, of whom Mr. Perceval and his colleagues might think proper to approve.——He says, that the power of creating peers may be *abused*; and he couples this with an observation, that no less than *eleven* members were added to the other House, during the short administration that immediately preceded the present, while he and his colleagues, during four years (it is only 3½) have added but *two*, excepting Naval and Military officers.——I do not recollect, who the eleven new peers were; but, this I know very well, that, *one half of the whole House*, or thereabouts, have been promoted *to* or *in* the peerage by *him* and his predecessors of the *same party* and *school*. He appears to have quite overlooked this circumstance; but, it is a very material one for the *people* to bear in mind; and, if they pay due attention to the *main drift* of his argument, they will clearly see what is the *real* object in withholding the exercise of this prerogative from the Prince, and, the seeing of that object is quite enough to convince them, that the prerogative ought not to be withheld.——I shall not here enter into an inquiry respecting the wisdom or justice of the practice of promoting men to the peerage merely on account of their *wealth*. It is, perhaps, a very nice question to determine how far such a claim to the peerage ought to be admitted. But, it is perfectly notorious, that many men have been, and especially since the power of Mr. Pitt began to be felt, promoted to the peerage upon no other visible, or assignable ground. What reason, then, can be given for withholding this power from the Prince? Royal favour has flowed all in one channel for an uninterrupted series of 26 years; and is there not, therefore, reason to suppose, that it might now with propriety flow in the *other channel*? If the Prince were Regent only for six months, or for one month, is it likely that he would do much mischief in selecting men from the party opposed to the *Pittites* to promote to the peerage? What *harm* could arise from his causing the Royal favour to flow in a new direction for a *short space of time*? And, if you suppose, that the King will never resume his functions, there is, at once, an end of Mr. Perceval's reasonings; unless he will go the length of refusing, in future, the power of the peerage creation, to the King as well as to the

Regent.——There is one more point, and that, too, admitting of a practical illustration that all the world will understand.——Who is the Prince to have for a *Lord Chancellor?* "Lord *Erskine,* to be sure."——Aye, with all our hearts; but who is to insure Lord Erskine's *life* for a year? Who is to make him *live* and make him *well* for a year?——Oh! there is Lord *Eldon,* or, who may do full as well, there is Lord *Redesdale,* or Lord *Ellenborough* (for a Chief Justice may, as used to be the case, exist without a peerage); so that the Prince would have *free* liberty to choose his Lord Chancellor, would be *quite at liberty* to choose the person highest in office under him, would have *perfect freedom* to choose the "keeper of his "*secrets* and his CONSCIENCE" from amongst those who had been promoted to the peerage by *Mr. Pitt* and Mr. *Addington!*——But, after all, even these men, however pure, and perfect as human beings, are *not immortal.* They too might die, or they might become incapable of performing the functions of Chancellor. What would the Prince then do? He might, to be sure, make *any body* Chancellor, and the House of Lords *might* choose a Speaker; but, *why* should this be? *Why* should *he* not have the power of adding *one* Lawyer to the number of the peers? Is he less capable of judging as to who ought to be promoted than his father was? Is he more likely to be deceived by evil counsellors? Has he less capacity; is he less qualified for the office of sovereign; or, is there any fact that can be stated that warrants a suspicion that he would abuse his trust, a suspicion that would and must be conveyed in any restriction of any sort that should be imposed upon him, and that was not imposed upon his father. To impose such restriction is, in itself, a mark of degradation, and must be a cause of weakness; and, for the adopting of such a measure, the reader will, I am satisfied, not be able to discover the smallest reason, other than *that reason* which the people, with heart and voice, ought to join in rejecting; that is to say, that his having the power to create peers would strongly tend to enable him to disregard the opposition of those, who now contend for the restriction, and to carry into execution measures for changing *that system* upon which they and their predecessors have invariably acted for the last 20 years, and of which system the country is now, in so many ways, feeling the fatal effects.

To the THIRD RESOLUTION, which prevents the Prince, for the intended year, from granting any office whatever, *in reversion,* and from granting any *office,* or *salary,* or, *pension,* for other term than during the KING'S PLEASURE, except such offices as are by *law* to be granted for life during good behaviour; to this resolution almost all the arguments against the second Resolution equally apply.——Of grants in *reversion* it is hardly necessary for me to say, that I am no advocate; but, such has been the profusion of these grants, that the Prince, unless he meant to give offices to children the *fathers* of whom are *not yet born,* would find very little room for the exercise of his power in this way. Therefore, I should be very willing to prevent him from taking away the patronage of *his* natural successor, if, in the same bill, provision be made, that *the King,* if he ever should recover, shall not grant any more reversions; shall not *any further* grant away the patronage that would fall to the Prince or his heir, in due course of time. But, is it not a little too hard upon him, that he should be bound up from granting away what would naturally fall into his hands, while the way is left open for his father, in case of a resumption of his power, to grant away that which would naturally fall into the hands of his son?——This proposition is the more strikingly unjust as coming almost immediately after the struggles of this same MR. PERCEVAL to keep the power of granting reversions in the hands of the King. It is well known, that Bill after Bill have been brought into the House of Commons, have passed there, and have been rejected by the Lords, the object of which Bills was to prevent the King from making any more grants of offices in reversion; that is to say, from granting away *any more* of those things that would naturally fall into the hands of his successor. To these Bills Mr. Perceval made constant and persevering resistance. He represented the power of granting reversions as necessary to the maintenance of the Crown; but, now he would *withhold* from the Regent, though that Regent is the person, into whose hands the grants would naturally fall, if not made in reversion.——I before observed upon the measure of withholding the power of granting any *place or pension for life.* Why should it be adopted? Suppose Lord Arden were to die and his sinecure place, of twenty thousand pounds

a year, were to fall into the hands of Mr. PERCEVAL, who has the snug *reversion* of it; and suppose that Mr. PERCEVAL, by some mishap, were to go off also. Here, if the place were still left in existence, would be a good thing to give away; and *why* should not the Prince have the giving of it? Is he not as well qualified to choose a person for the office as the King would be, if the latter should recover?——But, the limitation is to go further. It is to prevent him from granting any *pension*, any *office*, any *salary*, except for during the *King's pleasure*; so that, any person thus appointed, or granted to, would be liable to be displaced or have his pension taken away, at any moment, when the King might recover; and, that the thing would *actually be done* there can be very little doubt, if we suppose that the King would take for his advisers those, who would have been in opposition to the Prince.——Thus, then, one of two things must become clear to the people: either that this power being withheld from the Prince, must *shackle and weaken his government*, or that the power is *never necessary to the due discharge of the Kingly office*.——But, indeed, there can be no doubt at all as to the *real* object of this intended restriction. When the operation of it is thus pointed out, there is no man so dull as not clearly to perceive the motive for imposing it. There is no man who must not see, that to make the King, in case of his recovery, the judge of whether the grants made by the Prince should, or should not, stand good, is to *make the Prince, as much as possible dependent upon those who propose such restrictions*, and, for one year, at least, to prevent him from making any material change in that system, which has brought us into our present situation.

THE FOURTH RESOLUTION takes from the Prince all power over the King's *real* or *personal* estate, except as far as may relate to the *renewing* of leases.——Now the real estate of the King is, in fact, the property of the people at large, to whose account, in the annual statements laid before Parliament, the proceeds (*such as they are*) are brought. And, why should not the Prince of Wales be allowed to make grants of *new leases of Crown Lands?* Is it likely, that he would grant them away improperly? Is not he as fit to have authority of this sort as those were who granted the Lease *to Colonel Gordon, at Chelsea?* And, as to the *personal* Estate of the King, that being supposed to be enjoyed *for the public benefit*, why should he not have the same power over it that the King had?——There is no reason that can be urged, except that of *suspicion* of the Prince's character and views; and this, though not openly avowed, is what is conveyed in every one of the limitations, which it has been intended to be imposed upon him, but which intention will not, I trust, be put in execution.

The subject of the FIFTH RESOLUTION was so fully discussed by me, from page 1313 to page 1327, that I have very little to add to what was then said. There was, in the Debate upon the subject, which took place on the first instant, nothing, worth notice, urged in defence of such a proposition. Indeed it was impossible to assign any reason for leaving 16 Lords to be removed or continued or appointed by *the Queen and a Council*, and leaving all the vast influence of the Household Expenditure in the same hands; it was impossible to assign any *reason* for this, other than that of keeping so much of the kingly power in the hands of such *Council*, which Council, be it well observed, is to be (if at all) appointed in the Regency Bill, that is to say, of course, *by the same persons who propose and support the restrictions.* And, for *this* purpose, the people were to be taxed to provide a separate regal establishment for the Prince, during the time that he should be Regent!——This was the grand stroke of all. This seems to have been intended for the purpose of trying to *what length* things could be pushed against the Prince.——Indeed, the COURIER of the 31st of December, pretty plainly said, that the most "glorious periods of our history are those "in which *females* have *reigned*, and "MANY PERSONS doubt, whether, as "a question *of right*, or of *expedience*, THE "QUEEN WITH A COUNCIL, would "not form the *most constitutional and auspicious Regency?*"——After reading this passage, and considering the source whence it comes, the reader can entertain very little doubt as to the *real* object of the measure in question.——This venal man was, you see, preparing the way for a defence of even a more bold attempt than that of the measure itself. He was sharpening his mercenary pen for a defence of keeping the whole of the Kingly power in the hands of the Queen and a Council; that is to say, in the hands of the present ministers!——But, here we see, fairly let out, the true grounds upon which these venal and corrupt writers have

called for restrictions. "The Prince of "Wales, it is believed, *intends to change all* "*the King's servants* and *his whole system.*" ——Mind, they call it *his* system. They do not call it the *minister's* system. Whatever there is odious or ruinous in the system is to fall upon *the King*, for whom these corrupt writers, and publishers in all shapes, are professing such a *tender regard and concern.*——But, we will not have it so. We will have it to be the system of the persons, by whom the King has, unfortunately, been advised for the last 26 years; and then we will say *let it in God's name be changed;* and all the people will say *Amen.* Why, this is the very reason that the people wish the Prince of Wales to have full powers. Does any one believe; that I, or that any man who has the good of the country at heart, can want to see a mere change of *ministry*, in the *old way?* Oh, no! we want to see no such thing. We want to see *a change of the whole system*; a radical and a sweeping change of it; and, it is because we hope, that such a change would be the consequence of giving full powers to the Prince, that we wish to see full powers given to him. And, is not the Prince of Wales as likely to be able to judge of political systems as his father, afflicted as the latter unhappily has been, in more ways than one, and bent down with age as he now is? Is not the Prince as likely to be able to choose proper advisers as his father was, or ever can be? What a monstrous thing to suppose that he is not? And, why, then, should power of any sort, belonging to the Kingly office, be withheld from him, while, at the same time, he is called upon to exercise that office?

There was an argument of Mr. Perceval, in the passage above-quoted from his speech, which applied generally to all the restrictions proposed. "We may "feel," said he, "some *surprize* that they, "who in their warm attachment to *the* "*doctrines of liberty*, assert that all power "is a trust, should be, on this occasion, *so* "*fearful of diminishing the power of the Exe-* "*cutive, or of lessening the checks and restric-* "*tions upon the exercise of its authority.*" ——This, as thus given in the published report, is a fallacy.——It is not proposed "to *diminish* the power of the Executive:" it is, by the resolutions, proposed to *divide* it. It is proposed, indeed, to make an *addition* in a new establishment for the Prince. No *diminution* at all is proposed. If, indeed, he had proposed to *take away for ever* the power in the Crown, to make peers, to grant offices in reversion, to grant pensions and places for life, to grant fees or leases of crown-lands, and to appoint Lords of the Houshold; if he had made such a proposition, the point at issue would have been wholly different. But, no such thing does he propose: he proposes, that all the powers and emoluments, and all the cost to the people, shall still exist; and that a part of the power and money shall be withheld from the Prince, who is to exercise the office of King, and shall be kept in the hands of the *Queen and a Council*, which Council he proposes to be appointed *by the same persons who are for withholding the powers and money from the Prince,* and as to *who* would compose such Council there can, therefore, be little difficulty in guessing.——The question, therefore, which he puts to the *Friends of Freedom,* is, not *whether the powers of the Crown shall be diminished;* but, *whether they shall be divided between the Prince and those who are proposing and supporting the intended restrictions.* This is the question, upon which the *friends of freedom* are called upon to decide; and they must be the most inconsistent of all mortals, if they hesitated, for one moment, in deciding in favour of the Prince, especially when they are told, that the great reason for withholding power from him, is, to prevent him from being able to effect *a change of system,* to prevent him from being able, though he might be willing, to do any of those things, for which they have, for so many years, been petitioning in vain. In these petitions, and in the language of the *friends of freedom,* Mr. Perceval will find no desire expressed to diminish *the prerogatives of the Crown.* These prerogatives are part of the legitimate powers of the King. They are such as the constitution of England sanctions. The *friends of freedom* have complained of CORRUPT INFLUENCE; they have complained of that which the constitution and the laws stigmatize and abhor; and, one of their grounds of complaint always has been, that this *Corrupt Influence* is hostile to the just prerogatives of the King as well as to the *freedom of his people.* This has always been the language of the friends of freedom.——The *friends of freedom* have no jealousy of the Prince; they have no suspicions of him; he has never done any thing to make them suspect to find in him an enemy to their just demands. There may be men who have so treated him as to have a natural

dread of seeing him invested with all the Kingly powers; but the *friends of freedom* have never treated him in a way that can inspire them with any such dread. They can see, in none of his actions or words, any cause for fearing that he would use his powers *against* them; and, in the *hostility towards him* shown by *their enemies*, they think they perceive no very weak grounds to hope that he would prove himself *their friend*. This is the view that the *friend of freedom* take of the matter. These are the principles by which they are actuated; and, whatever the venal and corrupt writers, of all sorts and in all shapes, may think; however sure they may believe themselves of having *the people* with them; they will soon find, that the whole nation is with the Prince, and that, too, upon this very ground, namely, that his having full powers will enable him to affect *a radical change of system*; a complete and total change of that system, which has existed for the last 26 years, and which has brought the country into a state, which, on all hands, is acknowledged to be one from which it has only a *chance* of escaping without being subdued by a foreign enemy.

This leads me to notice, by way of conclusion, a sort of *episode*, which arose and became of great importance in the debates of the 1st and 2nd instant, relative to the public character of MR. PITT.——In the proposing and supporting of the Resolutions, on the former day, the *precedent*, as it is called, of 1788, was urged, and, in order to *give weight* to that precedent, the name of its author, MR. PITT, was introduced, accompanied with an *eulogium* upon his character as a *statesman*.——SIR SAMUEL ROMILLY spoke against the Resolutions, and, in answering that part of the argument which was built upon the precedent of 1788, he also, in answer to what had been said of its author, observed, that he could see *no good reason* for thinking Mr. Pitt *a great man*. A deriding shout from the other side of the House called from him, in his mild and dignified manner, an observation, that those who differed from him in opinion would better consult the credit of the character they were so zealous in supporting, by citing *any one instance*, in which Mr. Pitt had proved himself a *great man* by being the author of measures that had *produced benefit to his country*.——The Morning Post says, that Mr. WILBERFORCE answered it thus:—"That throughout the course of "a long public life, it had been marked "by more of *forgetfulness for his own situation*, by more of *veneration and regard for* "*his country and for the general interests of* "*the world*, than any *other* man placed "in a similar situation. He had there"fore experienced much of pain, to "find that the hon. and learned gentle"man should have thought it necessary "to *rake up the ashes* of that great man, "in order to pass a fleeting censure upon "his memory. It was not however the "testimony of his (Mr. W.'s) sentiments, "that could rescue his character from "*aspersions* so unmerited, that testimony "was recorded in the minds of his coun"trymen, his public actions were before "the world, and *those were best able to* "*judge of him who knew him best*; but his "character would be done justice to by "*future historians*; as indeed *it had been by* "*the historian of the day*."——Now, what *answer* was this? What was there here to *oppose* Sir Samuel Romilly? What was there here to *show*, that his opinion was not well-founded? What was all *this general talk* about forgetfulness of his own situation, veneration for his country, love of mankind? What was this? Why did not this defender of Mr. Pitt's character give the *instance* which Sir Samuel Romilly called for? Mr. Wilberforce ought to be very familiar with all the instances to be referred to, having been his *most constant supporter*. Why, then, did he not give the single instance, in which he adopted a measure, which had proved *beneficial to England?* The reason is plain; for, it is not to be believed, that he *would* not have done it, if he *could*.——Instead of such instance; instead of proof that Sir Samuel Romilly was wrong in his opinion; instead of proof that Mr. Pitt was a great man; we are, forsooth, to be content with Mr. Wilberforce's assertion, that "*those were best able to judge* "*of Mr. Pitt who knew him best.*" Oh, no! Mr. Wilberforce; we shall not yield to this. Those are best able to judge of him, *who are best able to ascertain and to estimate the effects of his measures.* These are the persons best able to judge, whether he ought to be called a *great man* or not. We shall not take his character from those who *dined* and *drank* with him; Oh, no! nor from those "*historians of the* "*day*," though they may be Police Magistrates, and thought, by some persons,

worthy of pensions, paid out of the public money. We shall not pin our faith upon such sleeves, I assure you, We have his acts before us, and the fruit of his acts. We have the *Statute-Book;* we have the *Paper-money;* we have the *million of paupers;* we have the *state of Ireland;* we have the *Conquests of France.* We have all these before us, and, with these before us, we shall not ask the character of Mr. Pitt from Messrs. Boyd and Benfield, or from Mr. Thomas Steele, or from Mr. Villiers, or Mr. Hunt, or even from Lord Melville, or G. Rose, or Mr Canning or Mr. Huskisson. All these were amongst he most intimately acquainted with Mr. Pitt; they, therefore, according to Mr. Wilberforce's notion, "*knew him best;* but, we shall not, for that reason, trust to *their* judgment upon the subject, when we have all the acts of the man before us, and while we feel so grievously the consequences of these acts Those are the best able to judge of Mr. Pitt who feel the Assessed Taxes, the Income Tax: and who, according to the statement of Mr. Huskisson get *fifteen shillings in the pound* for their money in the funds. These are the persons to judge of Mr. Pitt, and not those who dined and drank with him, and who got *titles* and *places* and *grants* and *pensions* and *other good things,* which, though not of a *direct* sort, are not the less gratifying to some people, or less likely to warp men's judgment. Oh, no! Mr. Wilberforce, we shall, I assure you, take his character from persons of this description; but, shall judge from facts, facts which we are all acquainted with, and that no man can now disguise from us.——In the debate of the 2nd instant this topic was revived by MR. CANNING, who having taken 24 hours to collect his materials, took occasion (amidst loud cries of *question)* to come out with what some people call an *eloquent* eulogium on Mr. Pitt, during which, as the newspapers say, he charged Sir Samuel Romilly with having *calumniated* the character of his dear departed friend.——Sir Samuel Romilly, whose answer is said to have been most admirable, coolly told him, that he would better have consulted the credit of his departed friend's memory, if he had pointed out *one single act of his by which England or any part of mankind had been benefited.* Sir FRANCIS BURDETT followed; and, though I do not see his speech reported, I am quite sure, that he did not fail to point out acts enough of the "*great "man,*" which had been a cruel scourge to England and to mankind.——I have not room for a quarter part of what I wish to say upon this subject; but, I will return to it in my next; though I cannot even now forbear to notice what is said to have fallen from MR. PONSONBY; namely, that he and those with whom he *acted* (I was in hopes that this sort of *acting* was over) *disclaimed* attacks upon Mr. Pitt's character. What! do they then mean to *cling to the system?* I want no other *test* than this; and observe, that this was said too (if it was said) during a discussion in which Mr. Pitt's character as a statesman had been brought forward to *give weight* to a *precedent* which was urged in order to cramp the power of the Prince of Wales, and, which is still stronger, against which precedent the *Prince had himself protested at the time!* I can hardly believe, that this was said by Mr. PONSONBY; but, if it was said, and said deliberately and with the concurrence of his party, I am quite sure that the designs of that party, be they who they may, are hostile to the interests of the people of England. The people are greatly indebted to Sir Samuel Romilly for having stood forward in defence of *their* character upon this occasion; for, if they deserved what they received at the hands of Mr. Pitt, how is it possible to find terms sufficiently degrading to describe them. The more that man's character is discussed the better. It is vitally essential that it should be brought to its proper level. Discussion, if free, will bring out *truth,* and truth is all we want. What disgrace, what misery, what incalculable mischiefs would England never have known if Mr. Pitt had died the day after he first became minister! But, I have no room, and must, therefore, postpone all further observation till my next.

WM. COBBETT.

State Prison, Newgate,
Friday, 4th Jan. 1811.

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"The defect of Representation is the National Disease; and, unless you apply a Remedy directly "to that Disease, you must inevitably take the consequences, with which it is pregnant.——Without a "Parliamentary Reform the Nation will be plunged into new wars; without a Parliamentary Reform, "you cannot be safe against bad Ministers, nor can ever good Ministers be of use to you. *No honest "man*, can, according to the present system, *continue* Minister."——MR. PITT'S SPEECH, in the House of Commons, 1782.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

THE REGENCY.——Before I proceed to notice the state, into which the project of Limitations has been brought by the debates, which have, since the 1st of January, taken place in the House of Lords, I shall return to the subject of MR. PITT'S PUBLIC CHARACTER, upon which I had not room fully to offer my remarks at the close of the last Number.——This subject, though it arose *incidentally*, in the debate in the House of Commons, on the 1st inst. is one of the greatest importance to the country; of more importance than the nature of the Regency itself, because in this question of the PUBLIC CHARACTER OF MR. PITT is involved the question, whether *his system* is still to be persevered in, or not, by those who are now looking to office and power. This is, in a word, the TEST. It cannot be blinked. It must be met, fully canvassed, and clearly settled; and, accordingly as it is decided; accordingly as men are *for* this character, or against, will be, and must be the opinions, the *hopes* or the *suspicions* of the people, with regard to those men.——Sir SAMUEL ROMILLY has been accused of *raking up the ashes of the dead*. How is this charge made out? It was not he who raked them up. It was they who *first brought forward* Mr. Pitt's name; and, who not only brought forward his name, but who urged it as *an argument* in support of the proposition, which Sir Samuel Romilly had to oppose. Their reasoning was this: "We build our propositions for "limiting the powers of the Regent upon "the precedent of 1788; and that that "was a just and wise measure, that that "measure was congenial with the princi- "ples of the constitution, that that mea- "sure was calculated for the benefit of the "country, we have a right to assume, *be- "cause* it was the invention of that GREAT "STATESMAN, Mr. Pitt."——And, when Sir Samuel Romilly came to *answer* the arguments in favour of the projected limitations, was he not to notice this argument? And, if he did notice it, was he not at full liberty to deny the assumption grounded upon the assertion that Mr. Pitt was a GREAT STATESMAN? And, in denying this assumption, was it not right for him, if he thought it, to deny that Mr. Pitt was a GREAT STATESMAN? And was *he*, for doing this, under such circumstances, to be charged with *illiberality*, and with *raking up the ashes of the dead?* The affirmative of the proposition is too monstrous to be endured, for a moment, by any man of sense.——The friends of the Pitt system were, it seems, to be at free liberty to say what they pleased in *praise* of their hero; they were, if they had chosen it, to *eulogize* his finance schemes, his taxations, his suspensions of the Habeas Corpus act, his India system, his schemes and transactions with the Bank, and even his *subsidies* and his *expeditions*; they were to make use of his name in the way of praise as long as they pleased; but, if any one spoke of the *mischievousness* of his measures, the person so speaking was to be accused of *raking up his ashes*.——If, however, they are alarmed at this sort of raking up, they have, I imagine, a great deal of unexpected mortification to experience. ——So far was it from being *illiberal* or *indecorous* in Sir Samuel Romilly to deny that Mr. Pitt was a great Statesman, as he did, in the way of *answer* to an argument built upon the affirmative of the proposition, that he would have been fully justified in stating his opinion of Mr. Pitt in the way of *proof* of the *folly* or *injustice* of the project he was opposing, if he looked upon Mr. Pitt as a minister whose acts showed him to be a man whose example was to be shunned.——If, for instance, a measure were now proposed that had formerly been proposed by LAUD or NOY or JEFFERIES or any other of the tyrannical villains who disgraced the reigns of the Charleses and the Jameses, and whose principles finally brought their masters to

the scaffold or drove them from the throne; if a measure were now proposed that had been, in their day, proposed by them, would not the opponent of that measure have a perfect right to speak in the terms which he thought they merited, of the CHARACTER of Laud or Noy or Jefferies? Would he not have a right to speak in reprobation of that character? Would he not have a right to urge the nature of that character as an argument against the measure?——It is almost to insult the understanding of the reader to put these questions to him; and yet has Sir Samuel Romilly been charged with *illiberality*, because he, and that, too, in the most gentle manner, denied, *in answer to an argument built on the assertion*, that Mr. Pitt was a GREAT STATESMAN!——Thus far as to the charge preferred against Sir Samuel Romilly, which charge, if he spoke what *he thought* of the character of Mr. Pitt, as we have every reason to suppose he did, stands in need of nothing further to show how groundless, how futile it was. But, a much more important point remains, namely, *whether his opinion was just.*——And here we ought first to observe, that his opinion was not dogmatically expressed; he did not give a flat and unqualified denial to the assertion of Mr. Pitt's being *a great man* or a *great statesman*; he did not, as he had a full right to do; oppose assertion to assertion, but made his denial conditional, and invited proof of the truth of the assertion of his opponents. "I do not," said he, "think him a great man, because, look "which way I will, I can discover, not a "single instance, of his ever having in-"vented or adopted what *was beneficial to "the country or to mankind.*"——To this what was said in answer? I stated, in my last, that Mr. WILBERFORCE, one of the constant supporters of Mr. Pitt in all his most important measures, and especially in his Bank Stoppage measures, did not accept of Sir Samuel Romilly's invitation; did not produce any such instance as that which the latter had called for; did not attempt to show, that, by any one measure of Mr. Pitt, the people, in any part of the King's dominions, had been benefitted; but contented himself with an eulogium, in loose and general terms, upon Mr. Pitt's character, and with the assertion, that his departed friend was to be judged of *by those who knew him best.*——This was *no answer* to Sir Samuel Romilly. Alas! Mr. Wilberforce, this was no answer to a precise, pointed, pinching proposition. It might do admirably in a funeral sermon, where the orator fears no contradiction; but, in an argument, where discussion is, if men have but spirit, still free, it cannot be expected to pass for much.——Mr. CANNING, however, seems to have been of a different opinion; for after having taken twenty-four hours to ruminate upon the matter, he, if the report of his speech be correct, did no more than follow the example of Mr. Wilberforce; and, like him, to pass a loose and general eulogium on the character of Mr. Pitt, whom he asserted many times to be a *great man*, but, to decline the polite invitation to produce *any one instance* in proof of the truth of the assertion. Sir Samuel Romilly, as well he might (for upon such ground a man may stand till doomesday), still called for the *instance* in which Mr. Pitt's measures had been beneficial to any part of His Majesty's subjects; and, in the course of his speech, which is highly extolled by those who had the advantage of hearing it, he is, in the news-papers, reported to have observed, that the Right Honourable Gentleman, especially after having taken twenty-four hours to collect and arrange his materials, would have better consulted the honour of his departed friend's memory, if, instead of a mere eulogium, in general terms, however eloquent, he had called to mind, and had stated any one instance, in which, by the measures of Mr. Pitt, any part of the people of this kingdom, or any part of mankind, had been benefitted.——This was ground from which it was impossible to move him. It was quite unnecessary for him to budge an inch from it. His opponents had first introduced the name and character of Mr. Pitt; they had put forward that character in support of their argument; they had built their precedent upon it; and with *them* it lay to *prove* that the foundation of their precedent, the foundation which they themselves had chosen, was solid and good. Sir Samuel Romilly said that that foundation was not good, and it was *for them* to prove that it was. It was not for him to *prove* that Mr. Pitt *was not* a great man, but for them to prove that *he was*; it was for him to deny the affirmative, without, unless he chose it, proving the negative.——But, with us, *out of doors* (I mean out of the House, for some of us are *in doors*), who have more leisure, and are very deeply interested in the

question, it may not be amiss to prove this negative, if, indeed, it can stand in need of any proof to a nation who are so severely feeling the effects of Mr. Pitt's administration. Sir Samuel Romilly merely said, that he did not think Mr. Pitt *a great man*, and called for proof of the contrary which proof no one attempted to give; I say he was a very *little man*, and I will produce *the proof* of.——First, then, what is meant by the words *great man?* Certainly, in this case, *a great statesman.* Men may be great in other ways, as a poet a chymist, a political œconomist, a lawyer, or a divine, and in many other ways; but, in this case we are, and so was Sir Samuel Romilly, to view Mr. Pitt as A STATESMAN; and not merely as a statesman in the undefined sense of that word, but as FIRST MINISTER OF ENGLAND a person responsible for all the acts of the government, and, *in character*, responsible for all the evils that befall the country during the continuance of his sway, or in consequence of any measures adopted or invented by him.——It is in this character that we must view Mr. Pitt; it is in this character that his memory is responsible to us; it is in this character that I am of opinion he was a *very little man;* and if I fail in my proof of it, will (without, however, acknowledging the propriety of the expression) be content to pass for one of the propagators of those "*calumnies* out of doors," of which Mr. Canning thought proper to complain.——The criterion of *greatness* in a STATESMAN, who has been prime minister, is not the duration of his power; not the length of time that he was able to keep his place; not the majorities that he kept at his back, in the Houses of Parliament; not the number of peers that he created; not the grants of money, sinecures and pensions that he made; no, nor the increase of commerce and manufactures, however such increase may dazzle some men. The true criterion is, *the effect produced by his measures upon the state of the nation at large;* upon the situation of the people, *upon their means of living, upon their freedom, their morals, their love of country, their happiness;* and upon the *state of the country relatively to other countries*, particularly any country, the augmentation of the power of which must endanger the independance of the country of which the person in question has been minister.——If this be the true criterion where by to judge of a minister, and not the opinions of his close companions, or his party adherents, let us proceed to judge of Mr. Pitt by it: first observing, that, for 21 years, he had all the means of the country and of the whole of the King's dominions at his command. He gained, by means of the popularity which his professions in favour of Parliamentary Reform had given him (and a specimen of which I have taken for my motto); by these means he gained a victory over his great opponent in 1784. From that time to the day of his death his power lasted; for, he chose to make way for Mr. Addington; and, as was proved by the result, he was in a state to resume the office of minister whenever he pleased.——During 21 years he had a decided majority in the two Houses of Parliament. One half, or thereabouts, of the Upper House had been either created or promoted during his ministry; and, in the lower House, what is there that can be named, in the way of gaining influence, that he had not had the power of doing, and that he had not actually done? In the long course of these 21 years, he never proposed or espoused any measure that was rejected; and he never opposed or joined in opposing any measure that was carried; with the exception, as to the former, of the measure of *Parliamentary Reform* and the *Abolition of the Slave Trade*, of which we shall have to speak hereafter, when we come to the question of his *sincerity*.——During these 21 years he adopted, then, what measures he thought proper, he levied what taxes and what armies he thought proper; he made war and peace when and how he thought proper; he had all the resources of the nation in his hands; he employed them in what manner it seemed meet to him; he was under no controul; and, of course, to him, and to him alone, we are to look for all the changes that have taken place in the internal state of the country, and in the situation of its affairs with regard to foreign nations.——The farmer, who has just entered upon his farm, may justly apologize for its ruinous state by alledging that he found it in that state, and that he has not yet had time to better it; but, when you survey a farm at the end of a 21 years lease, you have a right to charge the renter with all the signs of poverty and misery that you perceive. Such a cultivator has no apology to offer; and, as to a minister, he is, if possible, still more destitute of excuse, because, if he had found any thing to thwart his views,

he might, and it was his duty, *quit his place*, and state to the nation his reasons for so doing.——What, then, are the *changes* produced in the affairs of this nation since 1784 (for, let it be observed, that the *system* of Mr. Pitt has been acted upon to this hour); what are these changes; what is the state of England *now*, compared to what it was then, with regard both to its *domestic* and *foreign* affairs?——George Rose will tell you, that you are to judge from the Imports and Exports, the Cotton Mills and Spinning Jennies; and Sir John Sinclair will say, look at the increase of Canals, Turnpike Roads, New Enclosures and Threshing Machines; while it is not improbable that Messrs. Perceval and Ryder may endeavour to draw our admiration to the fruitful Statute Book, where we shall find a greater bulk of laws passed during the sway of Mr. Pitt and his successors of the same school, than was passed from the origin of Parliaments in England to the Reign of George the Third; but,

"Ye friends to truth, ye statesmen who survey
"The rich man's joys increase, the poor's decay,"

It is yours to judge by other signs than these; it is yours to judge by those effects which regard the *happiness of the people* and the *permanent security of the country's independence*.——If, in a single family, consisting of ten brothers, all engaged in industrious pursuits, and gaining each a comfortable subsistence, such a change was introduced as should lift one or two into a coach and four and plunge the other eight into misery or dependence, would any rational man, any man having a due sense of real good and evil, any man having just notions of happiness and of honour; would any man say, that that *family* had been *prosperous?* Would he not say, that, upon the whole, its affairs had been badly managed? And, if he could point to the person who had been the cause of the change, who had had the absolute controul over the affairs of the whole of the family, would he not charge that person with having been the cause of a great evil?——Just such has been the great and general tendency of the system of Mr. Pitt; a system, which has taken the earnings away from the nation at large and heaped them upon selected individuals, who have been found, in various ways, necessary to the support of the minister's power.——This is *proved* by facts that no one can deny, and which facts stand recorded in the official documents laid before Parliament, exhibiting the increase of the *National Debt*, the *Taxes*, the *Expenditure*, and the *Paupers*.

	Millions of Pounds.
He found the National Debt......	257
He left it	640
His successors of the same school have carried it to	811
He found the annual Taxes	13
He left them	44
His successors have carried them to	70
He found the annual Expenditure	21
He left it	70
His successors in the system have carried it to	82

Well! exclaims the true Pittite; but, what signifies this, if *all go on increasing together?* If the *means* increase along with the *expenditure?* Aye, but do you, then, take it for granted, that an *increase of taxes* imply an *increase of means* to pay them? That would be a strange way of reasoning. Say, rather, that it argues an *increase of the distress and misery occasioned by additional burdens;* and, then you have the *proof* at hand, in the increase of the parish rates.

	£.
He found the annual Parish Rates for England and Wales	2,167,749
He left them (three years before his death)...........	5,348,205

And, if they could now be ascertained they would, it is fair to presume, be found amounting to not less than *seven millions*. The number of paupers, in 1803, exceeded 1,200,000, exclusive of a dreadful increase of common beggars; and, indeed, is it not notorious to every one who has eyes or ears, that *pauperism* and misery has increased almost beyond conception, since the fatal day when Mr. Pitt, through the folly of a deluded nation, obtained a predominance in England? Since that day, the *character* of the people has been changed; by the pressure of misery they have had gradually worn out of them that independence of spirit, that dread of becoming dependent, that pride in keeping their names from the parish books, that shame to be entered on the list of paupers; by the pressure of misery, occasioned by taxation, all these feelings have been swept away, and now no one seems to care what are the means by which he can

make shift to satisfy the cravings of hunger and to keep the cold from his carcass. In the year 1780, or thereabouts, in a parish in Hampshire, which has in it more than a hundred labourer's families, there were but *seven* families on the parish books; about five years ago, in that same parish, there were only seven *not upon the parish books.* This is, perhaps, rather a striking instance; but, who does not know that the increase of pauperism and the consequent degradation of character has been dreadful?——What, reader, can ever compensate us for this? The *plague,* or *civil war,* are trifles to such an evil. Half a people swept away by either would have been preferable to this general degradation of character; to the fatal operation of this system, which has made the higher ranks of life dependent upon the minister of the day, and has thrown the lower upon the higher in the character of paupers; thus forming and cementing into a chain of dependence the whole of the community, of which chain the minister of the day holds the end and turns the swivel.——Such, deny it who will, has been the effect of Mr. Pitt's measures upon the *internal* state of the country. "But," I shall be told, "that great as such a "sacrifice is, it is no more than ought to "be made for the *maintenance of the na-"tion's independence against the designs of a "foreign enemy.*"——Why, if you could prove to me that the *degradation of the people* was the best means of providing for *national defence,* I might *argue* with you upon such a proposition. But, to discuss this point will be unnecessary, if we only cast our eyes towards the theatre of our *wars;* if we only look at the continent of Europe, where we see that all Mr. Pitt's wars have failed, that all his subsidies have been thrown away; and that the *sweat* of England, while it purchased the *blood* of the allies that he gave her, has, in the end in every instance, insured the destruction of those allies; till, at last, we see France, that France whom he found in a state of distraction and debility, the absolute mistress of all Europe, holding the keys of all the rivers and ports, building fleets in places whence from the topmast may be seen the mouth of the Thames, and, in short, making it a *question* with us when and how she will invade us, there being no one, not even Lord Liverpool, that now ever dreams that we have, or shall have the power of retaliation, either in the way of act or of menace. ——Is not this the real state of the case? Will any one deny it? Is not this our situation with regard to France? For what, then, have there been expended NINE HUNDRED MILLIONS of pounds in these wars against France! If, indeed the wars had succeeded; if he and his successors of the same school had *diminished* the power of France; then there might have been some room for saying that there was, in our security from without, a compensation for the fatal effects of taxation; nay, if France had been kept within her ancient limits, within the limits in which he found her; but, who is the man that will now find a consolation for our internal sufferings and degradation? Who is the man that has the hardihood to look us in the face and deny, that the whole of this minister's system has been the most fatal that ever nation endured?——"But," say his advocates, "consider the *difficulties,* which he had to encounter." I do; but, I also consider, that *he* was the *maker* of those difficulties. It was he who made the war with France; for, as to the quibble about the *first act of hostility,* all the world knows the worth of that. He was the author of all the difficulties that ensued. Instead of following the advice of Mr. Fox and others, he pursued his own plans; he conceived the project of beating France through her finances, he repeatedly predicted, in the most confident words, her defeat from that cause; and, at the end of 4 years of his war, he saw her replenished with gold and silver, while he had to announce to that same Parliament that had so often been charmed by his predictions, *that the Bank of England could no longer pay its notes.* How often did he promise this credulous nation "*indemnity for the past and "security for the future*"? How often did he say, that he could consent to no peace in which both should not be obtained? Have we obtained it? What indemnity shall we ever see for our nine hundred millions expended in these wars, and for the flower of the country who have therein shed their blood? And, alas! when will England again know that state which shall merit the name of *security?*——Still, there might have been something to say in his behalf, if he had not been *forewarned* of the consequences of his measures. But, at every stage, he was so forewarned. He was told, from the very outset, that, "should he suc-"ceed in *stifling liberty* in France, he would "cause the erection of a despotism a thou-"sand times more dangerous to England

"than any free government could be." So that, the consequences were not "such "as *no human foresight* could reach," as his advocates have pretended. They could be foreseen; for, they *were* foreseen and foretold; and the only answer those who foretold them received was, that they were *jacobins, friends of France, traitors,* and *atheists,* and as such were they treated; till, at last, scarcely any man dared to open his lips in opposition to any measure of the minister.——And yet, we are now to be told, that it is *calumny* to deny that he was a *great man!* We are to have before our eyes this deplorable situation of our country; we are to behold the situation of the Bank, where paper is exchanged for paper; we are to hear one of his own creatures acknowledge, in print, that the Bank notes have depreciated *three* shillings in the pound, and that the fund-holder receives them in this state with the certainty of a daily further depreciation; we are to see the East India Company, which he promised us should contribute towards the expences of the country, come to the parliament for assistance out of the taxes; we are to have fresh in our memories his loan to Boyd and Benfield of £.40,000 of the public money, without interest, to enable them to make good *a loan* to that Public, upon which *they received interest*; we are to see him sliding out of office while Mr. Addington made peace and funded the sums for which the Income Tax was pledged, and, afterwards joining his own old opponents to put Mr. Addington out of place, coming in himself with a part of Mr. Addington's colleagues whom he had declared weak and inefficient; we are to see him set out with professions in favour of Parliamentary Reform, and we are afterwards to hear his evidence in the case of Mr. Horne Tooke who was *tried for his life,* under his administration, for endeavouring to accomplish that which he had originally brought forward in conjunction with that very Mr. Tooke; we are to see him in *a minority* on the question of the Slave Trade; we are to have upon record all his predictions about French assignats, all his military projects, we are to remember his cars and catamarans and sympathetic battalions; and, with all this and a thousand other proofs of his real character before us, we are to be called *calumniators* if we deny him the title of A GREAT MAN!——But, do we deny him *talents?* Oh, no! We never did. He had talents, and, of their kind, very great talents. All the merchants and manufacturers who ever approached him were struck with admiration of his talents. He, according to the vulgar saying "knew their meaning by their "gaping." He knew all their business better than they did. His quickness was astonishing. He was an incomparable accountant, a consummate clerk, and he was besides a matchless *debater.* To a fluency, a command of words, that, perhaps, no man ever equalled, he added a readiness of conception, an adroitness in parrying the force of an argument, a command of temper, political courage, at once a decorum and disregard of means, surpassing any man of whom we have ever heard. He was a showy and a shallow man; but, his talents were precisely of the right kind for the theatre on which he had to act, and all the machinery and tactic of which he understood and knew how to use better, and used with greater successes for his objects, than any man that ever lived. Here are an abundance of *talents;* but, they are not such as mark the GREAT MAN, a character, which, when we are speaking of statesmen or ministers, belongs to those only, whose wisdom is proved in *the benefit which their measures produce to their country,* not one instance of which can, I am firmly persuaded, be produced with regard to the measures of Mr. Pitt, with the single exception of the *Mail Coach* establishment, which has in it the rare union of effects productive to the revenue and beneficial to every individual in the nation, but of which he was not the projector, and the manner in which he treated that projector takes from himself, in my opinion, more than the merit of the adoption.——Now, whoever is offended at this my opinion may be well assured, that I am not to be *answered* by *imputations* of bad motives, or by charges of *calumny.* If my facts be not true, or if my inferences be not fair, the proving of the falshood of the one, or the unfairness of the other, will be an answer to me; but, to call me a *calumniator,* in answer to fact and argument, will serve no other purpose than that of exposing the accuser to contempt. ——I should apologize for having taken up so much of my room and of the reader's time with the foregoing statements and observations, were I not thoroughly convinced of the great importance of the subject, and did not experience of the past convince me, that the making of a question of Mr. Pitt's character ought not to be considered as a

mere effusion of friendship or gratitude, but an indication of a settled purpose *to involve the Prince's ministry in a participation of the Pitt system of rule.* Indeed, this appears evident enough from what is published as a report of the debate last referred to, where Mr. Canning is represented as having asked, whether he was to consider the opinion of Sir Samuel Romilly as an intimation, that the coming ministry meant to depart wholly from Mr. Pitt's system. The answer of Mr. Ponsonby, *disclaiming*, apparently, what had been said by Sir Samuel Romilly, was noticed in my last; and, Mr. Canning is reported to have said, that he was *satisfied* with Mr. Ponsonby's declaration.——So am not I, and so is not, and never will be, *the people of England*, who if they were polled, would be found, ninety-nine out of a hundred, of Sir Samuel Romilly's opinion, and who are now against all limitations on His Royal Highness, because they hope and believe, that he never can be prevailed upon to suffer a ministry to act upon the Pitt system; but that, on the contrary, he will be surrounded by men determinedly hostile to that system, which has brought so much misery upon the country.——This casting of Sir Samuel Romilly overboard has produced already a deep impression; and for an opinion, too, to which every heart responses. What! is His Royal Highness to be saddled with this system? Are his ministers never to dare to open their lips upon the evils of the measures of the last 20 years? Is *he*, who has been one of the *victims* of that system, now to take it under his fostering care? Is he indeed heir apparent to Mr. Pitt's measures, his taxation, his wars, his Bank Restriction, his paper-money, all his pauperising measures? Oh, no! He is heir apparent to none of them; he had no hand in their invention or their adoption; he is, as yet, free from all connection with them; and he will not be so easily persuaded to ally himself with them; to embark his fortunes and his fame in the same boat with measures so hateful to the people.——Whoever may become ministers, their fate, as such, will *wholly* depend upon whether they do or do not pursue that fatal system, which it is necessary for them *distinctly to disclaim at the outset*, if they mean to possess the confidence of the people, or *even to retain their power*. If they temporize; if they attempt to steer a middle course between the *people* and *Pittites*, they will share the fate of all temporizers; they will verify the old saying of the *two stools*.——Their adversaries understand the system better than they do. George Rose or Mr. Huskisson would beat them off their ground, and render them an object of ridicule with the very clerks in their offices. They have no idea of the ludicrous fate that awaits them, if they attempt to bolster up this hated system; and, if they do attempt it, they will, to all their other mortifications, have to add that of hearing me remind them of this prediction, and seeing me take my motto from the Political Register, Vol. XIX, page 33, I. There never were men so deceived as they, if they imagine, that they will be able to jog quietly on in the *old track*. The country expects *a change of system*. This is the expectation of the country; the promise of it would be, in itself, a tower of strength; but, without something in that way be done, there will be no real strength, and the thing will exhibit something worse than weakness.——What is it that has made the people cold and silent, upon many late occasions? Is it supposed, that they did not feel for the sufferings of our armies under Sir John Moore and Lord Chatham? Is it supposed, that they were indifferent to the fate of so many of their countrymen and kindred? Is it supposed, that they had no feeling for them; and that they were also insensible of the *cost* to themselves? Is it supposed that they were deaf alike to the voice of humanity and of self-interest? There is no one who can suppose this. No; the truth is, that the people were withheld from stirring upon these occasions, which were of a nature to move inanimate clay, because they saw no hope in any change *of ministry* that their stirring might tend to accelerate; because they, in the conduct of those who were candidates for office, saw no indications of an intended *change of system*; because, in short, they saw, that, when the accusation of *seat-selling* was brought before the Commons House, and proof of the fact offered to be produced at the bar, both sides join in "*making a stand against popular encroachment.*" This was the cause of their silence; this was the cause why their voice was not heard; this was the cause of their taking no more interest in the questions than they would have done in a question of who should possess such or such a sinecure. Their feeling is very different *now*. They are well con-

vinced of the benignant intentions of His Royal Highness towards them, and they hope from his long experience and sound judgment for such a selection of ministers as shall give operation and effect to those intentions. *This* is the reason why they now take an interest in what is passing; this is the reason why they are anxious to see him possessed of all the powers and attributes of the kingly office. But, if they could suppose, that there was *no change of system* intended; if they could suppose, that they were still to hear measures proposed and defended upon the ground of the example of "*the great statesman now no more*," does any one think, that they would stir an inch?——The public expectation is on tip-toe. It never was more alive. Every man asks his neighbour *what* his hopes are; but all hope for *something*; and, if nothing is to be done, if every one is to be thrown overboard, like a Jonas, who does not believe Mr. Pitt to be a great man, it is hardly necessary to say, that this pleasing expectation will be changed into disgust.——It is thought by some, perchance, that *a peace* would do every thing. It would do just nothing, if unaccompanied with a reform. And, besides, what sort of peace could be made? Sweden, Holland, the Hans Towns, Spain, Portugal, Naples, all must be left in the hands of France. All the sea-ports, all the arsenals, all the maritime means of Europe. Could we *disarm* in such a peace? What, then, would be the use of peace? But, reform and tranquillize Ireland and reform England, and you may almost *disarm in war*. It is at *home*, therefore, that the preparations for peace ought to be begun. Being all right at home first, we might talk of peace in a bold tone; and, if we obtained not safe and honourable terms, we might still set the enemy at defiance, and convince *him* that we dreaded not perpetual war.——I know it has been said, that we (for be where I may I will ever venture to rank myself amongst the friends of freedom) are *bidding* for the Prince. And, who have a better right? Who can bid above us? We have to offer him *hearts* and *sinews*, and *lives* if he need them, and we ask for nothing but our well-known *rights* in return. We want nothing from him but those rights. We want to strip him of nothing. We grudge him and his family nothing that the constitution awards them, or that they would ever wish for in the way of splendour. All we have to beseech of him is, that he will, whenever he shall be invested with Royal authority, resolve to be *the ruler of a free people*, and not *the leader of a faction*.

W^M. COBBETT.

State Prison, Newgate,
Tuesday, 8th Jan. 1811.

It was my intention to offer some remarks upon the Message of the *American President*, which will be found below, and which is, at this time, worthy of particular attention.

The Documents, too, relating to *Lord Lauderdale's negociation*, and the subsequent negociation (last Winter) with the Dutch government, demands the attention of the public.——We must not cease to look abroad, because we have such important matters going on at home.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

AMERICAN STATES.—*President* JAMES MADISON'S *Message to the Congress, dated at Washington City, 5 Dec.* 1810.

The embarrassments which have prevailed in our foreign relations, so much employed the deliberations of Congress, make it a primary duty, in meeting you, to communicate whatever may have occurred, in that branch of our national affairs.—The Act of the last Session of Congress "concerning the Commercial Intercourse between the United States and Great Britain and France and their dependencies," having invited in a new form a termination of their Edicts against our neutral commerce, copies of the Acts were immediately forwarded to our ministers at London and Paris, with a view that its object might be within the early attention of the French and British governments.—By the communication received through our Minister at Paris, it appeared that a knowledge of the act by the French Government was followed by a declaration that the Berlin and Milan decrees were revoked, and would cease to

have effect on the first day of November ensuing. These being the only known edicts of France, within the description of the act, and the revocation of them being such that they ceased, at that date, to violate our neutral commerce; the fact, as prescribed by law, was announced by a proclamation bearing date the 2d day of November.—It would have well accorded with the conciliatory views, indicated by this proceeding on the part of France, to have extended them to all the grounds of just complaint, which now remain unadjusted with the United States. It was particularly anticipated that, as a further evidence of just dispositions towards them, restoration would have been immediately made of the property of our citizens seized under a misapplication of the principle of reprisals, combined with a misconstruction of a law of the United States. This expectation has not been fulfilled.—From the British Government no communication on the subject of the act has been received. To a communication from our Minister at London of the revocation, by the French Government, of its Berlin and Milan Decrees, it was answered that the British system would be relinquished as soon as the repeal of the French Decrees have actually taken effect, and the commerce of neutral nations have been restored to the condition in which it stood previously to the promulgation of those Decrees.—This pledge, although it does not necessarily import, does not exclude the intention of relinquishing, along with the Orders in Council, the practice of these novel blockades which have a like effect of interrupting our neutral commerce. And this further justice to the United States is the rather to be looked for, inasmuch as the blockades in question being not more contrary to the established law of nations, than inconsistent with the rules of blockade formerly recognised by Great Britain herself, could have no alledged basis other than the plea of retaliation alledged as the basis of the Orders in Council. Under the modification of the original Orders in Nov. 1807 into the Orders of April 1809, there is indeed scarcely a nominal distinction between the Orders and the blockades. One of these illegitimate blockades, bearing date in May 1806, having been expressly avowed to be still unrescinded, and to be in effect comprehended in the Orders in Council, was too distinctly brought within the purview of the act of Congress, not to be comprehended in the explanation of the requisites to be a compliance with it. The British Government was accordingly apprised by our Minister near it, that such was the light in which the subject was to be regarded.—In this new posture of our relations with these powers, the consideration of Congress will be properly turned to a removal of doubts which may occur in the exposition, and difficulties in the execution of the act above cited.—The commerce of the United States, with the north of Europe, heretofore much vexed by licentious cruisers, particularly under the Danish flag, has latterly been visited with fresh and extensive depredations. The measures pursued in behalf of our injured citizens, not having obtained justice for them, a further and more formal interposition with the Danish Government is contemplated. The principles which have been maintained by that Government in relation to neutral commerce, and the friendly professions of his Danish Majesty, towards the United States, are valuable pledges in favour of a successful issue. Among the events growing out of the state of the Spanish Monarchy, our attention was imperiously attracted to the change, developing itself in that portion of West Florida, which though of right appertaining to the United States, had remained in the possession of Spain, awaiting the result of negociation for its actual delivery to them. The Spanish authority was subverted: and a situation produced, exposing the country to ulterior events, which might essentially affect the rights and welfare of the union. In such a conjuncture, I did not delay the interposition required for the occupancy of the territory west of the river Perdido, to which the title of the United States extends, and to which the laws provided for the territory of Orleans, are applicable. With this view the proclamation, of which a copy is laid before you, was confided to the governor of that territory, to be carried into effect. The legality and necessity of the course pursued, assure me of the favourable light in which it will present itself to the legislature; and of the promptitude with which they will supply whatever provisions may be due to the essential rights and equitable interests of the people thus brought into the bosom of the American family.—Our amity with the powers of Barbary, with the exception of a recent occurrence at Tunis, of which an explanation is just received, appears to

have been uninterrupted, and to have become more firmly established.—With the Indian tribes, also, the peace and friendship of the United States are found to be so eligible, that the disposition to preserve both continues to gain strength.—I feel particular satisfaction in remarking that an interior view of our country presents us with grateful proofs of its substantial and increasing prosperity. To a thriving agriculture, and the improvements relating to it, is added a highly interesting extension of useful manufactures, the combined product of professional occupations, and of household industry. Such, indeed, is the experience of economy, as well as of policy, in these substitutes for supplies heretofore obtained by foreign commerce, that, in a national view, the change is justly regarded as of itself more than a recompence for those privations and losses resulting from foreign injustice, which furnished the general impulse required for its accomplishment. How far it may be expedient to guard the infancy of this improvement in the distribution of labour, by regulations of the commercial tariff, is a subject which cannot fail to suggest itself to your patriotic reflections.—It will rest with the consideration of Congress also, whether a provident, as well as fair encouragement, would not be given to our navigation, by such regulations as will place it on a level of competition with foreign vessels, particularly in transporting the important and bulky productions of our own soil. The failure of equality and reciprocity in the existing regulations on this subject, operates, in our ports, as a premium to foreign competition; and the inconvenience must increase as these may be multiplied under more favourable circumstances, by the more than countervailing encouragements now given them by the laws of their respective countries.—Whilst it is universally admitted that a well-instructed people alone can be permanently a free people; and whilst it is evident that the means of diffusing and improving useful knowledge form so small a proportion of the expenditures for national purposes, I cannot presume it to be unseasonable to invite your attention to the advantages of superadding, to the means of education provided by the several States, a seminary of learning, instituted by the national Legislature, within the limits of their exclusive jurisdiction, the expence of which might be defrayed or reimbursed out of the vacant grounds which have accrued to the nation within those limits.—Such an institution, though local in its legal character, would be universal in its beneficial effects. By enlightening the opinions; by expanding the patriotism; and by assimilating the principles, the sentiments and manners of those who might resort to this temple of science, to be redistributed, in due time, through every part of the community, sources of jealousy and prejudice would be diminished, the features of national character would be multiplied, and greater extent given to social harmony.—But above all, a well constituted seminary in the centre of the nation is recommended by the consideration, that the additional instruction emanating from it, would contribute not less to strengthen the foundations, than to adorn the structure of our free and happy system of government.—Among the commercial abuses still committed under the American flag, and leaving in force my former references to that subject, it appears that American citizens are instrumental in carrying on a traffic in enslaved Africans, equally in violation of the laws of humanity, and in defiance of those of their own country. The same just and benevolent motives which produced the interdiction in force against this criminal conduct, will doubtless be felt by Congress, in devising further means of suppressing the evil.—In the midst of uncertainties, necessarily connected with the great interests of the United States, prudence requires a continuance of our defensive and precautionary arrangements. The Secretary of War and Secretary of the Navy will submit the statements and estimates which may aid Congress, in their ensuing provisions for the land and naval forces. The statements of the latter will include a view of the transfers, of appropriations in the naval expenditure, and the grounds on which they were made.—The fortifications for the defence of our maritime frontier, have been prosecuted according to the plan laid down in 1808. The works, with some exceptions, are completed, and furnished with ordnance. Those for the security of New York, though far advanced towards completion, will require a further time and appropriation. This is the case with a few others, either not completed, or in need of repairs.—The improvements, in quality and quantity, made in the manufactory of cannon; and of small arms, both at the public armories, and private factories, war-

rant additional confidence in the competency of those resources, for supplying the public exigencies.—These preparations for arming the militia, having thus far provided for one of the objects contemplated by the power vested in Congress, with respect to that great bulwark of the public safety, it is for their consideration, whether further provisions are not requisite, for the other contemplated objects, of organization and discipline. To give to this great mass of physical and moral force, the efficiency which it merits, and is capable of receiving, it is indespensible that they should be instructed and practised in the rules by which they are to be governed. Towards an accomplishment of this important work, I recommend, for the consideration of Congress, the expediency of a system, which shall, in the first instance, call into the field, at the public expence, and for a given time, certain portions of the commissioned and non-commissioned officers. The instruction and discipline thus acquired would gradually diffuse thro' the entire body of militia that practical knowledge and promptitude for actual service, which are the great ends to be pursued. Experience has left no doubt, either of the necessity, or of the efficacy of competent military skill, in those portions of an army, in fitting it for the final duties which it may have to perform.—The corps of engineers, with the military academy, are entitled to the early attention of Congress. The buildings at the seat fixt by law, for the present academy, are not so far in decay, as not to afford the necessary accommodation. But a revision of the law is recommended, principally with a view to a more enlarged cultivation and diffusion of the advantage of such institutions, by providing professorships for all the necessary branches of military instruction, and by the establishment of an additional academy, at the seat of government, or elsewhere. The means by which war, as well for defence, as for offence, are now carried on, render these schools of the most scientific operation an indispensible part of every adequate system. Even among nations whose large standing armies and frequent wars afford every other opportunity of instruction, these establishments are found to be indispensible for the due attainment of the branches of military science, which require a regular course of study and experiment. In a government, happily without the other opportunities, seminaries where the elementary principles of war can be taught without actual war, and without the expense of extensive and standing armies, have the precious advantage of uniting an essential preparation against external danger, with a scrupulous regard to internal safety. In no other way, probably, can a provision of equal efficacy, for the public defence, be made at so little expence, or more consistently with public liberty.—The receipts into the Treasury during the year ending on the 30th of September last (and amounting to more than eight millions and a half of dollars), have exceeded the current expenses of the Government, including the interest of the public debt.—For the purpose of reimbursing at the end of the year 3,759,000 dollars, of the principal, a loan, as authorised by law, had been negociated to that amount, but has since been reduced to 2,750,000 dollars; the reduction being permitted by the state of the Treasury, in which there will be a balance remaining at the end of the year, estimated at 2,000,000 dollars. For the probable receipts the next year, and other details, I refer to statements which will be transmitted from the Treasury, and which will enable you to judge what further proceedings may be necessary for the ensuing.—Reserving to future occasions, in the course of the Session, whatever other communications may claim your attention, I close the present, by expressing my reliance, under the blessing of Divine Providence, on the judgment and patriotism which will guide your measures, at a period particularly calling for united councils, and inflexible exertions, for the welfare of our country; and by assuring you of the fidelity and alacrity with which my co-operation will be afforded.

France.—*Napoleon's Message to the Conservative Senate, laying before them a report of the State of the Empire, and of his measures relative to Holland, the North of Europe, England, Prisoners of War, the Valais, &c. 10th Dec. 1810.*

Senators—I have ordered my Minister for Foreign Affairs to communicate to you the several circumstances which occasion the junction of Holland with the Empire. —The Orders published by the British Council in 1806 and 1807 have rent in pieces the public law of Europe. A new order of things governs the Universe. New securities becoming necessary to me, the junction of the mouths of the Scheldt,

the Meuse, the Rhine, the Ems, the Weser, and the Elbe, with the Empire, the establishment of an inland navigation with the Baltic, have appeared to me to be the first and most important.—I have ordered the plan of a Canal to be prepared, which will be executed in the course of five years, and will connect the Seine with the Baltic.—Those Princes will be indemnified who may find themselves circumscribed by this great measure, which is become absolutely necessary, and which will rest the right of my frontiers upon the Baltic.—Before I came to this determination, I apprised England of it. She was acquainted that the only means for preserving the independence of Holland was to retract her Orders in Council of 1806 and 1807, or to return at last to pacific sentiments. But this Power was deaf to the voice of her interests, as well as to the cries of Europe.—I was in hopes of being able to establish a cartel for the exchange of prisoners of war between France and England, and to avail myself in consequence of the residence of two Commissioners at Paris and London, to bring about an approximation between the two countries. I have been disappointed in my expectations. I could find nothing in the mode in which the English Government negociated but craft and deceit.—The junction of the Valais is an effect long intended of the immense works which I have had performed in the Alps within the last ten years. At the time of my act of mediation, I separated the Valais from the Helvetic League, foreseeing then a measure of such advantage to France and Italy.—So long as the war continues with England, the French people must not lay down their arms.—My finances are in the most flourishing state. I can meet all the expences which this immense empire requires, without calling upon my people for fresh sacrifices.

FRANCE.—*Report, or Exposition, of the State of the Empire, by the* DUKE OF CADORE, *Minister of Foreign Affairs, to the Emperor, 8th Dec.* 1810.

Sir—Your Majesty has exalted France to the highest point of greatness. The victories obtained over five successive coalitions, all promoted by England, have produced these consequences; and it may be said, that we are indebted to England for the glory and power of the Great Empire.—At every opportunity, your Majesty made offers of peace, and without considering whether it would be more advantageous than war: you looked, Sir, only to the happiness of the present generation, and you always shewed yourself ready to sacrifice to it the most flattering prospects of the future.—It was in this spirit that the peace of Campo Formio, of Luneville, and of Amiens, and subsequently of Presburg, of Tilsit, and of Vienna, were concluded; it was in this spirit that your Majesty has five times sacrificed to peace the greater part of your conquests. More anxious to adorn your reign by the public happiness, than to extend the frontiers of your empire, your Majesty set bounds to your greatness; while England, keeping the torch of war continually alive, seemed to conspire against her allies as well as herself to create the greatest empire that has existed for twenty centuries.—At the peace of 1783, the power of France was strong in the Family Compact, which closely bound Spain and Naples with her political system. At the peace of Amiens, the respective strength of the three great Powers was increased by the addition of twelve millions of Polish inhabitants. The Houses of France and Spain were essentially hostile to each other, and the people of the two countries were removed farther than ever from each other, by the difference of their manners. One of the great Continental Powers had her strength less diminished by the junction of Belgium with France, than it was increased by the acquisition of Venice; the secularizations also of the Germanic Body added more to the power of our rivals.—Thus, at the conclusion of the Treaty of Amiens, the relative force of France was less than at the peace of 1783, and much inferior to that to which the victories obtained during the wars of the two first coalitions gave her a right to expect. This treaty, however, was scarcely concluded, when the jealousy of England displayed itself strongly. She took the alarm at the continually increasing prosperity and riches of the interior of France; and she hoped that a third coalition would wrest Belgium, the provinces of the Rhine, and Italy, from your crown. The peace of Amiens was broken; a third coalition was formed, three months after, it was dissolved by the treaty of Presburg.—England saw all her hopes blasted; Venice, Dalmatia, Istria, the whole of the Adriatic coast, and that of the kingdom of

Naples, fell into the power of France. The Germanic body, established upon principles contrary to those upon which the French empire was founded, dropped to pieces; and the system of the Confederation of the Rhine transformed to close and necessary allies the same nations, who in the first coalitions marched against France; and united them indissolubly to herself by their common interests.—The peace of Amiens then became in England the object of every Statesman. The new acquisitions by France, which there were no hopes of wresting from her at any future time, rendered the fault that was committed more evident, and shewed the full extent of it.—An enlightened man, who during the short interval of the peace of Amiens, visited Paris, and had learned to know France and your Majesty, was put at the head of affairs in England. This man of genius comprehended the situation of the two countries. He perceived that it was not in the power of any State to compel France to retrogade; and that the true policy consisted in arresting her progress. He perceived, that by the success obtained over the third coalition, the question was changed; and that it must no longer be thought of contesting with France the possessions that she acquired by victory; but that it was necessary, by a speedy peace, to prevent those new acquisitions which the continuation of the war would render inevitable. This minister did not conceal any of the advantages which France derived from the erroneous policy of England; but he had in view those which she might still acquire. He thought that England would gain much, if none of the Continental Powers lost more. He directed his policy to disarm France, and to have the Confederation of the North of Germany recognized in opposition to the Confederation of the Rhine. He perceived that Prussia could only be preserved by peace; and that on the fate of that power depended the system of Saxony, of Hessia, of Hanover, the fate of the mouths of the Ems, of the Jade, of the Weser, of the Elbe, of the Oder, and of the Vistula, ports necessary for the commerce of England. Like a great man, Fox did not deliver himself up to useless sorrow for the rupture of the Treaty of Amiens, and losses henceforth irreparable; he wished to prevent greater, and he sent Lord Lauderdale to Paris.—The negotiations began, and every thing led to hope that they would have ended happily, when Fox died. From that time they languished. The ministers were neither sufficiently enlightened nor temperate to perceive the necessity of peace. Prussia, excited by that spirit which England infused into all Europe, put her troops in march. The Imperial Guard received orders to set out; Lord Lauderdale appeared terrified at the consequences of the new events that were preparing. It was proposed to sign the treaty; that Prussia should be included in it, and that the Confederation of the North of Germany should be recognized. Your Majesty, with that spirit of moderation of which you have given such frequent examples to Europe, consented.—The departure of the Imperial Guard was delayed for some days, but Lord Lauderdale hesitated: he thought it necessary to send a messenger to his Court, and that messenger brought him an order to return. In a few days after Prussia no longer existed as a preponderating Power. Posterity will consider that period as one of the most decisive in the histories of England and of France. The treaty of Tilsit put an end to the fourth coalition.—[After some further uninteresting remarks, the Report proceeds thus:]—The fifth coalition broke out, the new events of which again turned out advantageous to France. The only ports by which England preserved an avowed communication with the Continent, together with the Illyrian provinces passed under the power of your Majesty by the treaty of Vienna, and the Allies of the Empire beheld their power increased. —The British Orders in Council had overthrown the laws of the commerce of the world; England, whose whole existence is attached to commerce, had thus thrown disorder into the commerce of other nations. She had contemned all its privileges. The decrees of Berlin and of Milan had repelled these monstrous novelties. Holland found that her position was a difficult one; her government had not an action sufficiently energetic; her custom-houses afforded too little security to permit that centre of continental commerce to remain much longer insulated from France. Your Majesty, for the interests of your people, and to secure the execution of the system which you had opposed to the tyrannical act of England, saw yourself compelled to change the fate of Holland. Your Majesty, nevertheless, constant in your system, and in your desire of peace, gave England to understand that she could not

preserve the independence of Holland, but by recalling her Orders in Council, or adopting pacific views.—The ministers of a commercial nation treated with levity overtures so greatly interesting to its commerce. They replied, that England had no power over the fate of Holland. In the illusions of their pride, they misconceived the motives of that measure; they pretended to see in it an acknowledgment of the efficacy of their Orders in Council, and Holland was united. Since they would have it so, Sire, I think it useful at this moment, and I propose to your Majesty to consolidate that union by a Senatus-Consulta.—The annexation of the Hanseatic Towns, of Lanenburg, and of the whole coast from the Elbe to the Ems is commanded by circumstances. That territory is already under the dominion of your Majesty.—The immense warehouses at Heligoland would always threaten to inundate the Continent, if a single point remained open to the English trade upon the coasts of the North Sea; and if the mouths of the Jade, the Weser, and the Elbe, were not for ever closed against her. —The British Orders in Council have totally destroyed the privileges of neutral navigation; your Majesty can no longer supply your arsenals, and have a sure channel for your commerce with the North, but by means of internal navigation.—The repairing and enlarging of the Canal between Hamburg and Lubeck, and the construction of a new Canal, which will unite the Elbe to the Weser, and the Weser to the Ems, which will only require four or five years labour, and an expenditure of fifteen or twenty millions, in a country, the soil of which offers no physical obstacles, will open to the French merchants a cheap, easy, and safe route. Your Empire can always trade with the Baltic, convey to the North the produce of her soil and manufactures, and draw from thence the articles necessary for your Majesty's navy.—The flags of Hamburg, of Bremen, and of Lubeck, which at present wander on the seas, denationalized by the British Orders in Council, will share the fate of the French flag, and join with it, for the interest of the common cause, and in re-establishing the liberty of the seas.—Peace will take place at last; for, sooner or later, the great interests of nations, of justice, and of humanity, will prevail over passion and hatred. But the experience of sixty years has shewn us that peace with England can only afford to commerce a deceitful security. In 1756, in February 1793, in 1801, in the instance of Spain, as in May 1803, the period of the rupture of the treaty of Amiens, England commenced hostilities before she declared war. Vessels which navigated in the faith of peace, were taken by surprise, commerce was plundered, peaceable citizens were deprived of their liberty, and the ports of England were filled with these disgraceful trophies. Should these examples be ever renewed the subjects of England, travelling either for pleasure or business, whose properties and persons shall be secured in all our ports from the Baltic sea to the Adriatic gulf, will be answerable for these attempts; and if the English Government, for the purpose of making the people of London forget the injustice of the war, will gratify them with the sight of prizes taken in contempt of the law of nations, they will also have it in their power to shew them the losses which most certainly result from it.—Sire, your Majesty will persevere in your decrees so long as England persists in her Orders in Council. You will oppose to the Maritime blockade, the Continental blockade, and to the plunder on the seas, the confiscation of English merchandize on the Continent.—It is my duty to acquaint your Majesty that you can have henceforth no hope to bring back your enemies to more moderate ideas than by persevering in this system. The result of it will be to place England in such a disagreeable situation, that she will be at length compelled to acknowledge that she cannot violate the laws of neutrals on the sea, and claim their protection on the Continent; that the sole source of her misfortunes is in her Orders in Council; and that the increase of the power of France, which will long excite her spite and jealousy, is owing to the blind passion of those who have broken the treaty of Amiens, put an end to the negociation at Paris, rejected the propositions from Tilsit and Erfurth, disdained the overtures made before the annexation of Holland, have given the last blow to her trade and her power, and conducted your Empire to the fulfilment of its high destinies.

CHAMPAGNY, Duke of Cadore.

FRANCE.——*Document translated from the Moniteur, relating to the Negociations between France and England in 1806, when Lord Lauderdale was at Paris.*

The documents relating to the negociations with England before the Prussian war have been already published. The last of these publications, in October 1806, was that relating to the negociation opened at Paris by Lord Yarmouth, and afterwards continued and broken off by Lord Lauderdale. But this publication, containing only the official notes interchanged between the respective Plenipotentiaries, has not sufficiently explained the circumstances which produced the rupture.—The extract of the account of the two last conferences between the French and English Plenipotentiaries, which was sent at the time to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, who had then left Paris in his Majesty's suite, will best attain this object. It will be there seen that England had it in her power to prevent the war with Prussia, and that she would not; and that it was in vain that the result of that campaign, and the increase of power which it must necessarily give to France, were announced to her Plenipotentiary. The English Government would run the risk of it.—Four years later she might have preserved Holland in the same manner. It will be seen in the documents of a negociation, which the Dutch Ministers endeavoured to open with the British Government, that England preferred the continuation of the war to the independence of Holland, as she preferred it to the safety of Prussia.—France, then, has been placed in the great situation which she occupies, solely by the obstinacy of England in prolonging this war, which she declares must be perpetual. Every epoch at which she has rejected peace, has proved to France an epoch of glory, and increase of power.

Negociation of Lord Lauderdale. ——*Extract from the Account given to the Minister for Foreign Affairs by the French Plenipotentiary.* — *Paris, Sept. 26th* 1806.

Sir,

* * * * * * * * * * In consequence of the authority given to me by his Majesty the Emperor, I declared to Lord Lauderdale that a peace, speedily signed and ratified, before the military operations had proceeded to a certain length, could immediately stop their progress; and that he was in a situation to fill, and to make England the high character of Pacificator of the Continent; a character the more exalted, because England would acquire by it the merit of having saved a power with whom she is actually at war, but whose preservation is prescribed to her by her interest. Lord Lauderdale appeared sensible of the grandeur of this proposition, and of the great advantage that it would be to his country. I added, that not a moment was to be lost; that if once the war began, both sides must run the chances of it; and that neither he nor I could foresee whither the fortune of France, and the genius of her leader might carry our arms, our influence, and our glory.—After having reflected upon this declaration, and recalling to his memory my answer respecting the impossibility of restoring Dalmatia, Lord Lauderdale informed me, that he would send a messenger to his Court; and he requested a second conference.—This second conference took place to-day at two o'clock. Lord Lauderdale had received a messenger from London, who brought him an account of the formation of the new Ministry, and instructions relating to the negociation. My Lord appeared more persevering than ever in the propositions which he had before made, and in his determination of demanding his passports; he brought to my recollection the declaration, which I had made to him respecting the impossibility of arresting by peace the march of the French army, when it was ready to begin the campaign. "I would have asked for that," said he, "in the name of my Government, which you had declared to me; I had received orders to that effect: but I must, notwithstanding, render this justice to the French Government, that it was it which voluntarily made this declaration.

HOLLAND.——*Proceedings of the Dutch Ministry with the English Government, relative to the preserving of the independance of Holland by the means of a Peace with France.*—1810.—*From No. I. to No. IV.*

No. I.——*Communication of the King of Holland to his Ministers.*

Gentlemen,—For the six weeks that I have been with the Emperor, my brother, I have been constantly occupied with the affairs of the kingdom. If I have been able to efface some unfavourable impressions, or at least to modify them, I must acknowledge that I have not succeeded in reconciling in his mind, the existence and independence of the kingdom, with the

success and prosperity of the Continental system; and in particular, that of France against England. I am assured that France is firmly resolved to annex Holland, in spite of all considerations; and that she is convinced that its independence can no longer be prolonged, if the maritime war continues. In this cruel certainty, there no longer remains to us but one hope, which is, that a maritime peace be negociated: that alone can avert the danger which threatens us; and without the success of these negociations, it is certain, that the independence of Holland is no more; that no sacrifice can prevent the blow. It is thus the clear and formal intention of France to sacrifice every thing in order to acquire Holland, and so to augment, whatever it may cost her, her means for opposing England. Doubtless England will have every thing to fear from such an augmentation of her coasts and marine on the part of France. It is therefore possible that their own interest may induce the English to ward off a blow which may prove so fatal to them.—I commit to you the care of developing this idea with all the energy which may be necessary to make the English Government feel the importance of the measure which it remains for it to take—impress upon it all the arguments and all the considerations which shall present themselves to your minds—adopt this proceeding of yourselves, without my name being at all mentioned in it. But there is no time to be lost; send immediately some trusty and discreet commercial gentleman to England, and inform me of the result on his return. Let me know the period when that may be; for we have no time to lose: there remain to us only a few days. Two corps of the grand army are on their march to Holland; Marshal Oudinot has just set out to take the command of them. Let me know what you have done in pursuance of this letter, and on what day I may have an answer from England.

No. II.—*Instructions given by the Dutch Ministry to M. Labouchere, 1st Feb.* 1810.

"The object of the commission with which, by orders of the undersigned, M. Pierre César Labouchere is entrusted, is to make known to the English government, that, in consequence of information which has reached the Dutch ministers, and which has every appearance of authenticity, the destiny of Holland, that is, the maintenance or the loss of her political existence, depends on the dispositions entertained on the part of the English government, with respect to arriving at a speedy peace with France; or at least with respect to the making of a real change in the measures adopted by the above government, in relation to the commerce and navigation of neutrals.—The said Sieur Labouchere must, in consequence, repair with all convenient speed to London, where, in the manner and way which he shall find most suitable, he shall seek to communicate the above state of things to the knowledge of the English ministry, and of every other person who may be able to promote the object in view; and he shall he permitted to make known, that he fills this mission with the consent of the Dutch Government, who, in consequence of the authenticity of the above information, bearing that, without the above change in the system of England, the loss of the independence of Holland is absolutely inevitable, have thought proper to shut their eyes upon all considerations and difficulties, to attempt every thing that may serve to maintain the political existence of the country.—He will then endeavour to impress upon the English government, how much it would be for the advantage of England that Holland should not fall under the sovereign dominion of the French empire, but remain always an independant power. To prove this assertion, he will use all the arguments with which the business itself can furnish him, and which shall occur to him.—If he find this conviction in the English government, or shall find means to inspire it, he will endeavour to engage it to contribute to the maintenance of the political independance of this country, and in promptly applying himself to negociations tending to attain a general peace; or at least, in case such negociations could not be promptly adopted and commenced, in giving satisfactory assurances of its intention to make some changes in the system adopted by the British Orders in Council of November 1807, and in the measures which have resulted from them.—Above all, he must urge this latter object, for the purpose, he will say, of making opposition to the eagerness of France to occupy Holland.

(To be continued.)

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// COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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" As to a cordial union of interest between Holland and England, it is as unnatural to happen as " between two individual rivals of the same trade: And if there is any step that England can take to " put it at a still greater distance, it is the part she is now acting. She has increased the animosity of " Holland on the speculative politics of interesting the Stadtholder, *whose future repose depends upon* " *uniting with the opposition in Holland*, as the present reign did with the Scotch. How foolish then has " been the policy, how needless the expence, of endangering a war on account of the affairs of Holland." ——PAINE. Prospects on the Rubicon, 1787.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

PORTUGAL. THE WAR.——It is truly surprizing to observe into what insignificance this subject has fallen with the public. A little while back nothing else was talked of; nothing else was heard of; it filled every mouth; and, amongst other reasons for imposing restrictions upon the Prince of Wales was this, that, if left uncontrouled, he might totally change the system of warfare, and might *abandon Portugal to its fate,* at a time when every thing there promised *so happy a result;* that he might, in short, be advised "*to* "*undo all that Lord Talavera had done.*" ——This is, to be sure, a fine specimen of the extent to which this nation can be deceived and cheated. Alas! the Prince of Wales can never *undo* what that famous oriental chief has done in Portugal. His Royal Highness, possess what powers and prerogatives he may, cannot put Massena where he was in July last; nor can he restore any thing that had been destroyed in Portugal, nor to us any portion of the many millions of pounds that have been expended in that war, and the raising of which in England must have so largely added to the distresses of the people and to the number of paupers. None of this can he do.——The readers of the Register were long ago prepared by me for the immense expences of keeping the army during the winter, and also no small part of the population of Lisbon. There cannot now be less than a hundred or a hundred and fifty thousand people to be fed from England and Ireland, besides, perhaps, thirty thousand horses and mules; while from France not an ounce of food is required, her general having taken care so to dispose *his* forces as to make Portugal find his army in all the necessaries of life, while, to our army, she affords not a mouthful!——Thus terminates the affair of the *trap.* This is the end of having *entrapped* Massena; of having put him in a situation in which he was an object of ridicule and contempt; in which Lord Talavera *laughed* at him.——Oh, what a duped, what a gulled, what a cheated people this is! Where are now all the boastings of those swaggering blades, who, two months ago, in their numerous and endless letters from Lisbon and from the army, told us, that Massena was *starving?* Who told this "*thinking* nation" that the French General had, by the masterly operations of Lord Talavera, been drawn into a *snare?* Who told us, that they would give us a good account of him, and that we might *rely* upon it, that he never would be suffered to *escape?*——We have it under their own hands; nay, we have it in the official dispatches and proclamations, that some of the fairest parts of Portugal have been, by our army (for what purpose no matter) *laid waste.* Reader, pray *think* a little of that sort of thing, called laying a country waste. Think a little of the necessary consequences of burning, cutting up fields of green corn for horses and mules; of killing flocks and herds; of slaughtering the young in the mother's belly; of thus cutting off the means of restoration. Think a little of the effect of burning corn-fields, mills, homesteads, and manufactories. Think a little of the effect of first gutting and then burning work-shops and warehouses and cellars and dwellings. Think of the effects of these upon a people; if you do belong to "the *most thinking* nation in the "world," pray think a little of these things; and, when you have so thought, tell me what we have done in Portugal to compensate the people for their sufferings. Tell me what the People of Portugal must think of Talavera's campaign. ——The sufferings, which the enormous expences of this campaign have brought, and will bring, upon us must be very great; we must feel the effects of them

for years; they already press upon us in various ways; but, let us not forget the situation of the people of Portugal; let us not forget the situation of those whom to *deliver* was the professed object of Talavera's wars.——When the Wellesleys were first sent to take the command, political as well as military, in the Peninsula, I said, that we now saw them *fairly pitted* against the Buonapartés, and I besought the reader to *mark the result.* "If," said I, "these oriental heroes come off victo-"rious; if they beat the Buonapartés; "if they drive them out of the peninsula, "I shall be ready to acknowledge, that "their fame has a solid foundation; and "that to gain victories in Hindostan is "the same thing as gaining victories in "Europe." I still stick to my word; but, the criterion for my judgment must be *the result.*——The same criterion must be our guide in judging of the wisdom of the ministers, who *planned* the war.——The public will bear in mind, that I, amongst others, all along protested against a war for the *old governments* of Spain and Portugal. We said, that, in such a war, the people would have no interests sufficient to call forth the necessary energies. Mr. Canning and Alderman Birch said that such a war was the very thing for calling forth the energies of the people; that the *throne* and the *altar* (the *Roman Catholic altar,* mind) would call forth every hand in their defence; and the former gentleman, in an official dispatch, argued upon the existence of the hatred of the French in "the universal Spanish nation."——How has it turned out? "Aye," say they, as Mr. Pitt used to say, "but "things have taken an *unexpected* turn; "who would have thought this, and who "would have thought that?" Why, as Mr. Fox used to tell "the great statesman now no more," we should have thought it; we did think it; and we told you it would happen. You scorned our advice; you called us jacobins and levellers; and experience has now proved, that we were right and that you were wrong.——Mr. Canning was the minister of foreign affairs when the plan of the peninsular war was laid; he was the prominent person in that measure; he, the eulogist of Mr. Pitt, and the steady pursuer of his system, was the leading author of that war, which will, before it be over, have done more for France than any other of the wars that we have waged against her.——Will he pretend that the *principle* of the war was good? The principle, we said, was bad; and, if it had been good, of what consequence is that, unless the *means* were at hand; and, if the means were at hand, where are we to look for a justification for the *want of success?*——The *end* is not yet come, to be sure; but, who is there mad enough to expect, that we shall be able to put the French out of the Peninsula either by arms or by negociation? Where is the man, in his senses, who believes, or will say that he believes, that we shall be able to accomplish this? Suppose *peace* were to become the subject of discussion. Does any one believe, that Napoleon would enter into negociations about Spain and Portugal? Does any one believe, that we must not leave them to their fate? This is bringing the matter to the test. And, if the reader is persuaded, that we should not, in a negociation for peace, be able to stipulate for the independence of the Peninsula, the question is settled, and the result of the war is, in reality, ascertained.——Let the reader, then, take a fair and full look at this war; at its origin, its principle, its plan, its execution, its feats, its *titles* and its *medals,* and at its *costs;* let him then bear in mind who were its *authors* and *abettors,* who have been and yet are its agents; and, if he have a mind capable of profiting from experience, he will not fail to turn his observations to account.

French Marine.——In a subsequent part of this Number will be found a report of the French minister of Marine upon the subject of a *conscription* for sailors, who are to be thus raised in the maritime Departments of France, which Departments are, on that account, to be exempted from the *military* conscription.——This may serve as some answer to the question, so often put: "how is Buonaparté to get sailors." Sailors are made of flesh and blood and bone and sinews as well as soldiers, and, while these were in France or her dependencies, it was easy to conceive how he would get them, when the proper time came for their employment.——The nature of the contest has, with him, now, in a great measure, changed. Sir Francis Burdett said, in the House of Commons, about two years ago, that this would be the case; and that we should, even then, begin to prepare for it. Mr. Canning laughed at him, just as Mr. Pitt used to laugh, or rather grin, at the predictions of Mr. Fox; but, now, as then, the thing

laughed at is about to be verified.—— Napoleon has subdued all the continent except Spain and Portugal, which do not require a fourth part of his military means. He has nothing to fear on the side of the land. He has got firm possession of all the North of Europe, its harbours, roads, and fleets; and he now, as was natural to expect, and as was anticipated and foretold by more than enough of us, he is making preparations for his last labour, *the subjugation of these islands.* That he has an abundance of the means of making and of fitting out ships of war all the world knows; that he has all these, subject to no interception or delay is notorious; that he has already made great progress in building a navy is not less notorious; we have seen before how he has collected great numbers of seamen in Holland and the Hans Towns, and now we see his regular, settled, permanent, efficient, and infallible system, for raising seamen in France and for keeping his navy replenished.——Of this system it behoves *us* to consider the natural effects, and not to suffer our minds to be withdrawn from it by empty effusions of invective like the following in the Morning Post of the 10th instant.——"We "have already noticed Buonaparté's new "plan for the amelioration of his Marine. "*Forty thousand children* are to be dragged "from their parents, and to be placed at "the disposal of the Minister of the Ma-"rine; and by a new Conscription, one "hundred and twenty thousand men are "to be forced into the army; and, the "People of France submit to these *dread-"ful privations,* not to insure the safety or "to promote the interests of their country, "but to gratify the ambition of one indi-"vidual, and that individual *a foreigner!* "——In order to raise the above forty "thousand a *seizure* is to take place of "children between the ages of 13 and "16, to be trained to evolutions and "manœuvres on flotillas in the roadsteads "of France! Will the *hardy Sons of Bri-"tain* trained on the bosom of the element "submitted to their rule, be *ever backward* "*to face the sailors of this new school?*"—— No: I trust not. But, the question is not whether the hardy sons of Britain will be backward to face them; but, whether enough of these hardy sons can be found and *maintained afloat* to cope with all the force, that, in a short time, France will be able to send forth against them; and not that only, but whether they will be able so completely to *cover* the sea, at all seasons, as to prevent a French force of great amount from reaching England, and especially Ireland. These are the true questions for us to discuss, and not the question of *personal bravery,* though one cannot refrain from observing, that, of the sailors of *our* fleet, a full *fourth part* are supposed not to be the "hardy sons of Britain," but *foreigners;* and, that of the natives on board our ships of war, a full *half* were at first taken from the *land* without ever having been at sea.——The nation heard, one would think, enough of this *big, empty talk,* about the hardy sons of Britain from Mr. Pitt, to put them upon their guard against it. All the feeders upon the taxes talk in this strain. Their object is to keep the people hood-winked to the last moment. *They* are snug. *They* live upon the system. And, as long as they can persuade the people that there is no danger of the country being invaded and subdued, they suppose that they themselves are safe from the dangers of being called to account. If they were to acknowledge the danger from without, it is obvious, that they would be asked how this danger came; from what *cause* it arose; *whose measures* and *what system* have led to it? This would be extremely inconvenient for them. They see very clearly the tendency of such questions; and, therefore, they are always painting prospects in the most flowery dress. They affect to *laugh* at Buonaparté; but they never fail to utter *invectives* against, and, if they succeed in making the people join them in these, their work is, for the time, half done; for their hatred of *him* supplies the place of hatred of *them.* Just as if we can, with any show of reason *blame* Buonaparté for doing what he is able against us. We should have laughed at the whimpering of the French, if they had uttered *invectives* against us for taking *Valenciennes* or capturing their *Sugar Islands.* Lord Melville and his worthy associates told us, that this latter was a *true British object.* And, is it not childish in the extreme in us to utter invectives against Buonaparté, because he has laid a plan, and digested a system for the ruin of us? Just as if that were not a *true French object?*—— The *commiseration* expressed by this venal writer for the French people; his affectionate regard for them; his tender concern for the *poor children,* who are to be torn from the *bosoms* of their weeping mothers to be sent on board of ship; all this is most despicably ridiculous; it is hypocrisy of the meanest, most contemptible

kind.——But, any thing; laughing or crying, canting or cursing, any thing in the world *to draw the attention of the people from the dangers that menace them;* because, as I said before, if they see those dangers, in their real character and magnitude, their minds must necessarily be turned towards inquiries into *the cause;* and the feeders upon the taxes well know to what those inquiries must lead. The trick, however, cannot long succeed. The danger *must be seen* first or last; and, the longer it is delayed, the more fatal will be the consequences.

Holland, and the Hanse Towns.——In another part of this Number (if there be room, and, if not, in the next Number) will be found a report of a committee of the French Conservative Senate upon the subject of the annexation of Holland and the Hans Towns to France.——There is nothing new here in the plan or execution; but here are *the reasons* set forth; and, I would recommend this paper to the reader's particular attention. For, shift off the matter how we will, it must come home to us *at last;* we must look it in the face; and when that time comes, we shall be all aghast, unless we be duly prepared for it by previous reflection and discussion.——Upon this subject, too, we resort to *invective;* a specimen of which I here give from the Times of the 11th instant.——"The public was before acquainted with "the organic Senatus-consultum, as it is "called, by which Holland is to be united "with France: we now publish what may "be esteemed Buonaparté's official de"fence of that atrocious and cruel act, con"tained in a Report or Address made by "the Chairman of the Committee on the "measure to the Senate. This is an inte"resting, and, in part, an eloquent paper, "save that it wants the best principles of "eloquence; truth, and the defence of a "just cause. The annexation of Holland "is now most necessary, says the Orator, "because, from the first conquest of that "country by the Republican Armies, "" there has not passed a single day, "" when her union with the French em"" pire would not have been an invalua"" ble benefit, since she would have been "" spared a long series of privations, of "" losses and misfortunes." Can any "thing be so aggravating as this; to tell "a people that they have been so harrass"ed, tortured, and oppressed by *a tyrant,* "that the greatest of all evils, as they ap"prehend, namely, the merging their "country in the dominions of *that tyrant,* "is perfect happiness when contrasted "with the misery which he has hitherto "inflicted on them?—"The public debt "" not having received that immense in"" crease to which it has latterly arrived, "" might have been saved from ship"" wreck: enormous charges would not "" for fifteen years have weighed down "" these countries." And who has in"creased the public debt of Holland to so "enormous an extent? Who has crushed "her by such excessive charges *but Buonaparte himself,* who now urges these her "sufferings as a justification of this *last of wrongs, the loss of her name and existence* "*as a nation.*"——Now, of what avail are these invectives? And, indeed, how are they justified? Napoleon takes Holland and does what he pleases with it. I am sorry that he, or that any man, or *set of men* (for it is, in fact, the same thing), should have the power of doing what they please with any people; but, he holds Holland by the right of *conquest,* and it is quite wearisome and disgusting to hear invectives against him for appropriating Holland to his own purposes, while it is notorious that we have taken and appropriated to *our* own purposes so many Islands, and, in Asia, so many Kingdoms or Principalities. It is quite disgusting to hear this; and I am surprized when I meet with any thing of the sort in a print like the Times, the editor of which ought to know, that, at the very least, such invectives must tend to withdraw the minds of his readers from the proper view of the subject.——Besides, there are circumstances in the case of Holland, which call for a train of observation of a very different sort.——We see this Holland, which was once able to cope with England upon the sea, now reduced to the state of a French Department. We see her garrisons filled with foreign troops; her offices occupied by foreigners; we see her, in a word, a conquered country.——Now, what is the kind of reflections that this fall of Holland is calculated to awaken in the mind of a man whose observations are committed to print for the information or instruction of the public? Not, surely, the kind which this writer has indulged in; not reflections on the character of Napoleon's measures towards Holland; not unavailing lamentations over her fate, and quite as unavailing invectives against her conqueror. No: the reflections which naturally present themselves to a mind not

hurried away by present objects, to a mind that does not skim upon the surface of things; the reflections, which in the contemplation of the state of Holland, present themselves to such a mind, turn upon the *cause*, or *causes*, of what it contemplates. To utter invectives against Napoleon, upon this score, has no more sense in it than there would be in uttering invectives against a wolf, which, in consequence of the fold having been left unprotected, should be found to have mangled the flock. ——Holland has been *conquered* by France. Napoleon found her conquered to his hands. He has, as was to be expected, treated her as a conquered nation. There is, therefore, no ground for *surprize* here. We do what we like with the countries that *we* conquer. We call the conquered dominions *ours*. Whether we treat the conquered people in India better than he does the Dutch is quite another question; but it is a question in which we have no interest at all. The question for our consideration, is, what was the *cause* of Holland being conquered by France, and that, too, in spite of the power of England? *What enabled* France to make this conquest? Holland and England were formerly able to dictate to France. *What was it*, then, that produced such a change as to enable France to make a complete and absolute conquest of Holland, and to do those things towards her, which are merely the natural consequences of that conquest?——Am I told, in the old Pitt strain, "that the volcano of the French revolution, bursting forth in every direction, spread its devouring lava over the States of Holland?" Is this old bombastical rant, this contemptible fustian to be an answer to my question? If it is, let me ask why our advice was not taken, and a little Spanish and Portuguese lava let loose against the French armies? If volcanic revolution be such famous means of *conquering foreign countries*, one would think that a little of it might be of use for *home defence*.——But, this was all nonsense, or, rather, deception. It was invective intended to divert the public mind from the real facts, and from sober reasoning upon those facts. ——It was not the volcano of the French revolution; it was not lava by which Holland was conquered; it was by men and muskets and bayonets and cannons and powder and ball. But, *how did it come to pass*, that the Dutch did not use these for the defence of their country? *How came that to be*? "Oh! why...hem...ha...hem." What? I ask you how that came to be? I ask you how it came to pass; that Holland, assisted by England, was unable to defend herself against men and muskets and cannons, having so many rivers and fortresses between her and the enemy. ——"Oh! why...there were *traitors* in Holland...and...the *people were not true to themselves*."——Very well! But, *how came that to be?* How came there to be traitors in Holland? And how came these traitors to be *so powerful* as to prevent the Dutch from fighting in defence of this country? If, indeed, *the people* were not *true to themselves*, that accounts for the conquest at once, without any reference to the powers of volcanos and lava. But, here again we must push on upwards to the *cause*. What made the people *not true to themselves?* Special brutes they must be, if they were *traitors to themselves*. Pity, indeed! Talk to me not of pity for wretches who were so false in their nature as to be *false to themselves*.——You mean *to their government*. In any other way your words have no meaning. They are nonsense. Well, then, what made the people *not true to their government?* What was the *cause* of this? There is no effect without an adequate cause. What made them so act, that the French found no difficulty in conquering their country? What made them stand cool spectators of the conquest?—— This is what *we* should inquire into. This is what no one ever thinks of exposing to our view. Yet, this is the only point, in which we are at all interested. But, the truth is, that the answering of this question would not suit the views of those who are striving might and main to divert our minds from the real cause by invectives against the conqueror and by pitious descriptions of the situation of the people.

The real cause of the conquest of Holland by France, and, of course, of all the evils, to Holland and to England, which have followed that conquest, is to be found in the transactions of 1785, and the two or three subsequent years, when the people of Holland, after a long and obstinate struggle for their rights, or what they said were their rights, were reduced to submission *by the introduction of a foreign army*, and compelled, *by military force*, to yield to the will of the government.——This is the interesting point with the man who reflects. It is not the treatment, or the condition, of Holland *now*; but the *cause* which produced this state of things.——A minute history of

the transactions alluded to would occupy a volume of this size; but a statement quite sufficient for our present purpose will lie in a short compass.——At the close of the American war, in which the Dutch had suffered a great deal in their finances as well as in their colonial establishments and their maritime fame, the people, *by their Representatives in the States*, called for *inquiry*, for *punishment of delinquents*, and for *a reform of what they deemed abuses*. Their representative assemblies, generally speaking, was with them, and the Executive Government against them. Which side was right and which wrong we need not, at present, stop to inquire. Suffice it to say, that *the people* demanded what *the government* refused.——The dispute grew warm. Heats and animosities were engendered. At last, the Old King of Prussia, Frederick *the Great*, as he is called, who had *an army*, wrote a Letter to the Representatives of the people of Holland, in which he pretty broadly hinted to them that *that army* would be made use of, if they persevered.——They did persevere; and, at last (the Old King of Prussia being by this time dead) his successor sent a powerful army, such as it was impossible for the Dutch to resist; entered their territories; established camps; invested and took their fortresses; over spread the whole country; and filled with his hated Prussian Soldiers even the city of Amsterdam itself.——The commander in chief of this undertaking was the late Duke of Brunswick, who with the same army, and under the same sovereign, afterwards invaded France!——Submission followed. The people and their Representatives were compelled to yield to the force of a foreign army. The most humiliating conditions were imposed upon the assemblies. All those men who had been most active and had had most weight in opposing the government, were marked out for degradation in proportion to that weight and activity; and thus were the seeds of never dying hatred against that government sown in their bosoms.——France, who, as well as England and Prussia, had always endeavoured to preserve an interest in the councils of Holland, and who, perhaps, had, or thought she had, some reason to suspect the sincerity of the Dutch government, during the American war, favoured, as far as she was able, the popular side of the dispute; and England, on the other side, under the councils of "*the great statesman now no* "*more*," made preparations for war against France, for the purpose of preventing her from holding Prussia in check; and thus England left the latter power at liberty to do that which she finally did in Holland; that is to say, compel the people, by military force, to submit to the will of the government.——PAINE, in his "PROS-"PECTS ON THE RUBICON," a passage from which I have taken for my motto, and which he published at the time we are now speaking of, pointed out to Mr. Pitt the consequences of this measure. In that work he foretold what soon afterwards came to pass; and he most strenuously advised our "*great man*" not to pursue the same track.——One effect of the forced submission of the Dutch was, the emigration, in 1787, of many of the leading men amongst the patriots, to France, where a reluctance to reform was then brewing a revolution. Here the Dutch patriots found kindred spirits. It was combustible added to combustible; and, be it remarked in passing, the fate of the people of Holland, forced to degrading submission by *foreign troops*, served in no small degree, to put the French upon their guard, and to bring forth that body of national defenders, who have, at last, been moulded into the conquerors of Europe.——When the French revolutionary war began in 1793, it was quite natural that the *Dutch government* should be on the side of England and Prussia; and (whether right or wrong, for that is what we are not now discussing) it was not less natural, that the *Dutch people* should be on the side of those who were at war against England and Prussia, especially when the persons whose cause they espoused were also fighting against their own government, a sort of struggle in which the Dutch people had been so recently engaged.——Was it, therefore, at all surprizing, that, when the Duke of Brunswick was driven out of France the people of Holland expressed their joy in every way that they dared? Was it at all surprizing, that, when the French armies advanced, in a few months afterwards, to the invasion of Holland, they found fortresses fall at the first summons, which had formerly cost a regular siege of months? Was it surprizing that the invaders had merely a march to perform, and were, in fact, received as deliverers instead of being opposed as enemies? But, besides these reasons for not defending their country against the French,

the fact was, that the French army was accompanied by those very patriots, who, in consequence of the Prussian invasion and their subsequent degradation, had emigrated to France in 1787; who were so many conductors of the invaders; so many guides; some of whom had, indeed considerable commands in the French army; and, if my memory does not deceive me, to the summons of one of these very men the first of the Dutch fortresses was surrendered.——What a change! What complete retaliation! What sweet, but, oh! what dreadful revenge!——The historian of the Prussian invasion, and of the consequent submission of the Dutch people, observes, that, when the fine regiments of Prussian soldiers, in all their gay attire, with their streaming banners, and marching to the sound of airs of victory, entered the City of Amsterdam, the people seemed to shun the sight; and that even the women and children, naturally so full of curiosity and so fond of such sights, shut up the windows, and sat brooding over their sorrow and their shame.——Reader, do you not feel for these people? Consult your own heart, and, if it be not fashioned to degrading submission; if there be in it one drop of blood that warms to the cause of freedom, it will tell you, that the Dutch people never could forgive; and that the children of those mothers, who, on that day, shut themselves up in darkness to avoid the hateful sight of their invaders, would, when they became men and women, have the desire of revenge firmly implanted in their bosoms against those invaders, their employers and their abettors of every name and in every degree.——Thus, then, we have before us here, the *real cause* of the conquest of Holland by France. It, perhaps, does not merit the name of conquest. The people, if they did not *invite, admitted* and *received* the French. They brought in the *French* against their government, as their government had brought in the *Prussians* against them. When the government reduced the people to submission, the people, as far as they were able, left the country and went to France; and when the people got the upper hand, the government went off to Prussia and to England.——It may be said, perhaps, that the Dutch people were *wrong* in the origin of the dispute, and that the government was *right* in refusing to grant their requests of inquiries and reforms. But, at any rate, it is beyond all doubt, that a vast *majority of the people* called for such reforms, else why call in *foreign* troops? There is no getting over this. The Dutch government had a *native army;* and, if it was necessary to call in a *foreign* one, it is proof complete that the *nation* was nearly unanimous against the government. There may, indeed, be persons, ready to declare, that the *people* of any country have no right, upon any occasion, to have any thing to say in the measures of their government, supposing every man of them to be of the same mind, and suppose the acts of the government to be ever so tyrannical. To such persons I have nothing to say; but, I may beg them, for their own sakes, not to let us hear from them any charges against the tyranny of Buonaparté; for, if the people under his sway have *no right to complain of any thing,* who has a right to complain for them?——This question, however, as to who was *right* and who *wrong,* in the original dispute between the government and the people of Holland, is of no sort of consequence as to the point now before us. The *cause* of the conquest of Holland by France was the previous invasion of Holland by the Prussian army; and. those, who now utter their invectives against Buonaparté because he holds Holland as a province of France, are in a sad dilemma; for, if they acknowledge, that the people of Holland were *right* in their struggle against their old government, then I ask them what Buonaparté has done, or what he possibly can do, more unjust or more cruel than what that old government was guilty of? And, if they, on the other hand, say, that the people were *wrong;* that it was for no good reason that they were hostile to their government, and that their receiving of the French with open arms arose from their own baseness, cowardice, disregard of country, and abominable and universal corruption, then I ask them, if it be possible to treat such a people too harshly, if it be possible to squeeze them or lash them too hard, and if all compassion for such a people be not, to say the best of it, a contemptible weakness.——Let them choose.——No, thank ye, they would rather not choose. They would, if it is the same to us, rather keep the dispute between the Dutch people and their government about *peculations* and *inquiries* and *reforms* quite out of sight and out of hearing. They would rather confine themselves to the *present* sufferings of Holland, as painted by themselves, and take it for

granted that the good old government had nothing at all to do in producing them; and they would, besides, much rather that we should never turn our minds towards any "*wild speculations*" as to what the Dutch people might have possibly endured under a government protected by a Prussian army, and which our writers would, probably, not have considered as any military despotism at all.——No. It suits them best to amuse us; to draw our minds away from all views of the real cause of the conquest of Holland and of the miseries they now paint to us as existing in that country; to divert our attention from this by invectives against Buonaparte, intended also to furnish the grounds of an inference as to *the consequences of his conquering us*, and thus to *scare* us and *terrify* us into a resistance of his attempts against *our* country.——Shallow men! How little must they have profited from the experience of nations! How little must they know of human nature!——God forbid that we should stand in heed of *scaring* and *terrifying* into efforts for the defence of our country; for, if ever we do, the country will, assuredly, not be defended.——When men feel *terror*, the thing uppermost in their mind is, how they shall *propitiate* him who is the cause of that terror, and not how they shall, by open hostility, resist him. ——For the preservation of their rights, that they enjoy, any people will fight. But, the Dutch have shewn us, that when a people are deprived of what they deem to be their rights, they will not fight merely to avoid the *chance* of being *still worse off*, still *more* degraded and insulted; and, notwithstanding all that we have heard about the present state of Holland; notwithstanding all that we have heard of the misery of the people (and it is likely to be great enough) I must actually *know* the fact to believe, that those who shut up their windows to avoid the hateful sight of the Prussian soldiers, would, even now, if they had their free choice, change their new for their old government.——I heard a sentiment from General Craufurd, in one of his speeches in parliament, in 1803, purporting, that he would rather submit to the most fell tyranny that ever was conceived of *native* growth, that he would rather submit to an English Robespierre, than to the mildest sway in the world under a foreign conqueror.——The sentiment was, I dare say, sincere; but, it was not the sentiment of human nature, as all experience proves, amongst individuals as well as amongst nations. Brothers will not submit to brothers so readily as they will to other persons; and who can want particular instances to convince him, that persons contending for an object of any sort till they become thoroughly embittered towards each other, prefer giving the whole to a third party, rather than forego the pleasure of obtaining vengeance upon their adversary in the contest.——It is precisely the same with nations, as the history of the conquests of France have clearly proved; and, when we are drawing pictures of the miseries of the people whose countries have been conquered by France, we should not forget to place on the other side, the ample revenge which they have obtained upon their former rulers.——Now, though it may be too much, still I will hope, that these remarks and reflections, may go some little way towards inducing our writers, when they are upon the subject of French conquests, to indulge less in invective against Buonaparté, who is merely the agent, and dwell more upon the *cause*, or causes, of the events and consequences of which they are exhibiting pictures.

WM. COBBETT.

State Prison, Newgate,
Friday, 11th Jan. 1811.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

HOLLAND.——*Proceedings of the Dutch Ministry with the English Government, relative to the preserving of the independance of Holland by the means of a Peace with France.*—1810.—*From No. I. to No. IV.*

No. II.—*Instructions given by the Dutch Ministry to M. Labouchere, 1st Feb.* 1810.

(Concluded from p. 64.)

He will add, that, in case either a relaxation or a change of the above system shall be adopted, we may flatter ourselves, that besides the non-occupation of Holland, the war, as long as it may continue, will assume a new aspect, and much less disastrous than it has done for these three

years; and that there will result a little more probability of an accommodation, inasmuch as then the Emperor of the French will have no motive to maintain the Decrees of Berlin and of Milan, which his Imperial Majesty has only adopted in consequence of the British Orders in Council of Nov. 1807.—If, however, the English Government, after having listened to these hints, raises difficulties about giving any definitive explanation, before being positively informed of the intentions of the French Government on the subject; it will be his duty to demand, that the English Government declare, whether it chooses to make its resolution to arrive at negociations for peace, or at least to make a change in the said Orders in Council depend on the above hints, and in particular on the evacuation of Holland by the French troops, and the re-establishment of every thing on the same footing as before the last invasion of Zealand by the English, adding such other conditions as the said Government may think it its duty to insist upon before, according to the proposed measures, for the purpose of having sure *data* before making known to it the intentions of the French government. —Whatever may be the answer of the English Government to his representations, provided it do not exclude all hope of attaining the object proposed, and that circumstances permit him, he will provisionally prolong his stay in London; and in the mean time he will transmit to the undersigned, as speedily as possible, and by the safest channel, a detailed recital of all his proceedings, of the answers which are made to him, and of every thing that concerns his mission.—However, if, after having received an answer to the overtures made by him, he may find it necessary for the success of the cause, to convey it himself to the knowledge of his Majesty, he shall be at liberty to do so; but in that case, even though his Majesty may still be at Paris, he shall take his journey by way of Holland, and shall by no means repair to France directly from England.—In fine, the strictest secrecy is recommended to him in this whole affair, as well as the greatest prudence and discretion in the execution of the commission entrusted to him.

VANDER HEIM.—J. H. MOLLERUS.

No. III.—*Translation of a Note of a Verbal Communication from Marquis Wellesley to M. Labouchere, 12th February,* 1810.

The unfortunate situation of Holland has long excited sentiments of compassion in this country, which sentiments naturally increase with every aggravation of the misfortunes to which she is subject: but Holland has no right to expect that this country will sacrifice her interests and her honour.—The nature of the communication received from M. Labouchere will hardly admit of the slightest observation respecting a general peace. It even does not call upon England to repeat those sentiments which her Government has so often expressed on this subject. It may, however, be remarked, that the French Government has not expressed the slightest symptom of a disposition to make peace, or to abate in the smallest degree those pretensions which have hitherto rendered ineffectual the inclination of the English Government to put an end to the war.—The same observation is applicable to the war which the French Government carries on against trade, a war in which it has been the aggressor, and which it maintains with unceasing rancour. M. Labouchere is mistaken in the note delivered by him, when he asserts, that the English Orders in Council have given rise to the French Decrees against neutral navigation. The Orders in Council were not the motives, but the consequence of the French decrees. The French decrees are still in full force; there have been no measures taken for repealing them. It is not reasonable to expect, that we shall in the smallest degree relax the personal measures of protection which our safety requires, and which may defend us from the enemy's attacks, because he suffers in consequence of the measures he has adopted, and which he shews no inclination to depart from.

No. IV.—*Report of Proceedings by M. Labouchere,—London, 12th February,* 1810.

The undersigned having received from their Excellencies orders to proceed to England with written instructions, prescribing the means that he was to pursue to communicate to the English Government the situation of Holland, and to impart to it the means the most probable of averting the fate which menaced that country, proceeded to the Brill. He arrived there on the 2d of February, sailed from thence on the following day, and landed at Yarmouth on the 5th, in the evening, from whence he proceeded for London, where he arrived on the after-

noon of the 6th. On the morning of the 7th, he requested an audience of marquis Wellesley, Minister of the Foreign Department, which was given him at half-past five the same evening. After having communicated to his Excellency the substance of his instructions, and fully discussed the main point, he took his leave of this Minister, with an assurance on the part of the latter, that he would lay his communications before the council, and acquaint him with their determination.—Having received no message from his Excellency until the 11th, the Undersigned wrote a few lines to his Excellency, requesting him to give him some idea of the disposition of the English Government. He received in answer an invitation for nine the same evening, when he received the unsigned official communication, a Copy of which is annexed.—In this new conference a conversation took place respecting the probability, under any circumstances, that these overtures, whatever the decision of the English Government might be, would produce any sentiments of approximation on the part of France; and above all the inconsistency on the part of England, to admit the principle, that having once resolved on reprisals, as the Minister called them, the latter should of necessity cease with the causes that produced them.—It appears that the English Ministry attach very great weight and consequence to these same Orders in Council, which were the immediate object of the proceeding of the Government of Holland, and which, whether France agreed or not, the English Administration were persuaded afforded the most effectual means of enfeebling the resources of France. In fact these measures appeared to form the principal grounds of the system upon which the Government rested their principles and conduct, and it seemed that so long as the war lasted, it was only from a change of Ministers, that other measures and views might be expected.—The Minister also considered that, while, on one side, it was extremely uncertain whether any declaration or concession on his part would produce any alteration for the better, it would, on the other, be impossible to depend on their permanency; and that, in all cases, every proceeding which appeared incompatible with his honour and dignity, would on that very account be rejected, although it should appear to square with his interest.—The undersigned endeavoured to convince the Minister, that in this particular instance, the general interest, well understood, and the lasting prosperity of every commercial state, imperiously required, that the crisis in which Holland was, should not be looked at with indifference; on the contrary, that they should co-operate to divert the storm. He even confined himself only to the demand of a conditional declaration; but the result which he transmits is the only one he could obtain. His general observation, and the information he was able to obtain, lead to the following conclusions:—That the main question of peace or war engages little of the public attention; that they are reconciled by habit to the continuance of the war, and that its consequences, far from being felt at present, are rather favourable to private interest.—That the system of commercial restrictions its inherent in the present Ministry, and for the same reason is condemned by the Opposition; that it is therefore likely that for the present these restrictions will be enforced, in a greater or lesser degree, as well against America as other Powers.—That the English Ministry look upon a firm adherence to this system as the most effectual means of seriously affecting the resources of France, and of opposing her system of influence on the Continent; and that all attempts on the part of hostile nations to make them think otherwise, will only produce a contrary effect.—That it must not, however, be inferred, that a settled resolution has been taken to reject all proposals for peace; that probably they imagine it is the means of more speedily inducing France to seriously consider of some mode of approximation; that, probably, if the latter shewed any inclination of this kind, they would afford many facilities; but rather than this should rest upon a conviction, that at this instant the French Government had no serious thoughts of peace which could be accommodated to the principles avowed by the English Government, and that she is solely occupied in prosecuting her plans upon Spain and Portugal, which disposition would always be a serious obstacle to the success of any negotiations which might be commenced.—That under all the considerations of the time, those which relate to Holland, were only of a secondary and very remote interest; and that the conviction of the impossibility that any Convention respecting that country could ever, under the influence of France, offer any chance of security to England, unless it

was connected with a general arrangement, has blunted all that feeling which Holland would otherwise have inspired; so far, indeed, as not to draw any attention to the very important motives, which should induce them to consider this question separately and under an immediate point of view.—The undersigned, perceiving in this state of things no chance for success in any ulterior proceedings which the Dutch Government might be disposed to adopt, unless such proceedings were specially authorised by France, and that, therefore, with respect to that country, its fate entirely depends upon the question of general peace, he thinks that, conformably with his instructions, he ought no longer to uselessly prolong his residence in this country.—He, therefore, proposes to embark in a few days, and on his arrival he will have the honour to present himself to their Excellencies, the Ministers, and give them verbally a further and detailed account of every thing relating to the mission he was sent upon, and which he endeavoured to fulfil with all the zeal and anxiety with which the importance of the subject must necessarily have inspired him. He requests, in the mean time, that your Excellencies will receive th assurance of his respect. LABOUCHERE.

FRANCE AND AMERICA.——*Letter from the Grand Judge to the Counsellor of State President of the Council of Prizes, relative to the revocation of the Berlin and Milan Decrees, in reference to American commerce.——Paris, 25th Dec.* 1810.

Mr. President,—In conformity to the orders of his Majesty the Emperor and King, the Minister for foreign affairs, on the 5th of August, addressed a note to the Plenipotentiary of the United States of America, containing the following passage;—I am authorized to declare to you, Sir, that the decrees of Berlin and Milan are revoked, and that, from the 1st of November, they will cease to be in force; it being understood that in consequence of this declaration, the English shall revoke their orders in Council, and renounce the new principles of blockade which they have attempted to establish; or that the United States, conformably to the Act which you have just communicated, shall cause their rights to be respected by the English.—In consequence of the communication of this note, the President of the United States, on the 2d of November, published a proclamation, announcing the revocation of the Berlin and Milan decrees; and declared that, in consequence, all the restrictions imposed by the Act of May 1, should cease with respect to France and her dependencies: the department of the Treasury, on the same day, addressed a circular to the several Custom-house Agents in America, enjoining them to admit French armed vessels into the ports and waters of the United States; and directing them from the 2d of February next, to apply the law prohibiting every commercial relation to English ships of every kind, and merchandize proceeding from the soil, industry and commerce of England, if at the above date the revocation of the British orders in Council, and every Act militating against the neutrality of the United States, should not have been announced by the Treasury department.—In consequence of this engagement on the part of the Government of the United States, to cause its rights to be respected, his Majesty orders, that all causes pending in the Council of Prizes, on account of captures of American vessels, made from the date of November 1, and those which shall be thereafter made, shall not be judged according to the principles of the Berlin and Milan decrees; but that they shall remain in sequestration: the vessels taken or detained before being alone under sequestration, and the rights of their proprietors being reserved till the 2d of February next, the epoch when, the United States having reached the term of their engagement to cause their rights to be respected, the said prizes would be declared null by the Council, and the American vessels, along with their cargoes, restored to their proprietors.—

(Signed) The Duke of MASSA.

LONDON.—*Resolution of the Common Council, 8th Jan.* 1811.

SMITH, MAYOR.—*At a Common Council, holden in the Chamber of the Guildhall of the City of London, on Tuesday the 8th day of January,* 1811.

Resolved,—That while we view with the deepest sorrow the declared incapacity of his Majesty, to discharge the duties of the Regal Office, we cannot but regard with the liveliest fears and alarm the means that have been proposed to provide for the exercise of the functions of Royalty.—That we deem it an indispensible duty to our Sovereign and our Country, to declare in

this solemn manner our sentiments upon a matter so vitally affecting the stability and dignity of the Throne, and the rights and liberties of the people.—That the prerogatives of the Crown have been given in trust, and are in fact held for the benefit of the people.—That these prerogatives could not have been so given unless necessary for the administration of the Magistracy of Royalty.—That they must be no less necesary to a Regent, expressly appointed to exercise the functions of that Magistracy.—That the avowed design of vesting the Regency in his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, with restrictions and limitations, would, if carried into effect, necessarily destroy the equipoise which ought to exist between the three branches, and, by violating the integrity of the Constitution, essentially impair the interests and liberties of the people.—That holding as we do, "That it is an undoubted and fundamental principle of the Constitution that the powers and prerogatives of the Crown, are vested there as a trust for the benefit of the people, and that in that character only they are sacred;" holding most firmly this opinion, in the expression of which we repeat the ever-memorable and patriotic declaration of his Royal Highness himself, we cannot form to our minds any arguments for abridging those powers and prerogatives in the hands of his Royal Highness which would not justify and call for an entire and perpetual resumption on the part of the people.—That besides the constitutional objections just stated, the proposed abridgment appears to us as a similar proposition did to his Royal Highness on a former melancholy occasion, to contain "a project for dividing the Royal Family from each other; for separating the Crown from the State; for allotting to the Prince all the insidious duties of Government, without the means of softening them to the Public by any act of grace, favour, and benignity—a project for producing weakness, disorder, and insecurity, in every branch of the Administration of Affairs;" and, in short, for reducing his Royal Highness to the sad and disgraceful alternative of submitting to the dictates of men, whose implacable hostility to public opinion, exemplified in their open contempt of the right of petitioning, is not less notorious than their hostility to himself, or of resorting to the use of that baneful influence, the effects of which we feel in the enormous addition to our burthens; in the diminution of our liberties; in the impunity with which the people have been insulted; and which influence, while it is an object of just and deep abhorrence to us, cannot be otherwise to the noble and exalted mind of his Royal Highness.—That, anxious as we must at all times be for the full and efficient correction of abuses, and for a fair and practical Reform in the Representation of the People in Parliament, we deem ourselves equally bound to consider every attempt to impair and abridge the powers and prerogatives of the Crown, as a blow aimed at the very existence of the Constitution.—That Addresses and Petitions be thereupon presented to the House of Lords and to the House of Commons, humbly and earnestly entreating, that in such Bill or Bills as may be brought in for supplying the present melancholy incapacity of the Sovereign, his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales may be invested with all the Prerogatives of the Royal Office, whether they relate to the exercise of substantial power, or to the genuine lustre of the King of a free People.—That by a full and efficient provision for the incapacity of the King, which can alone restore the Sovereign to the Constitution, can that Constitution be reinstated, the suspension of which, at all times highly dangerous and alarming, is at this moment rendered infinitely more perilous by the flagrant arrogance, and notorious imbecility, of men, who have the presumption to call themselves the Ministers of the Crown—by the overwhelming weight of taxation—and by a war, the declared object of which, on the part of an inveterate enemy, is not alone the extinction of our commerce and best interests, but the total subversion of our rights, liberties, and independence, as a nation.—That the command over his Majesty's Seals, assumed and exercised in the late instance, by ordering an issue of treasure from his Majesty's Exchequer, exercised by the two Houses, appears to be subversive of the independence, and dangerous to the existence of the royal part of our Government; and that, to prevent the necessity of having again recourse to such perilous expedients, and thereby confirming and extending still further the alarming precedent, it is the opinion of this Court, that in the present suspension of the exercise of the Royal authority, the most constitutional course of proceeding would be, to imitate the glorious example of our ancestors, in the year 1688, by the two Houses of Lords

and Commons addressing his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to take upon himself the civil, military, and financial administration of the Government, until the proposed Regency Bill shall have acquired the form and authority of an Act of Parliament. WOODTHORPE.

LONDON.—*Resolutions of the Livery, 9th Jan.* 1811.

SMITH, MAYOR.—*In a Meeting or Assembly of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Liverymen of the several Companies of the City of London, in Common Hall assembled, at the Guildhall of the said City, on Wednesday, the 9th day of January,* 1811.

Resolved unanimously, That the end and design of all Government is, or ought to be, the good of the people—that the Prerogatives of the Crown are vested in the King, as a sacred trust for their benefit.—2. Resolved unanimously, That it is, therefore, equally their duty to guard, by every Constitutional means, against all encroachments and innovations upon the just and necessary Powers and Prerogatives of the Crown, as to oppose those encroachments and innovations which have so notoriously been made upon the Representative Branch of our Constitution.—3. Resolved unanimously, That, anxious as we are, to remove from the Government every species of unjust influence, equally injurious to King and People, and to promote a system of general reform, especially in that Branch of the Legislature, the corrupt state of which has been the great source of all our national calamities, the Commons House of Parliament; we, nevertheless, feel equally anxious to maintain the real splendour and dignity of the Crown, and all its just and necessary Powers and Prerogatives.—4. Resolved unanimously, That, deeply lamenting the afflicting incapacity of our most gracious Sovereign, by which the functions of the Executive Government have been suspended, we derive a cheering consolation in contemplating the many amiable qualities of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, and the attachment he has invariably evinced for the Rights and Liberties of the People, affording the Nation the best grounds of confidence of seeing the Royal Functions wisely and ably exercised.—5. That, impressed with these considerations, we cannot but view all attempts to abridge the Royal Authority, and impose Restrictions upon the Regent in the person of his Royal Highness, as highly dangerous and unconstitutional, establishing a new Estate in the realm, to controul and counteract the Executive Government, and tending to render it feeble and inefficient, at a time when the state of the nation peculiarly requires its full energies.—6. Resolved, That we, therefore, view with concern and indignation the attempts which are made to degrade the Kingly Office, and to render it dependent upon those Ministers, who have so long abused the confidence of the Sovereign, who have uniformly shewn a marked contempt for public opinion, whose whole career has been a series of incapacity, misconduct, and violation of the Constitution: who have added to the catalogue of their crimes by usurping the Royal Authority, and who, not content with having engrossed patronage and emolument, and secured to themselves and adherents a profusion of pensions and sinecures, are now endeavouring to retain an unconstitutional power and influence, which would enable them to embarrass and impede the Executive Government in all its operations, and render it subject to their controul.—7. Resolved unanimously, That the command over his Majesty's Seals, assumed and exercised by the two Houses of Parliament in the late instance of ordering an issue of treasure from his Majesty's Exchequer, appears to us subversive of the independence, and dangerous to the existence of the regal part of our Government, and that to prevent the necessity of having again recourse to such perilous expedients, and of thereby confirming and extending still further this alarming precedent, it is the opinion of this Meeting that in the present suspension of the exercise of the Royal Authority, the most constitutional mode of proceeding would be to imitate the glorious example of our ancestors in 1688, by the two Houses of Parliament addressing his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to take upon himself the civil, military, and financial Administrations of the Government.—8. Resolved unanimously, That this Common Hall do petition the Right Honourable the House of Lords, and the Hon. the House of Commons, agreeably to the foregoing Resolutions.—[The Drafts of the Petitions being read, were unanimously agreed to.]—9. Resolved unanimously, That the said Petition be signed by the Lord Mayor, four Aldermen, and ten Liverymen.—10. Resolved unanimously, That the Sheriffs do wait upon, and request some Lord in Par-

liament to present the said Petition to the Right Hon. the House of Lords.—11. Resolved unanimously, That Mr. Alderman Combe, one of the Representatives of this City in Parliament, be requested to present the said Petition to the Hon. the House of Commons.—12. Resolved unanimously, That the Representatives of this City in Parliament, be instructed to support the said Petition in the House of Commons, and to oppose all attempts to abridge and fetter the Regent with restrictions.—13. Resolved unanimously, That the Thanks of this Common Hall be given to Thomas Smith, Esq. Alderman, our late worthy Chief Magistrate, for his very able, upright, and independent conduct, during the time the ardent and important duties of that Office were confided to him, wherein he evinced the most kind and friendly attention to his fellow citizens, a dignified and unostentatious hospitality, a strict impartiality on all occasions, and a constant regard for the rights, liberties, and franchises of this City.—14. Resolved unanimously, That the Thanks of this Common Hall be given to Robert Waithman, Esq. who moved, and Samuel Favell, Esq. who seconded the several Resolutions which have been agreed to this day.—15. Resolved unanimously, That the Thanks of this Common Hall be given to the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, for his readiness in calling this Meeting, and his impartial conduct in the Chair this day.

FRANCE.—*Report to the Senate by the Counsellor of State, Count Caffarelli, relative to a Marine Conscription, 15th December*, 1810.

SENATORS; We are commissioned by his Majesty to present to you the projet of a *Senatus Consultum*, in which you will take pleasure in remarking the character of public utility, of energy, and of foresight, which belongs to the vast conceptions of his Majesty.—The empire enjoys the most profound peace; the nations which surround it, deeply convinced that the surest pledge of their repose will constantly be found in their alliance with the French people, every day draw closer the ties which unite them to it, and appear to constitute only one and the same great family, by their sentiments towards the august chief of France.—And if the horrors of war still desolate the extremities of Europe, if the misled portion of a neighbouring nation, agitated by factions, still mistake its true interests, you know, Gentlemen, that the cause must be sought for in the perfidious machinations of that Government, the enemy of Europe, which, repelled and menaced on all sides, has no longer any thing but a single corner, where it is still able to fan the flame of discord and of civil dissentions.—England blockades the ports of Europe; she parades upon the seas her ships, every where the objects of reprobation; she seeks openings for the produce of her manufactures, piled up in the warehouses of her dismayed inhabitants. Her criminal system is recognized; her snares have lost their effect; the nations at last know how to appreciate both her fatal alliance and her disastrous services.—Amidst the calm which his Majesty has re-established in the empire and in Europe, he is occupied with the amelioration of his marine; and his genius suggests to him efficacious means for opposing to his enemies upon the seas, numerous fleets, animated, like his veteran and formidable phalanxes, with a desire at last to conquer an universal peace. The will of his Majesty shall be always that of destiny; for power and genius never will in vain.—Already, Gentlemen, at the voice of his Majesty, maritime establishments are created; our coasts the extent of which is augmented, are every where defended by courage and fortified by art; the arsenals are provided with necessary materials! ships are rising in our ports, and our fleets will one day try their strength with those of the enemy, and reign upon the seas.—But to arm these vessels, to equip them, his Majesty has felt that he stood in need of seamen. Those who at present man his squadrons, would not be sufficient for the greatness of his plans; new means are necessary for new views.—Commerce and the fisheries, which were wont to furnish seamen for the State, are at present too inconsiderable, and a new system must be forthwith resorted to for supplying the wants of the country.—At the voice of his Majesty there issues from the maritime departments, a crowd of young men, who, being at once sailors and soldiers, will shew themselves worthy rivals of those who have raised so high the glory of the arms of the Empire.—We shall now unfold to you, Gentlemen, the basis of that Institution, from which his Majesty expects the most advantageous results.—The Emperor has perceived that the mode of conscription can alone procure for the marine those re-

sources in men which it requires; but he has felt that this mode could not be extended through the whole of our territory, for the inclinations of men are generally the fruit of their habits. Thus, the inhabitant of the towns of the interior never sees the sea or seamen; a stranger to that element, to that mode of life, he forms to himself only a monstrous idea of it: he prefers the land-service, for which the innumerable victories of our armies have already excited his early enthusiasm.—The inhabitant of the coast, on the contrary, from his earliest years is hearing the sea-service talked of; around him every thing presents the image of it; while yet a child he gambols in that element, upon which he will one day brave the storm and the battle. Born on coasts adjacent to those of the enemy, he feels the necessity of defending them, because he has to protect his family and his property. He is actuated more than any other with the feeling of resistance to aggression; he is at once a man and a citizen.—It is from the maritime departments, then, that the marine must be recruited; it is from the line of coasts that must be made the selection of men destined to serve on the sea.—But the profession of the seaman is liable to so many vicissitudes and dangers, that it is necessary to commence it from the most tender age, when the organs are docile, the body flexible, and habits are contracted without difficulty. It is necessary that the mariner should be early accustomed to peril, and learn to face it with a smile.—Young sailors shall therefore be selected at the age of from 13 to 16; if younger, the State would wait too long before it enjoyed their services; if older, the physical constitution of man could only be bent with difficulty to all the toils of seamanship.—Here it is our duty to communicate one of those fine thoughts of the Emperor—that of initiating from the present moment, these young conscripts, in the career which they are destined to run.—His Majesty has formed crews for ships, and crews for flotillas. The former, composed of experienced mariners, will man the ships; for the latter, his Majesty is fitting out in his ports small vessels, commanded by skilful officers; on board which will be exercised in manœuvres, in steering, in the use of arms, those young seamen, whom the Senatus Consultum, which we present, summons to the honour of serving their country.—Doubtless, Gentlemen, the experience which they will acquire in the navigation of the coasts and in the roads, will not be so great as that communicated by distant expeditions; but they will thus be familiarised with their state, they will see and will vanquish its difficulties; they will acquire a taste for it, even in this way, that it will present to them obstacles which they will have to surmount; and in a few years they will be fit to serve in a more useful manner on board the ships of his Majesty.—At the same time that his Majesty projected means for training to himself seamen, he has ordered the necessary measures for forming the officers who are to command them. Every thing is connected in his conceptions; their whole always bears the impression of the genius who presides over the prosperity of the Empire.

Project of the Senatus Consultum.

Art. I. The coast-districts of the thirty departments hereafter named shall cease to contribute to the conscription for the land army, and shall be reserved for the conscription for the sea-service.

II. The following are the thirty departments in which the maritime districts shall be reserved:—Maritime Alps, Appennines, Aude, Mouths of the Rhone, Calvados, Lower Charente, Coasts of the North, Dyle, the Scheldt, Finisterre, Gard, Genoa, Gironde, Herault, Ile and Vilaine, Landes, Lower Loire, Lys, Manche, Montenoate, Morbiban, Two Nethers, Nord, Par de Calais, Lower Pyrennees, Eastern Pyrennees, Lower Seine, Somme, Var, Vendee.—III. Ten thousand conscripts of each of the classes of 1813, 1814, 1815, and 1816, shall be immediately placed at the disposal of the Minister of Marine. IV. The present Senatus Consultum shall be transmitted in a message to his Majesty the Emperor and King.

FRANCE.—*Address of the Conservative Senate to the Emperor, in answer to his Message, of the 10th of Dec. 1810, relative to the Marine and Military conscription.*

The Conservative Senate, assembled in the number of members prescribed by Article XC of the Act of the Constitution of 1799, having taken into its consideration the Message of his Majesty the Emperor and King of the 10th of December, and the Report of their Special Commission thereon, decrees that the following Address be presented to his Majesty by the

President and Secretaries;—Sire,—The depth and extent of your plans, the candour and generosity of your policy, and your constant anxiety for the prosperity of your subjects, have never been manifested more strongly than in your Imperial and Royal Majesty's message to the Senate.—The Orders of the British Council have not only rent in pieces the public law of Europe, but have also violated those natural laws, which are as old and as eternal as the globe. Nature herself has placed the seas beyond the dominion of man. He may pass over, but he cannot maintain possession of them; and to affect to rule an element which surrounds the habitable globe on every side, is nothing less than a daring attempt to hold the old and the new world in captivity, and to fix a disgraceful mark of slavery on all mankind.—Such is the sacrilegious attempt against which your Majesty unites all the efforts in your power. Justly indignant Europe applauds and seconds you.—Already does this restless and turbulent Government, which had excited five successive coalitions against France, destroyed in a moment by your victorious arms, see all the nations of the Continent leagued against her, and her vessels repelled from every port. It can no longer keep up its internal circulation but by a fictitious medium, or its foreign trade but by smuggling. The only allies which it has on earth are fanaticism and sedition.—Persevere, Sire, in this sacred war, undertaken for the honour of the French name and the independence of nations. The day on which this war ends will be the era of the peace of the world.—The measures proposed by your Majesty will accelerate that period; since your only enemies are to be found on the ocean, it is necessary for you to render yourself master of all the ports by which the ocean has communication with the interior provinces of your empire.—In the midst of these military and political operations, your benevolent solicitude has inspired you with the idea of reviving that northern trade, which has been for so long a time the fruitful source of encouragement and prosperity to French industry. The productions of the South of the Empire will be conveyed by safe and easy routes into the ports of the Baltic, and the knots of the treaty of Tilsit will be drawn closer by this new tie of nations.—The conscripts of 1811, under the impulse of honour, of affection, and of gratitude, will, with a proud satisfaction, range themselves around your triumphant eagles, and esteem themselves honoured in paying the glorious tribute which every Frenchman owes to his Sovereign and his country.—It is evident that your Majesty's paternal heart feels regret in demanding this tribute, but you have wherewith to console yourself in the reflection that the prosperous situation of your finances will allow you not to require any sacrifices from your people. —The Senate, Sire, in offering you the homage of their devotedness, love and unshaken fidelity, only express to you sentiments which are felt by all your subjects.

FRANCE.—*Report of a Committee in the Conservative Senate upon the subject of the annexation of Holland and the Hans Towns to France.*—13*th Dec.* 1810.

Senators,—The Committee to whom you referred the projet of a *Senatus Consultum*, relative to the annexation of Holland and the Hans Towns to the French territory, have charged me to lay before you the motives which call for the adoption of measures of so great an interest.—During the course of the labours of the Committee, one leading idea principally impressed our minds: we have not ceased to feel astonished, that events commanded by so many different circumstances, had been so long deferred.—In reality, Senators, from the period when our victorious armies snatched Holland from the threefold oppression of the coalesced powers, she lost that existence which Frederick had designated with so much energy and truth; she ceased to be a bark, by turns in tow of the two great ships of war; France and England; her crew, to continue the comparison, were turned over to our ship; Brabant formed a part of our territory, and Holland was irrecoverably conquered. There has not passed, since, a single day when her union with the French empire would not have been a benefit; and we say it with confidence, an invaluable benefit, since she would have been spared a long series of privations, of losses, and of misfortunes.

(To be continued.)

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

THE REGENCY.——In another part of this Number it will be seen, that a Deputation from the Two Houses have waited on the Prince of Wales and the Queen, and presented to them the RESOLUTIONS finally agreed to in the House, relative to the Regency. To the communication, thus made, there is the answer of His Royal Highness, accepting (with a declaration of adherence to his principles formerly expressed) of the office of Regent, as limited by those resolutions. And, from the Queen, there is an answer, accepting of the portion of power (for power it is) allotted to her. Both are inserted. ——Upon these answers I should have made no remark at all, had there not appeared, on the part of the MEAN, MERCENARY and MALIGNANT men an article, in the COURIER news-paper of the 14th instant, which calls for animadversion.——The object of this article manifestly is to add, if possible to the embarrassments, which his Royal Highness will have to encounter. It is as full of poison as the asp-like author could make it.—— It professes to *lament* the bad advice which the Prince has received; it calls the answer an ungracious answer; and it resorts to the meanest of the sophistry and quirkery, in use amongst the meanest of lawyers, in order to give a false colour to the conduct of the Prince.——But, I must insert the whole article; for, it is right, that the world should see, and that we should have upon record, the means that these MEAN men have resorted to, and are making use of upon this occasion; these MEAN men, who take to themselves the exclusive appellation of "*King's friends*," who brand us with the names of *Jacobins* and *Levellers*, and who would now tear the kingly office to atoms, because they suppose (and, I hope, truly,) that it will not be exercised for their private advantage. ——When the reader has gone through this article with attention, he will indulge me while I offer a few remarks upon it. ——"His Royal Highness, or rather perhaps, his advisers, say, "conscious that "every feeling of my heart would have "prompted me, from dutiful affection to "my beloved Father and Sovereign to "have shewn all the reverential delicacy towards him inculcated in these "Resolutions, I cannot refrain from expressing my regret that I should not "have been allowed the opportunity of "manifesting to his afflicted and loyal "subjects that such would have been my "conduct." Were his Royal Highness so situated as to have advisers officially responsible for his conduct, I would speak of this passage in very strong terms of disapprobation, considering it as their language. As it is, I shall only *lament* he should have any persons about him, capable of advising the adoption of such sentiments, the meaning of which is, that his Royal Highness should be granted unlimited authority on the faith of his personal abilities and virtues, rather than *of law and restraint, the unerring marks, the indispensible props of a free state.* All arguments which bring the conduct of the Government home to the Prince in person, holding him *personally forward* as the prime mover of public measures, seem to me inconsistent with the principles of our Constitution.—— But the censure of the provisions made by Parliament, while obedience is yielded to the main decision, is the most to be lamented. *The King has uniformly bowed to the wishes of Parliament, never in language reproving their conduct*; and this has been the *secret* of the strength of his Government. My the Burdett rabble seem to have thought that the King acted improperly in daring to *convey an indirect censure* of the designs of the Corporation of London. A year ago, when the City addressed the Throne respecting the Walcheren Expedition, and the King answered, that *he confided in the wisdom of his Parliament*, the streets rung with invective. But now the Prince may rebuke the united Houses of Parliament, solemnly delegated before his person, in very broad terms, without animadversion. To the mob any thing *lowering the Parliament*, from whatever quarter it comes, seems to be agreeable.——The Prince says he still retains every opi-

"nion expressed by him on a similar former occasion, meaning the Regency of 1789. This was sufficiently understood; his answer to Mr. Perceval, published in substance by all the Newspapers, had avowed it; and I lament that the Prince should have shewn so much tenacity, *so eager a desire to re-assert his opinions,* they being hostile to those of the authorities he was addressing, and such a re-assertion being wholly unnecessary.——Neither do I approve of the passage wherein he says he will "*use all the means left to him*" to merit the approbation of Parliament and the People by his government, a passage containing a notion that his power is greatly curtailed, which I deny. He is to have the full powers of the executive authority, the means of political influence being, in a small degree only, withheld from him for a short time.—In his answer to the Deputation from Parliament, His Royal Highness was under no necessity to say more, in substance, than that he would accept the trust, "notwithstanding any opinions respecting the conditions." This passage would have been a sufficient reservation. The detailed and strong manner in which his Royal Highness's sentiments, or rather those of his advisers, is expressed, in opposition to the solemn decisions of the two Houses of Parliament, gives ground *for much uneasiness,* if not of positive *alarm.* His was *not a gracious* answer."——What! *uneasiness* and *alarm?* Amongst *whom?* Amongst what description of persons does this give ground for uneasiness and alarm? Not amongst those, who really love the country; not amongst those who wish to support the Crown because they looked upon it as held in trust for the nation; not amongst those who have no hand in contracts and jobs, and who never desire to share in fleecing the people; not amongst those who have had no hand in peculations and seat-sellings and the other abominable corruptions that have, from time to time, been brought to light. No: to such persons the passage of the answer here complained of, gives grounds for no "*uneasiness,*" no "*alarm.*"——To say the truth, I, after the best consideration I was able to give this answer of His Royal Highness, thought it deficient *in strength of expression as to the measure tendered to him.* I thought, that it fell rather short of what might reasonably be expected from him by those, in parliament, who had opposed the measure by such powerful arguments, and also by those out of parliament, who have, in a public and constitutional manner, expressed their disapprobation of that measure. At the time when His Royal Highness gave this answer, there were lying upon the tables of the two Houses of Parliament, Petitions from the City of London, earnestly praying, that no limitations might be imposed upon His Royal Highness; expressing confidence in him, and beseeching the Houses that nothing might be done to mutilate the kingly power in his hands. After this, I, for my part, should have expected something stronger from him in disapprobation of the measure; but, if he had been *silent* upon the subject, what would the opponents of the measure, in Parliament as well as out, have said? Would they not have had just ground of complaint? Would they not have said, that he had been wanting in justice to them as well as to himself? And, what man would have relied upon him in future?——It was absolutely necessary, that he should mark the measure of limitations with his disapprobation, sooner or later; and, was it not best to do it at once; was it not best to do it the first moment the measure was regularly brought before him? Would not *delay* have produced, in part, at least, the effect above described; and, let me ask these MEAN and MALIGNANT men, whether, if he had been silent on this topic upon this occasion, they would not have cited that silence, and flung it in the faces of the minority in parliament and of the city of London, as a proof that the Prince either disapproved of their conduct or held them and their efforts in contempt?

This is what his and the people's enemies wished for above all things, and in this they were disappointed.——We are next told, by the MEAN quirker, who is the author of this article, that this part of the Prince's answer means, that he ought to have had "*unlimited* authority on the faith of his personal abilities and virtues, rather than of *law* and *restraint,* the unerring marks, the *indispensable props,* of a *free state.*"——How often must one expose these worse than pettifogging quirks!——No! the Prince asks, and we ask for him, no *unlimited authority;* he asks for no power without *law* and *restraint.* But, he wishes, and very naturally wishes, and the people wish it too, that he should have no other restraints than those imposed by the *con-*

stitution, that is to say, by *the laws already in existence*. He has asked for no authority upon the faith of his *personal abilities* and *virtues*; none at all; but he thinks, and the nation think with him, that he ought to possess all the authority that his Royal Father possessed, and no *reason* has ever been assigned why he should *not*, while an abundance of reasons have been produced on the other side.——To hear these MEAN and MALIGNANT men one would imagine, that they had a scheme on foot for *diminishing* the kingly powers. Not at all. What they urge is, not any diminution of the powers, but a *division* of them, by giving a part to the Prince, a part to the Queen, and keeping back a part to be exercised by the King, or his advisers, in case he should again be declared to be *recovered*, though for ever so short a time. The power of *making peers*, and of *granting pensions and offices for life* is, for instance, kept from the Prince. So that, if the Prince should find any persons meriting these honours and rewards, *he* cannot bestow them; but, the King, if he should be declared well, and should remain so only for one day, may make as many peers as he pleases, and may grant away any of the life-offices that may have fallen vacant, during the time that the Prince has been filling the kingly office. And thus the powers and prerogatives of the Crown, which are vested there in trust for the good of the people, are to be *separated from the office*, and to be exercised by the King, if he recover, after the time is over. He, who is, unhappily declared *incapable of exercising the functions of King*, is, if he should be declared recovered *only for one day*, to have, not only all the kingly powers again in his hands, but is to have the *additional* power of making peers and granting places and pensions in *retrospect*. And, it is those who support such a measure, who have the impudence to censure the Prince of Wales for expressing his disapprobation of withholding the powers from him for the time being!——This writer, whom I could almost name, and whose MALIGNANT soul and quirking brain are so strongly depicted in every line of this article, next, in order to excite as much jealousy as possible against the Prince, tells the public, that "the *King* "uniformly bowed to the wishes of *par*-"*liament*, that *he* never reproved their "conduct, and that this was the SECRET "of the strength of his government."——*Secret?* What secret? Will you, *dare* you tell us; dare you fully to explain this *secret?* I know of no *secrets* of this sort that ought to exist; but, I am sure, that the people will easily understand what it means.——"Bowed to the *wishes* "of *parliament*," indeed! I wonder how any thing in human shape can muster up the impudence to make use of such a phrase. Surely the day will come, when no one will dream of thus insulting the understandings of the people. Mr. PITT "uniformly *bowed* to the *wishes* of *parlia*-"*ment*," did he not? He bowed to those *wishes*, did he not, when he entered upon his mad wars; when he contrived that series of measures that produced the Bank Stoppage, and that have finally led to the conquest of all Europe by France and to the present state of Ireland. He bowed to the *wishes* of *parliament*: that is to say, he always *had a majority there*. Is this what is meant by *bowing* to the wishes of parliament? He *bowed*, did he, to the *wishes* of the Lords and the Secretaries of the several Boards, to the Lords of the Bedchamber, to all the Placemen and Pensioners? He *bowed* to *their wishes*, did he? What impudence a man must have to put forth such an idea; and what MALIGNITY thus to put the *King* in *contrast* with the *Prince*, and for that purpose setting at nought the transferring of the acts of the King's reign from his *ministers* to *himself*. But, this, the "loyal" have invariably done. They have never hesitated to saddle the King *personally* with the acts of his ministers. They have said, and sometimes nearly in so many words, do not blame the *ministers*; if you must blame, blame *the King*. The thing was *his* doing; it was his *scruples*; and, therefore, hold your tongues, or attack *him*. Thus have they always thrown him personally as a shield over the ministers, and this game they are, it seems, resolved to play to the last.——We have next, from this quirking gentleman, an endeavour to confuse the understandings of the public by a case, in which the City of London complained of reproof received from the King. That case was this. The City of London, partaking in the feelings of the whole nation, went up to the King with an Address, in which they besought him to cause strict inquiry to be made into the circumstances of *the Convention of Cintra.* They did the same in regard to the *Walcheren Expedition.* In answer to the first they were told, by the King's advisers, that he thought they knew him too well

to suppose, that *their interference was necessary*; and, in the latter case, they were told, that he should leave the matter, as he safely might, to the *wisdom of his parliament.*——Now, what similarity is there between these cases and that now before us? In these cases the King spoke to a body of his subjects complaining of grievances, and exercising their well-known *right* in making that complaint, which, too, was directed against grievances of a most crying nature.——His Royal Highness spoke to a body who came to tender him the exercise of authority, and in which exercise he would, in reputation, become responsible. Besides, they came to tender him the exercise of authority, to which he was *Heir*, which, some day, in the common course of nature, must fall wholly into his hands, and which he was bound by every tie that can stimulate the mind, to preserve unimpaired, unshaken in the opinion of the people; authority, too, *held in trust for the people's benefit*, and only in that view sacred.——Is there the smallest resemblance in the two cases? Is there any thing, in the smallest degree, analagous? In the one case, the advisers of the King tell the City of London, that *they have no business to interfere in the things of which they complain as sore grievances*; and, in the other case, the Prince tells the Parliament, not that they have no business to interfere, but, that they have *imposed conditions upon him* which he does now, as he was well known to do before, disapprove of.——Away, then, goes this flimsy, this miserable sophistry, and there stands the pettifogging quirker exposed to the reader's scorn.——Applying this quirker's doctrine to the House of Commons, how will it suit? If the Prince's answer, which merely re-stated opinions that the parliament and that all the world well knew him to entertain; if his answer, which merely told the parliament, that they *imposed improper conditions upon him*; if this was *ungracious*, what epithet are we to bestow upon the treatment of those humble petitions, in which the people complained of the exercise of certain powers, or privileges, by that House? That House exercised the power of taking a man up and sending him to jail *during their pleasure* for an act done out of their doors; for a publication made by him; and, they imprisoned, in the Tower, one of their members, *during their pleasure* for asserting, out of their House, in terms that displeased them, that they had no right to send the people to jail at their pleasure, for acts done out of their House.——Against their doing this, the people presented petitions to them; and, what was the *answer*, that these petitions received?——The question is not, here, whether they were right or wrong; but, both being cases, wherein the parties *answering* were *tenacious of power*, I only beg the reader to compare the answer of the Prince to the Parliament with the treatment which the petitions of the people met with from the House of Commons.——I remember, and so must the reader, that, during the discussions relating to that matter in the House of Commons, it was contended, that the power of imprisonment at pleasure, claimed by that House, was a power *for the good of the people*; and that those were enemies of *real liberty*, who denied that the House had the right to take any man who offended them, and shut him up in jail, during their pleasure, without any trial, and without any mode of redress. The reader must remember this well; and yet, we are now told, by the very men, who contended for that power in the House of Commons, that the Prince of Wales has behaved *ungraciously* to the parliament, because he has expressed his disapprobation of a measure, which is to impose upon him the kingly *duties*, while it withholds from him a part of the kingly *powers*; powers well known; well established; and constantly exercised by the kings of England; powers which it is not proposed to *diminish*; not to take away *for the future*; not represented as *unnecessary in general*; represented as absolutely necessary to *the King*; but, powers that are to be withheld from *the Prince*. And, he was to have communicated to him this measure, the effect of which upon his reputation was so evident, and was to say not a word in disapprobation of it, upon pain of incurring the censure of the whole of the MEAN, MERCENARY and MALIGNANT crew.——This answer, however, especially as to the part blamed by these men, will not fail to receive the hearty applause of the country at large; of, indeed, every man in the country (and a vast majority are so) who was opposed to the limitations upon the Royal authority in the Prince's hands. The *friends of freedom* must, for consistency sake, approve of this answer, in this respect; because they hold, that, according to the Prince's former declaration, the powers and prerogatives of the crown are vested there

as *a trust* for the "*benefit of the people;*" and, of course, any *suspension* of them; any *division* of them; any *reservation* of their exercise for the King, when he shall recover (be it for a day or a year) is a violation of that great principle; whence it ensues of necessity, that the friends of freedom must approve of an expression of disapprobation of a measure, causing such suspension, division, or reservation; and, the Prince of Wales may be assured, that he has, from the feelings of the people, nothing to apprehend, whatever these intolerant and malignant men may endeavour to do in the way of exciting, even before he forms a ministry, prejudices against him, endeavours the more detestable as they are cloaked under the garb of *attachment to his Father*, than which nothing can be more base and hateful. ——I wish particularly to put the reader upon his guard against *this device*, which is truly diabolical. The object is to make the people believe, that there are grounds of *suspicion* of the Prince, and that he will make a King when the time comes very *different* from his father; nay, and further, that we ought to suspect him of a wish to become King *before the due time*. And these are the men, who rail against *jacobins!* These are the men, who apprehend dangers from *a conspiracy against the House of Brunswick*. Of this House they do not appear to look upon the Prince as making a part. They are men of strange notions. In short, what they mean by *the House of Brunswick* is that alone by the means of which they are enabled, without labour and without talents, to get a good fat living for themselves and an equally fat provision for their familes. This is what such men mean by the House of Brunswick; and, that being the case, it is quite natural that they should dread, even in their dreams, *a conspiracy* against it.—The matter may, however, be looked upon as being thus far settled; and the country, after having gone on without a King, capable of discharging any part of the functions of royalty, for *nearly a quarter of a year*, has, at last, a *prospect* of seeing the exercise of those functions committed, in part at least, to a person capable of performing the task! Here alone is food for some hours of serious reflection; and, the reader will do well to consider a little what may be the consequences of this *precedent*. Here is a precedent for the nation being left during nearly a quarter of a year (it will be more before the Regent can be completely installed) with a King, declared *to be in a state of incapacity to govern;* here is a precedent for the nation being left in that state, for its being left to be governed by men, appointed to their offices by that same King, for nearly a quarter of a year. —— Now, suppose His Majesty should be, by Physicians chosen by these same ministers, declared to be *recovered*, to-morrow? All that has been done respecting the Regency falls to the ground at once. Then suppose, that, in a week afterwards, his Majesty were to have a relapse, than which nothing could be more likely, seeing what a load of various matter it would be absolutely necessary to press upon him, and what painful reflections must crowd into his mind. Suppose this relapse to take place? What then? Why then we have, according to this precedent, *another quarter of a year* to go on without a King capable of discharging the functions of the kingly office; and thus, with shorter or longer intervals, we may, upon this precedent, go on for a whole year, or, for years together.——Then, observe, too, that, *during the intervals* of recovery, the grants of titles, lands, leases, places for life and reversion, and all appointments to offices of profit and power would be made; though, one must confess, that it is difficult to see, why these may not as well be made during the King's *known* incapacity, as that money should be drawn from the Exchequer, troops sent abroad, and the like, during such *known* incapacity.——Then, *who* is it that is to make known any sorrowful return of the malady? The ministers? Those men who have been appointed by the King during his intervals of sanity? These very men who have the power in their hands? Are they to be relied upon for punctually and readily making known the moment when the King shall be again unfortunately incapable of discharging the functions of royalty?——I do not say, that they *would* be the last men upon earth to be trusted with such a duty; I do not say, that they *would* hide the fact from the public to the last possible moment that disguise should be thought practicable. I do not say what would be, nor do I consider it at all as a personal question; but, I ask the reader, whether, upon the known principles and rules of action amongst men, persons so situated should be the depositories of such a trust?——But, all these considerations aside, and leaving

the interests of the country quite out of the question, let us consider a little the situation of His Majesty himself.——If any one of us were to find ourselves recovered from such a malady; if any one of us were to find ourselves in such a state, should we not seek retirement, quiet, tranquillity; should we not rest our hope of final and perfect re-establishment upon the having kept from us all those things which require mental exertion? Nay, is not this the invariable practice of the world? Is it not always the practice of those, who are the real friends of persons in such a state, to resort to every possible means of relieving and diverting their minds; of amusing them with light and trivial matter, of presenting them with a variety of unimportant objects; and, in short, of preventing the necessity and even the chances of *serious thinking*——If such be what compassion points out, and what the universal practice of the world has stamped with its authority, can it be supposed to be proper to leave the King so situated, that, in the very hour of his recovery he must necessarily have pressed upon his mind a multitude of objects, any one of which is of weight quite sufficient to excite trouble in the strongest mind? The Recorder of London would be amongst the first of his visitors, to present him with a long list of his unhappy subjects, condemned to an ignominious death, during his incapacity. Would he not *feel* upon beholding that list? Would the sight of it, or, still *more* the hearing of it read, give no trouble to his mind? Would he, *could* he, with a serene mind, decide upon the fate of so many persons? Could he, in a moment, by his breath, at once consign them to or give them a respite from eternity without feelings that must deeply affect his mind? To suppose it possible that he could is to pronounce a satire upon human nature.——But, though I must believe, that this would be his most dangerous trial, must he not very sensibly feel for the fate of the campaign in Portugal? When he is informed how things stand there; when he learns the real situation of his own army compared with that of the enemy, who, as he had been before told, *had not an inch of ground but that which his army stood upon*; when he learns this, will there arise nothing to trouble his mind?——Sweden, since his incapacity, has been added, not only to the long list of the powers at war with him, but has also been added to the vassals of France. Will this give him no trouble? Will he hear of this without any danger of producing a relapse? Is it the office of a *friend* to present an object like this to his mind?——Then, *at home* is there nothing to trouble him? Is there nothing which would be likely to weigh heavily on a mind anxious for the safety of the country, on the fate of which wholly depends that of the Crown and the Royal Family? Is there nothing *in Ireland* to awaken new anxieties? Are there flowery prospects for his advisers to present to him in that, or in any other, quarter of his dominions, or in any department of his government?——I, therefore, put it to any impartial man, whether, if, in addition to all these and many other most serious concerns, the multitude of *routine business* be added, the incessant attention and toil, necessarily arising from this long suspension of the King's capacity for business, it is not improbable in the highest degree, that a relapse should not almost instantly succeed recovery; and whether it would not be cruelty in the extreme thus to expose him to such manifest danger; the danger of being replunged into a state, the most humiliating to human nature, and the bare apprehension of which is enough to produce insanity. I put this to the serious and impartial consideration of the reader; and, I am quite sure, that, if he do seriously consider the matter, he will agree with me, that a moment ought not to be lost in making *permanent provision* against the evils of which we now feel the effects.——It appears to me, that provision should be made, which may prevent the necessity of the King's being compelled to attend to business for *some weeks*, at least, *after* he shall have been declared to have recovered the perfect possession of his reason. Some *months* would be better; but, some considerable space of time appears to me to be absolutely necessary, in order to afford the best chance of his final re-establishment; and, at the same time, to guard the interests of the country against the dangers above pointed out. Something of this sort does, indeed, seem to be in the contemplation of some members of parliament; but, it is a matter that admits not of *delay*; it is not less pressing than the measure of the Regency itself; for, as was before shown, that measure, without some such provision, may be rendered nugatory in an hour, either before or after its consummation.——Let us now turn to

other matters connected with the Regency. ——The *limitations* may yet be done away in the two Houses, during the discussions of the intended bill; and it is to be hoped, that they will be done away; but, at any rate, it is time for us now to begin to think a little of the situation of *the country*, and to form to ourselves something like settled notions as to *what a new ministry ought to do* and what the people are justified *in expecting at their hands.*——As to *men*, though it will be impossible to prevent the people from liking some better than others, and quite impossible to reconcile them to the eulogisers of Mr. Pitt, whose measures must be considered as included in the eulogy; as to *men*, however, the people are little interested. It is the measures they look at, because they *feel* them; and, it is not *now* mere measures of what is called *policy*, but measures that affect us so closely, that *we cannot divest ourselves of the thought of them.* Their effect comes home to the *pocket* of every man of us; we feel it in our incomes, in our means of living, in the distribution of our earnings amongst our children, in our means of making a figure in the world, in the looks of our poor neighbours, who, if they have not a *legal*, have an *equitable*, or, at least, a *natural* claim to partake with us. That creature is unworthy of the name of *man*, who can *enjoy* his dinner and his bottle, while he has, almost before his eyes, *a neighbourhood half starving.* Their vices! Good God! what have they to make them virtuous! Hunger, cold, and nakedness never yet made men abstain from crimes; never made them industrious, honest, or sober.——To a man, who feels as he ought to feel, this *general misery* is the greatest grievance; and, to such a man it is perfectly useless to talk; it is perfectly useless to philosophize; he never will be contented, 'till he sees this enormous grievance redressed. He knows, that it was not thus *formerly*; he knows well, for *his parish books will tell it him*, that, before the Pitt system began its dire operation, the people of England were comparatively happy.——The *precise measures*, which ought now to be adopted, and even a general view of them, I have not now time for; but, I cannot commit this Number to the press without again urging the necessity of doing something for *Ireland.*——We know, that we have recently been told, that a *regular army* is necessary to keep down *French factions* in Ireland. *How came there to be* French factions in Ireland? What should make the Irish prone to French factions, any more than any body else?——In 1785 and the three or four succeeding years, we heard of French factions *in Holland.* The history of the conquest of Holland is before us; and, will not his Royal Highness and his ministry *profit* from that history?——What caused French factions in Holland? Why, *the refusal of the government to redress the grievances of the people*; and, at last, when the war of words had been carried on as long as possible the war of arms succeeded. This is the natural progress. It is thus that nations are laid open to invaders; and thus that they finally become conquered.——To adopt such measures, therefore, as shall make Ireland quiet, and enlist her under the same banners with ourselves is absolutely necessary.——But if this can be done without a reform of the House of Commons, which I greatly doubt, still that reform will be wanting to the happiness and even the *defence* of the kingdom.——Major Cartwright has digested the best plan of internal defence that I have ever seen, or heard of; but that plan is interwoven with a *reform of the Commons' House of Parliament*, without which, indeed, it is now too late to expect, that we shall ever again see an hour of safety in *peace* or in *war.*——We have had *expeditions* enough now; we have sent out armies enough to *divert* the French, and pretty *diversions* we have made. Each of them has cost some country its independence. It is high time for us to consider how *this land*, how *these islands*, are to be defended. And, does any man think that they are to be defended by a *divided* people? If he does he must have shut his eyes to the cause of the fall of every nation upon the continent; and, to expect to see an united people without a reform in parliament, is, in my view of things, something worse than madness.——If it be supposed, that the thing will *jog on* and *last our time*, the notion, to say nothing of its baseness, is excessively absurd. It will not jog on; it must and it will have a change of one sort or an other. A change *made* may be as gentle and easy as you please; but, if it *make itself*, its manner and extent must be left to chance. A change *made* may be under the guidance of reason; if it make itself, it must be under the wild guidance of *passion.*——The cry of those who oppose reform, is, that it is not wanted *by the people at large.* Never was any thing more false than this. All the na-

tion, except those who are self-interested in the continuation of abuses of all sorts, anxiously wish for it. All men, who have no such interest wish for a reform of the Parliament, as the only means of putting an end to abuses. They necessarily must wish for it. They must be the most unnatural wretches upon earth if they had not such wish; and, their expectations are now greater than ever.

PAPER AGAINST GOLD.——My correspondents in the country will please to perceive, that it would be inconvenient to continue this subject, till that of *the Regency* is over.——But, they may be well assured, that I have the former too deeply at heart ever to drop it, till I have made the treatise as complete as it is in my power to make it.——I long had it in contemplation to make the Paper-Money System familiar to the understandings of the nation at large; but, until I was put into this jail, I wanted the time to do the thing to my wish. Now, nothing but want of health or senses shall ever make me quit it, till it be made so plain, that children at school, and even Doctors at the University, nay, that the Pitt statesmen themselves, shall understand it as well as they understand how to calculate the amount of their salaries.——When this task is completed, my intention is to unmask and lay bare to every eye, that GRAND MYSTERY, the Concerns of *the East India Company*; and, when that is well done, the people of England will want very little additional information to enable them to form a correct judgment of the prospect before them, and of the means which have been made use of to bring them into their present [illegible]ation.

WM. COBBETT.

State Prison, Newgate, Tuesday, 15th Jan. 1811.

COBBETT'S

Parliamentary Debates:

The FIFTEENTH, SIXTEENTH, and SEVENTEENTH Volumes, comprising the whole of the Debates and Proceedings in both Houses, during the Last Session of Parliament, are now ready for delivery.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

FRANCE.—*Report of a Committee in the Conservative Senate upon the subject of the annexation of Holland and the Hans Towns to France.—13th Dec.* 1810.

(Concluded from p. 96.)

But such is the empire of habits and of self-love over nations as well as individuals; the changes which strike their eye in all that surrounds them, in vain remind them of their own decline; they both repel the secret conviction which pursues them. A blind sentiment averts their eyes from the lessons of experience, and they make their close more fatal by their efforts to ward it off.—Our colours were floating over the whole Batavian territory; the partisans of England fled in the ships which they basely sold to the enemy. Its incorporation with France, the association of the Batavians with their brothers in Belgium, ought to have been the first of their wishes, the most pressing of their wants.—The public debt, which had not then received that immense increase to which it latterly arrived, might have been entirely saved from shipwreck; vast communications of commerce might have been opened with France; enormous charges would not, for 15 years, have weighed down these interesting countries: and for what? to obtain the barren honour of a Government pretendedly national, as if a nation could exist where there was neither independence, nor army, nor territory susceptible of defence.——Those times are passed, when the conceptions of some statesmen gave authority, in the public opinion, to the system of balances, of guarantees, of counterpoise, of political equilibrium. Pompous illusions of cabinets of the second order! visions of imbecility! which all disappear before necessity, that power which regulates the duration and the mutual relations of empires.—Would not the successive Governments of Holland in a thousand instances, have been subservient to internal agitations, to the efforts of England, had not the force of the French empire been constantly acting upon them to maintain, and to defend them?—And when England affronted France by supposing that this force was absent, because the Emperor was meditating victory and peace on the banks of the Danube; was it Holland that could have repelled the fleet, and the British legions assembled to recommence

the oppression and disgrace of the Helder?—Certainly not; truths so manifest require neither proof nor example. Holland, like the Hans Towns, would remain the prey of uncertainty, of dangers, of revolutions, of oppressions of every kind, if the genius who decides the destinies of Europe did not cover her with his invincible egis. The Emperor has resolved in his wisdom, to incorporate them with the immense family of which he is the head.—In adopting this grand resolution, perhaps he himself obeys, more than he is aware of, the law of necessity.—If he commands the glory of times present, the events which preceded his coming command those of his reign—that uninterrupted succession of causes and effects, which form the history of nations and the destiny of their chiefs. That of the Napoleons was to reign and to conquer; victory belongs to him, war to his age.—Among the wars recorded in our history, there is not one during which the jealous rivalry of England has not been the direct cause of our troubles, our misfortunes, our dangers—of our energy, our combats, our conquests.—In the feudal times, England divided our princes, kept our vassals in pay, ravaged our fields; she foresaw that the throne of their Sovereigns would one day be the first in the Universe: driven back to her islands, she every where sought for avengers of her quarrel, Germany, Italy, the Spains, number but few cities where combats have not been maintained during 300 years for the cause of England.—To hear her, our kings made pretensions to universal monarchy after the siege of Rochelle, the works of Toulon and the surrender of Courtray. The most pusillanimous reigns could not impose silence on her accusations, nor lull asleep her hatred. In her eyes the French people were always the same; they only wanted circumstances and a chief, to resume the name of Great.—A total subversion was necessary to the project of England; she wished for a bloody revolution, because her own had been cruel, and because, amidst our discords, it struck at, with the same sword, both our industry and our institutions; both the conquerors and the conquered; both the people and the dynasty. All Europe was summoned to this work of destruction: every where repulsed—every where threatened—trembling for herself—she stopped short in presence of the conflagration lighted up by the fire-brands of the British Cabinet. At last, after ten years of a struggle glorious for France, the most extraordinary genius ever formed by nature in her magnificence, collects in his triumphant hands the scattered fragments of the sceptre of Charlemagne.—The injuries of France are avenged; frontiers compacted by moderation and traced out by nature, are the trophies raised to the happiness of her people, to the tranquillity of Europe.—The Emperor proposes peace. Vain hope of a great soul! Thrice the cry of alarm was raised on all sides—thrice one victory led only to others; and peace, always offered, always demanded, and as it were pursued, retired before our eagles to the extremities of Europe.—In those shocks of which human prudence cannot moderate the effects, empires of the first rank are overthrown from their foundations; small states disappear: we have seen the gothic supports of the European edifice tumble down of themselves without the possibility of their being rebuilt on the same plan; and had not the genius of order advanced with a step equal to that of armies, it would no longer have been war, but anarchy and death which the 18th century had bequeathed to its successors.—Does the conqueror perceive from the height of his car, nations united by ancient habits; he seeks out faithful princes, he creates for them common interests, he entrusts to them the destinies of those regenerated states of which he has declared himself the protector.—But where all forms of Government have been tried in vain; where the aggregations are too small, or destitute of sufficient principles of adhesion to form masses, where localities would infallibly subject men and things to the direct action of avarice, of the attacks or intrigues of the eternal enemies of France; there the interest of the empire commands the union to the victorious nation of those portions of its conquests, to prevent their inevitable dissolution.—And in the deliberation in which you are occupied, the question should be put thus: Holland and the Hanse Towns being incapable of existing by themselves, ought they to belong to England or to France?—We shall search in vain for a third alternative.—That inheritance of rivalry, always increasing by the importance of the interests, as well as by that of the masses; our generation, Senators, has succeeded to, without being able to reject a single portion of it.—It is no longer two armies who combat on the plains of Fontenoy; it is the empire of the

seas which still resists that of the Continent: a memorable, a terrible struggle, and of which the catastrophe, perhaps, not far distant, will long occupy the attention of future generations.—Let us listen to the political writers of England; their alarms confirm this truth, still less, however, than the desperate measures of its government: if it were not led on by the imminence of its danger, would it have dared, in the presence of civilized Europe, to tear the compact of honour and of eternal justice which connected neutral Powers with the Belligerents? One would believe, in reading the acts of the English Ministry, that the law of nations exists no longer; and who, then, has substituted for its immutable principles the excesses and the violence of barbarism? England.—So early as 1756, her first attempts upon the imprescriptible rights of nations compelled Sweden and Denmark to defend them by the development of an armed neutrality. Some years later, the 28th February, 1780, England pushing her endeavours still farther, Russia saw no safety for the honour of nations and that of Sovereigns but in a public exposition of the maxims acknowledged by all civilised people; she proclaimed the conditions on which her neutrality was to depend:—'That neural ships should navigate freely, from port to port, and on the coasts of nations at war.—'That property belonging to the subjects of powers at war, should be free on board neutral ships, with the exception of contraband.—'That to determine what characterises a blockaded port, that designation should only be given to such into which there was an evident danger of entering, in consequence of the ships of the attacking power being stationary and sufficiently near.'—Such were literally the declarations in which the Cabinet of St. Petersburgh laid down the rights of all Sovereigns. England replied by throwing off the mask; and signified to the States of Holland, that the flag does not cover the property.—From that period she thought herself able, without danger as without obstacle, to give full swing to her usurpations.—It was necessary to wait for a period when powerful reprisals would compel her to return to justice.—That day is arrived; the decrees of Berlin and Milan are the reply to her Orders in Council. The British Cabinet has, so to speak, dictated them to France.—Europe receives them for her code; and that code shall be the palladium of the seas.—Let England abjure her madness; let her reinstate neutrals in their rights: justice has never ceased to demand this of her. If she had not rejected the counsels and the offers of moderation, what dreadful consequences might she not have avoided! And to confine ourselves to the subject of our present deliberation, she would not have forced France to enrich herself by the ports and the arsenals of Holland; the Ems the Weser, and the Elbe, would not have flowed under our dominion; and we should not have seen the first country of the Gauls washed by rivers united by an internal navigation to seas which were unknown to them.—Where still are the boundaries of posibility? Let England answer it. Let her meditate on the past, let her learn the future. France and Napoleon will never change.—Your Committee unanimously propose that the *Senatus Consultum* be adopted."

ENGLAND.—THE REGENCY.——*Answers of the Prince of Wales and the Queen to the Deputations from the Houses of Lords and Commons, presenting to them their Resolutions, relative to the Regency.——Friday, 11th January, 1811.*

At two o'clock precisely, the deputation from the two Houses went up to Carlton House to present to his Royal Highness the Resolutions to which the two Houses, after long discussion, had agreed. The Lords and Gentlemen, all in full dress, were ushered through the superb suite of rooms to the Drawing Room, where his Royal Highness stood. His Chancellor, William Adam, esq. and earl Moira on his right hand; the Duke of Cumberland and Mr. Sheridan on his left; behind him four Officers of his Household, Mr. Tyrwhitt, Colonel Macmahon, Colonel Bloomfield, and General Turner. The deputation advanced according to their order of precedency. The Lord President, the Lord Privy Seal, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Secretary Ryder, the President of the Board of Controul, and the Master of the Rolls; and they made the usual reverences.—The Lord President then read from a paper in his hand: That they were a Committee appointed to attend his Royal Highness with the Resolutions which had been agreed to by the Lords and Commons, for the purpose of supplying the defect of the personal exercise of the

Royal Authority, during his Majesty's illness, by empowering his Royal Highness to exercise that authority in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty, subject to such limitations and restrictions as shall be provided.—And that they were directed to express the hope which the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons, entertain, that his Royal Highness, from his regard to the interests of his Majesty, will be ready to undertake the weighty and important trust proposed to be invested in his Royal Highness, as soon as an Act of Parliament shall have been passed for carrying the said Resolutions into effect.—The Lord President then read and delivered to his Royal Highness the Resolutions, which are as follows:

Resolved, That for the purpose of providing for the exercise of the Royal Authority during the continuance of his Majesty's illness, in such manner, and to such extent, as the present circumstances and the urgent concerns of the Nation appear to require, it is expedient, that his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, being resident within the realm, shall be empowered to exercise and administer the Royal Authority, according to the Laws and Constitution of Great Britain, in the name, and on behalf of his Majesty, and under the style and title of Regent of the United Kingdom; and to use, execute, and perform, in the name, and on behalf of his Majesty, all Authorities, Prerogatives, Acts of Government, and Administration of the same, that belong to the King of this Realm to use, execute, and perform according to the Law thereof, subject to such limitations and exceptions as shall be provided.—Resolved, That the power so to be given to his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales shall not extend to the granting of any rank or dignity of the Peerage of the Realm to any person whatever.—Resolved, That the said power shall not extend to the granting of any office whatever in reversion, or to the granting of any office, salary, or pension, for other term than during his Majesty's pleasure, except such offices as are by law required to be granted for life, or during good behaviour.—Resolved, That the said power shall not extend to the granting of any part of his Majesty's real or personal estate, except as far as relates to the renewal of leases.—Resolved, That the care of his Majesty's Royal Person, during the continuance of his Majesty's illness, shall be committed to the Queen's most Excellent Majesty, together with the sole direction of such portion of his Majesty's Household as shall be thought requisite for the care of his person, and that, for the better enabling her Majesty to discharge this important task, it is also expedient, that a Council shall be appointed to advise and assist her Majesty in the several matters aforesaid; and with power, from time to time, as they may see cause, to examine, upon oath, the Physicians and others attending his Majesty's person, touching the state of his Majesty's health, and all matters relative thereto.

To which Address his Royal Highness returned the following most gracious Answer.

The Answer of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.

My Lords and Gentlemen,—I receive the communication which the two Houses have directed you to make to me, of their joint Resolutions, on the subject of providing for 'the exercise of the Royal Authority, during his Majesty's illness,' with those sentiments of regard which I must ever entertain for the united desires of the two Houses.—With the same sentiments I receive the expressed, 'hopes of the Lords and Commons, that from my regard for the interest of his Majesty and the nation, I should be ready to undertake the weighty and important trust proposed to be invested in me,' under the Restrictions and limitations stated in those Resolutions.—Conscious that every feeling of my heart would have prompted me, from dutiful affection to my beloved Father and Sovereign, to have shewn all the reverential delicacy towards him inculcated in those Resolutions, I cannot refrain from expressing my regret, that I should not have been allowed the opportunity of manifesting to his afflicted and loyal subjects that such would have been my conduct.—Deeply, impressed, however, with the necessity of tranquillizing the public mind, and determined to submit to every personal sacrifice consistent with the regard I owe to the security of my Father's Crown and the equal regard I owe to the welfare of his people, I do not hesitate to accept the office and situation proposed to me, restricted as they are, still retaining every opinion expressed by me upon a former and similar distressing occasion.—In undertaking the trust proposed to me, I am well aware of the difficulties of the situation in which I shall be placed; but I

shall rely with confidence upon the Constitutional advice of an enlightened Parliament, and the zealous support of a generous and loyal People. I will use all the means left to me to merit both.

My Lords and Gentlemen.—You will communicate this my answer to the two Houses, accompanied by my most fervent wishes and prayers, that the Divine Will may extricate us and the nation from the grievous embarrassments of our present condition by the speedy restoration of his Majesty's health.

In like manner the Deputation appointed to wait on the Queen, viz. Earl Harcourt, Earl of Moreton, Lord Viscount Palmerston, Lord Vis. Clive, Lord John Thynne, and Colonel Desbrow. proceeded to Windsor, and being admitted to her Majesty's presence, they presented the humble Address of the two Houses, expressing the hope which the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons entertain, that her Majesty will be graciously pleased to undertake the important duties proposed to be invested in her Majesty, as soon as an Act of Parliament shall have been passed, for carrying the said Resolution into effect.—Lord Harcourt read the Fifth Resolution; upon which her Majesty was pleased to return the following most gracious Answer:

Answer of the Queen.

My Lords and Gentlemen.—That sense of duty and gratitude to the King, and of obligation to this country, which induced me in the year 1789 readily to promise my most earnest attention to the anxious and momentous trust at that time intended to be reposed in me by Parliament, is strengthened, if possible, by the uninterrupted enjoyment of those blessings which I have continued to experience under the protection of his Majesty since that period: and I should be wanting to all my duties if I hesitated to accept the sacred trust which is now offered to me.—The assistance in point of council and advice, which the wisdom of Parliament proposes to provide for me will make me undertake the charge with greater hopes that I may be able satisfactorily to fulfil the important duties which it must impose upon me.—Of the nature and importance of that charge, I cannot but be duly sensible, involving, as it does, every thing which is valuable to myself, as well as the highest interests of a people endeared to me by so many ties and considerations, but by nothing so strongly as by their steady, loyal, and affectionate attachment to the best of Kings.

The Deputation then withdrew.

FRANCE.—*Report of the Minister of War laid before the Senate, Dec. 9, 1810.*

SIRE.—According to the laws of our military organization, the conscription should be raised on the 1st of January 1811. I therefore submit to your Majesty the projet of a Senatus Consultum.—I have not distinguished the conscription of this year into active and reserve contingents, because it appeared to me, that the intention of your Majesty was only to make levies progressively, and in the course of the year.—In proportion as the new conscripts arrive under their colours, an equal number of old soldiers must be sent back to their homes. A great many have already re-entered them, and your Majesty will take into your consideration the circumstances of the war in Spain and Portugal, in order to authorise me to grant more or less definitive discharges.—The conscription is the basis of the prosperity of France; it is that which, for so many years, has removed far from our territory the scourges of war.—When your Majesty shall have concluded a maritime peace, and shall be able to disband your armies, it will be equally necessary to raise, every year, a part of the conscription, for the purpose of maintaining the forces of your Majesty on a footing which is suitable to your empire; but I do not reckon that there will then be any necessity for more than a third of the conscription which I propose to raise at present, which will form at the most only one ninth of the males liable to be called upon as conscripts. It is obvious, then, how much that contribution will be lightened—the first in importance of those which the French owe to their country. The militia, which appeared a moderated institution, but which was aggravated by a multitude of exemptions, weighed heavily on the nation after the wars of Louis XIV. and even the wars of Flanders and Bohemia.—The conscription of 1811 will occasion extraordinary expences for the first clothing and equipment, for the expences of the march, &c. of so sonsiderable a number of men. I have brought them to the budget of the year, and they are comprehended in the general arrangements

which your Majesty has made for the finances of that service, without that augmentation of expence, rendering necessary any augmentation of taxes. My department feels the effects of the prosperous state of your Majesty's finances. Scarcely do a few contested accounts, and which require examination, remain to be paid; no part of the service languishes, and all my expences formerly so much in arrear, are brought up to the present day.—I am with respect, &c.

The Duke of FELTRE, Minister of War.

Speech of the President upon the Report.

Senators,—When his Majesty summoned under his eagles the conscriptions of 1809 and 1810, before the ordinary period, he announced victory and peace as the reward of the devotion of his young soldiers.—The Emperor kept his word: he vanquished and pacified, without having any need to anticipate again the period when it is the duty of Frenchmen subject to the conscription to pay their debt to their country.—Time has brought round the return of the periodic term, when a call must take place.—At the commencement of 1811, the conscripts of that year must prepare themselves to enter successively the ranks in order to replace either those brave men who have fallen in battle, or the veterans who repair to the bosom of their families, carrying with them their glory, and seeking repose.—The number raised on the anterior conscriptions has been 120,000 men; but the call has only been made to you successively, and with the distinction of immediate destination and that of reserve.—Even though the whole of a levy equal to that of preceding conscriptions may not be necessary at present, yet his Majesty has thought that it was better to place at the disposal of his War-Minister the number of conscrips employed in preceding years.—They shall not be forthwith called upon, but successively, in virtue of decrees of his Majesty, and as often as they shall be wanted.—No augmentation of revenue will be necessary, and the funds assigned by the budget of 1810 for that service or disposable for that of 1811, will suffice for the expences of these two years, and for all the branches of the service.—To maintain herself in an honourable attitude, to shew herself protecting or threatening in the eyes of her friends or her enemies, France has no need, Gentlemen, of any new effort, of any extraordinary sacrifice.—For it is not thus that we are ever to designate the levy of the conscription—a personal tribute, a pledge of the independence of the power and of the glory of the empire, and which must, in time of peace as in time of war, be paid every year either in a greater or less a proportion.—And the *minimum* of that proportion must always be even in peace, in a component ratio, first of the result of the ordinary mortality, and secondly, of the number of discharges that are given.—The number of discharges will then be that of a fifth of the army, if it should not happen that a great number of Frenchmen prefer the military life, its glorious chances, and its honourable dangers to repose or a labour of which they have got out of the habit.—These brave men thus voluntarily, and for a time which often embraces the duration of their lives, pay the debt of a part of their fellow-citizens, at the same time that they form in all the corps of the army that inexhaustible reserve, that stock of old warriors, upon whose example the new levies are formed and who ensure victory.—When reflecting on the extent of their devotion, on the duration of their services, what Frenchman can hesitate to join them, when he hears the voice of the country which calls him, of the law which commands him, and of the glory which awaits him.

SPAIN.—*Correspondence, relative to the Statue to be erected in honour of the King of England.—November* 19, 1810.

The late Decree of the Cortes, ordering a statue to be erected in honour of their august and generous Ally, George the third, was inclosed in the subsequent letter from the Minister of State, to the Right Honourable Henry Wellesley, Minister of his Britannic Majesty at Cadiz:—Sir,—I have the honour to inclose to your Excellency, by the order of the Council of Regency, the annexed copy of a Decree issued by the Cortes of the kingdom. The Council of Regency, in commanding me to execute this pleasing office, has desired me to express in the strongest terms the affection and gratitude they feel to the whole British nation, and they fondly hope that by this solemn avowal of the Cortes, a new and powerful motive will be supplied to draw closer than ever the political relations between the two countries.—I have also the honour to acquaint your Excellency, by order of the same Council, in

order that your Excellency may communicate the fact to your august Sovereign, that the Cortes deeply impressed with the zeal, interest, and efficacy with which the worthy Ministers which compose the Cabinet of his Britannic Majesty have fulfilled his instructions to assist and support the sacred cause of the Spanish nation, and not less sensible do they feel the heroic efforts of Lord Wellington, for the preservation of Spain, so gloriously exhibited on their soil in the memorable battle of Talavera, and which are now displayed in Portugal, securing by his distinguished military talents the protection of a kingdom, the defence of which is immediately connected with the welfare of the whole Peninsula.—Finally, Sir, I may be permitted to assure you of the extraordinary satisfaction I receive personally in being the medium of announcing to your Excellency the ardent and profound sensibility common to the whole nation towards the Illustrious Sovereign of Great Britain, and I flatter myself that it will be graciously received by his Britannic Majesty, and will tend to consolidate that perfect union and friendship which should ever exist between the two Monarchs.—I am, &c. with high consideration, and pray God to preserve you many years, EUSIBIO BANDAXI Y AZARA."

The Answer to the above.

Sir,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's letter, in which, by order of the Council of Regency, you transmit me the Decree of the Cortes of the 19th of this month, expressive of the gratitude of the illustrious Congress for the assistance his Britannic Majesty has given to the Spanish nation since the commencement of the arduous conflict in which it is engaged for its liberty and independence.—A testimony so satisfactory of the sensibility of the Cortes to the generous motives by which his Majesty was actuated, in employing the resources of his kingdom in favour of Spain, must make a deep and durable impression on his Royal mind, and must strengthen the confidence of the Spanish nation in the persuasion of the sincerity of his acknowledged solicitude for the preservation of the integrity of their Monarchy, and their independence, the promotion of its true interests, and its permanent prosperity.—The opinion formed by the Cortes, as expressed in the letter of your Excellency, with regard to the zeal and interest in the Spanish cause, shewn by the Cabinet Ministers of his Majesty, will impart peculiar satisfaction to the Members of his Government; but it is fit that I should inform you that the endeavours employed to assist the glorious efforts of the Spanish people, are not only consistent with the intentions of his Majesty, or with the purposes of his Ministers, but with the anxious wishes of the whole British nation, in which there is not a single individual who does not feel an equal interest with those who compose the Government, for the happy result of the sacred and powerful cause which constitutes the principal bond of union between Great Britain and Spain.—I will avail myself of the first opportunity to send to Lord Wellington a copy of your Excellency's letter, and of the Decree of the Cortes, and I am persuaded that the opinion of the Cortes, which your Excellency has communicated with respect to the services of Lord Wellington towards the Spanish nation, will be considered by him as an honourable and invaluable testimony of the sentiments of the whole of Spain towards him.—I cannot conclude this letter without declaring the pleasing sensations I have felt while I have been witness to the early deliberations of a Congress, from the persevering wisdom of which I confidently expect the ultimate expulsion of the enemy, and the preservation of the integrity and independence of the Monarchy.—It only remains that I should signify to your Excellency my gratitude for the way in which you have condescended to communicate the wishes of the Council of Regency, and the liberal motives in which the Decree of the Cortes has originated.—I am, with high consideration, &c. WELLESLEY.

Real, Isla de Leon, Nov. 20, 1810.

To Segnor D. Eusibio Bandaxi y Azara.

PORTUGAL.—*Downing-street, December* 31, 1810. *A Dispatch, of which the following is an Extract, was yesterday received at Lord Liverpool's Office, addressed to his Lordship by Lieutenant-Gen. Viscount Wellington, dated Cartaxo, 15th December,* 1810.

No alteration has been made in the enemy's position in front of this army since I had the honour of addressing you on the 8th instant, and all the deserters and prisoners continue to report the distress which the troops suffer. The enemy detached a body of cavalry, consisting of

four regiments, towards Coimbra; but finding that town occupied by General Bacellar, they have returned again to their station in the rear of the right of their army. I am concerned to forward the inclosed report from Marshal Sir William Beresford, of the death of Captain Fenwick, the late Commandant of Obidos. During the last two months he had been engaged more than twenty times with the enemy's foraging parties, and I have had several opportunities of reporting his success.—Upon this last occasion he had made an attack upon, and had driven in a party, consisting of 80 grenadiers, in the neighbourhood of Evora, near Alcobaca, which had come there in search of provisions, having under his command a detachment of the same number of Militia, of the garrison of Obidos, and was pursuing them when he was mortally wounded, and he died on the 10th; we have thus sustained a great loss, and he is lamented by all who had any knowledge of his gallantry and exertions. —It is generally reported that the battalions composing the 9th Corps have marched towards Madrid, where preparations were making for the assembly of a large body of troops. It is certain that all these troops, as well as Gardanne's detachment, have retired from the frontiers of Portugal.

Cartaxo, Dec. 11, 1810.

My Lord; It is with much regret that I communicate to you the loss of Captain Fenwick (Lieutenant in the Buffs), who died the following day of the wounds he received in the attack he made upon the enemy at Evora, on the 8th instant.—Your Lordship will equally feel with me the loss of this enterprising gallant young Officer, who, since the enemy's being in their late and present position, has been of so much service, and who has in such various instances given proofs of his talents and undaunted courage. I have the honour to be, &c. W. C. BERESFORD.

SPAIN.—*Decree of the Cortes, relative to Deserters.*—1 *Dec.* 1810.

The Cortes, wishing to shew its clemency, publishes a general amnesty to all military and maritime persons in the dominions of Spain, whether in Europe or Asia, under the following regulations:—Art. 1. All deserters in places not occupied by the enemy, may surrender themselves to the proper authorities within three months, and receive pardon.—Art. 2. The same pardon is extended to deserters residing in places occupied by the enemy, if they shall not have joined with the enemy, and if they present themselves before the proper Officers within six months. —Art. 3. Deserters who shall have gone to places occupied by the enemy, and shall have enlisted with the enemy by force used to induce them, if they should not actually have fought against their country, whether soldiers, corporals, or serjeants, shall receive their pardon, if they serve for eight years as common soldiers; and if they bring their horses or accoutrements with them, four years shall be deducted from this term.—Art. 4. Serjeants and others who being made prisoners, shall have united with the ranks of the enemy, if they have not actually borne arms against their country, will have the benefit of the above regulations.—Art. 5. Officers who shall have married without Royal licence, are included in this pardon. —Art. 6. The pardon likewise extends to all military offenders, with the exceptions distinguished in this instrument.—Art. 7. The pardon does not extend to traitors, spies, priests, killers, blasphemers, or purloiners of public property.—Art. 8. Nor to aggressors not having obtained the forgiveness of the party aggrieved; nor to those subjected to pecuniary fines, who have not paid the demand.—Art. 9. This pardon does not extend to those who may break the law subsequent to its publication.—Art. 10. It does apply to criminals who have fled, whose offences are not among the exceptions; and such as are out of the country will be allowed twelve months to testify their obedience.—The Council of Regency will undertake the execution of this Royal Order.

PORTUGAL AND SPAIN.—*Convention between the Governor of the Kingdom of Portugal and Algarves, in the name of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent of Portugal, and the Council of Regency of Spain and the Indies, in the name of his Catholic Majesty Ferdinand VIIth, signed in Lisbon by the respective Plenipotentiaries, and ratified by the Governor of Portugal the* 10*th Dec.* 1810.

The Governor of the Kingdom of Portugal, &c. and the Council of Regency of Spain, &c. in the name of their respective Sovereigns, taking into consideration the

mutual advantage that would arise to the two kingdoms, if, during the present war, and until the re-establishment of peace, the subjects of both kingdoms should be considered common to both with respect to military services, have authorized Commissioners, on the one side D. M. P. Forjaz, and on the other D. J. del Castillo e Carroz, to adjust, conclude, and settle a Convention for the said purpose, each of whom being properly instructed and authorized, have acceded to the following Agreement:—Having discovered the reciprocal utility which must result to the Kingdoms of Portugal and Spain, from augmenting as much as possible the number of their defenders, in the just cause of the independence of both monarchies, and to put an end as soon as possible to the destructive war by which the Peninsula is afflicted; we have temporarily suspended the privileges granted to the vassals of the two powers, with regard to military services, in order that as well the vassals of Spain, who are residing in Portugal, as the vassals of Portugal who reside in Spain, may be engaged in military duties, without being allowed to plead the exception, on account of the countries to which they belong; and being entitled only to the general exceptions of those in which they reside. Such subjects may be taken as recruits indiscriminately, if they do not voluntarily offer themselves for service to their own respective countries, and within five days after the publication of the present Convention. This declaration is to have effect during the present war; at the termination of which the vassals of each Kingdom are on the respective territories to resume the same privileges, immunities, and advantages which are conceded by the subsisting treaties between the two high contracting parties. Its operations to commence as soon as it shall have been ratified by the Governments, when the exchange of ratifications is immediately to take place.—In confirmation of this act, we, the Plenipotentiaries, authorized for such purpose, sign and seal, two originals of this Convention, and affix to them our names.—MIGUEL PEREIRA FORJAZ. Ratified by the Rubrics of the Lords Governors of Portugal, &c.

FRANCE.—*Decree relating to Commerce at Frankfort, 8 Nov. 1810.*

Napoleon, Emperor of the French, King of Italy, &c. Desirous of acting leniently towards,—1st. The Merchants of Frankfort, who in execution of our Decree of the 14th of October, and conformably to the Proclamation of the 22nd of the same month, have made a declaration of the Colonial Produce in their warehouses.—2d. The Merchants, Proprietors, or Consignees of Colonial Produce in the countries in which the provisions of our Decree of the 2d and 19th of October are applicable:—We have decreed and do decree as follows: —Art. I. The sequestration put in the City of Frankfort on the Colonial Produce described in the annexed Schedule is raised, upon condition that the duties established by the Tarifs of the 5th of August and 12th of September are paid. —II. The aforesaid duties shall be paid in specie, accepted bills, or promissory notes, well secured, at three, six and nine months, and in failure of well secured promissory notes, in merchandize equal in value to their amount.—III. All such produce accompanied by certificates of origin proving that it is derived from sales of prizes taken by our privateers, or from seizures or confiscations by our custom-house officers, may be imported into France and admitted without payment of new duties. For this purpose the Commission residing at Frankfort shall prepare an account, which is to be sent to the Director-General of our Customs, and by him laid before our Council of Commerce. —IV. Cotton twists and all manufactures of the British loom shall be burnt, conformably to our Decree of the 19th of October.—V. A strict search shall be made for Colonial Produce and manufactures not declared, and which are not comprised in the annexed Schedule. Such produce and manufactures shall be confiscated.—VI. Any person giving information of concealed merchandize which has not been declared, shall receive a fifth of the value.—VII. Our Ministers of War and Finance are charged with the execution of this Decree.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

THE REGENCY.——In my last Number I had not time to enter fully into the observations that I wished to offer, respecting *the measure, which, in my opinion, ought to be carried into effect by the Regent's ministers.* ——The questions relating to the formation of the Regency may now be looked upon as being settled; or, at least, the opinions of the public are now made up as to those questions; and, though it may be necessary to agitate some of them again, still I deem it now to be time to speak of what the public expect from the Regency. ——They expect, generally, *a change of system.* They expect, in particular, measures *to tranquillize Ireland,* and *a reform in the Commons House of Parliament.* Not hasty and crude innovations; but well-digested plans, as beneficial to the throne itself as to them. They expect, at least, that their petitions will be patiently listened to; that the subject of Reform will be cheerfully entertained and permitted to have a fair and full hearing and discussion.——As to Ireland, there is no man, of any party, who will pretend, that, if, by any chance, a French army of only five thousand men were to land there, the danger would not be extreme; and, we are repeatedly told, in the venal prints, that "*a regular army is necessary to guard* "*Ireland against French factions and machi-* "*nations.*"——To observe the apathy of some persons upon this subject, one would imagine that they knew no more of Ireland than of the lands in the moon; and, that it never entered into their minds to conceive, that Ireland composed *a part of the kingdom,* and that the people of that country contributed to the same Exchequer with ourselves. The East Indies, which is an eternal drain upon ourselves, which swallows up no small part of our taxes, which contributes not one farthing towards the national defence; that country appears, with some Englishmen, to be an object of great importance, compared with Ireland; and, in short, with some men, Ireland seems to be of no consequence at all; or, at the most, a mere mill-stone about the neck of England.—— I am the less inclined to censure these persons with severity, because I can remember the time, when I viewed the matter in the same light; but, having now had an opportunity of correcting my former opinions, it is my duty to endeavour to produce a similar change in the opinions of others, who may still retain their errors.——Ireland is not a mere unimportant colony, as some men would seem to consider it; but, she forms, in point of population, about *a third* part of this kingdom; and, in spite of all her absentees, in spite of her being deprived of dock-yards and of other great means of local wealth, she, besides the expences of her internal government, which are very great, contributes nearly *an eighth* part towards the expences of the general government of the kingdom, the maintenance of fleets, armies, and the rest. I wish to make no invidious comparisons, but, I cannot help stating, by way of illustration, that *Scotland* does not contribute more than about a *seventeenth* or *eighteenth.*—— Whence, then, is the cause of this indifference towards Ireland? What reason is there in it? It is utterly impossible to ascribe it to any cause, grounded in reflection or common sense.——But, at any rate, if we are determined to look upon Ireland as a country of no consequence, in any other respect, let us for our own safety's sake, consider it as a country that may possibly become the theatre of war. The venal writers tell us, and they are very forward to tell us, that there are French factions in Ireland. Indeed, there are acts of parliament in force, grounded upon the admitted fact of those factions being really in existence there. These acts I have before described. They authorize the Lord Lieutenant, upon representation made to him by the magistrates of any county, *to declare* such county to be in a disturbed state: and, when such declaration is made, *all persons whatever,* in that county, are compelled to remain *within their houses, or hovels, from sun-set to sun-rise.* The magistrates have authority to enter their houses or hovels *at any hour in the night*; and, if any man bring an action against any magistrate *for abusing his power,* the man who

brings the action is even *to pay his own costs,* though a *verdict* should be given in his favour, if the *court* think it right to order it to be so.——The acts contain much more, many other things worthy of notice; but, to any man, who takes one moment to reflect, who will, for one moment, consider how *he* should like to live under such laws in England, this specimen will be amply sufficient.——Whether these laws are, or are not, necessary to prevent open rebellion in Ireland, is a question that I shall not now discuss, and, indeed, it is a question of which I am not a competent judge. But, of this I am quite certain, and I am sure the reader will agree with me in the position, that such acts can be justified upon no other ground, than that of *absolute necessity* in order to prevent open rebellion, or some other equally great calamity.——Well, then, supposing the laws to be necessary to this extent, *what a situation* must Ireland be in? What an out-work is it likely to form against the approaches of the enemy? What sort of resistance to that enemy, if he should succeed in landing there, are we to expect from a people, to govern whom such laws are necessary?——Let it be observed here, that this is not a mere *temporary* measure; not a measure to meet a momentary effusion of discontent; but that these laws have been in force now for upwards of *three years.* If, therefore, they are necessary, again I ask what must be the situation of Ireland, and what the consequences of an invasion by France?——If Ireland were invaded and in the hands of the enemy, there are, I should suppose, very few persons so infatuated as to imagine, that England could long escape the same fate. I should suspect, that there are few to be found, even amongst the MEAN, MERCENARY and MALIGNANT men, who would pretend to say, that the consequences would not be fatal to England; but, there is no doubt that *they* will never acknowledge the danger, 'till they see Ireland absolutely lost. *Then* they would begin to tremble; but their trembling would come too late. It would be too late to tremble, when they saw two hundred thousand of the hardiest men upon earth, ranged under the banners of France, and drawn up on the shore of St. George's channel.——Is this an *exaggerated* view? Is it a mere *frightful dream?* Is it an invention to enforce an argument? Oh, no! Else why are we assured, that there are *French factions in Ireland,* and why are laws passed, bottomed upon that assurance? These laws have no other justification than the existence of such factions; that is to say, the existence, in Ireland, of a *French influence,* and that, too, to an extent dangerous to the state. Of course, then, we are to suppose, that such influence does actually exist, and we are to suppose also, that, if the French were, under the present circumstances, to land in the country, such landing would be attended with the consequences that I have anticipated.——Those, who, from whatever reason, wish not to look at or to think of Ireland, will say, that "the French are not there yet," and will turn off the subject, will evade any conclusion as to *consequences* by affecting to believe, that the *cause* will never exist.——And, what *foundation* have they for this belief? A French army *has* landed in Ireland; and very serious was the danger, before France was able to menace our own coast in the channel at the same time, and long before it was declared, that French influence existed in that country. France will shortly have five times the maritime means that she had then; she is now organizing a regular system of maritime warfare. She will, in the course of two years, have more seamen than we have, or can have, supposing us to be able to go on increasing our marine to the utmost extent of which our means are capable. She has all the ports and seamen and military means in the North of Europe, except those of Russia, which she will have when she pleases. She will be able to lose 50 or 60 ships of war in an attempt upon Ireland; and, what reason is there, then, to suppose that she will not make that attempt, especially when we consider the powerful motives that urge her to such an enterprize?——"The French are not there yet." No. That is very true. Neither were the French in Holland in 1792; nor in Austria in 1804; nor in Prussia in 1806; nor in Spain in 1807; nor in Sweden in 1809. But, one year later than each of these years the French were in all these countries; and, we well know, that, in all these countries the French still are. It is the saying of a poor shuffler, or a coward, therefore, who dares not look reason or danger in the face, that, "the French are not there yet."——If, then, it be a fact, that these dangers do exist, *what can be done to obviate them?* This is the question, and, in discussing this question, we should pro-

ceed as we do in all other cases where our object is to prevent or avoid a danger; namely, to ascertain the *true cause*, and to remove it if possible.——If you find your shoe pinch you, it is folly to curse the shoe or even the maker, but it is little short of madness not to endeavour to make it easier to your foot, if it be an object of too much importance to be, at once, cast aside.——It is equally foolish to rail against the Irish or the French, in this case; for such railing will not diminish the evil, but it may very reasonably be supposed likely to add to it.——I have many times asked the question: "*Why* should the Irish be attached to the French?" A question which the venal shun as the bands of Satan are said to have shunned Ithuriel's spear. "There are *rebels* in Ireland." Aye, but *how came* they there? "Oh! why they are *wicked fellows*, that want to separate Ireland from England." Yes, but this is no *answer* to my question, for, then, again, I ask *why* this is? "Oh! there are very *few* of these "*turbulent* men; the people, in general, "like the system very well." They do, do they? They *like* to live under cover, and within their houses, from sun-set to sun-rise? "Oh! no; we don't say that, "but they would rather submit to these "*little inconveniences* than have their coun-"try overturned by the turbulent, and the "French factions." Aye, this may be, but, if these turbulent men are *so few* in number, why do not *the people* put them down? Why not take these turbulent fellows and punish them, at once, and get rid of them?——There can be *no answer* given to this. It is impossible for the keenest sophister to get over the dilemma that here presents itself.——Well, then, the existence of *French influence* being the proximate cause of the danger, what is *the cause of that French influence*? Why, the *discontents of the people*. Remove, therefore, the grounds of that discontent, and the French factions perish like the toad which has no longer poison to feed on.——*What*, then, are those grounds? This is a question, which, in these times, a prudent man will not answer. Nor, indeed, is it necessary to any one, who takes an impartial view of the state of Ireland, where, in as fine a climate and on as fertile a soil as any in the world, misery the most deplorable presents itself in every quarter. There, to use the words of Dr. Drennan, in his beautiful poem on the emptiness of Pedigree, published in the last Volume of the Poetical Register, there, where

Green meadows spread—resplendent rivers run—
A healthy climate and a temp'rate sun.
There Misery sits and eats her lazy root,
There, man is proud to dog his brother brute;
In sloth the genius of the Isle decays,
Lost in his own, reverts to former days;
Yet still, like Lear, would in his hovel rule,
Mock'd by the madman, jested by the fool.
There meet th' extremes of rank—there social art
Has levell'd mankind by their selfish heart.
There no contented middle rank we trace,
The sole ambition to be rich and base.

There is a licence allowed to poets; but, is this picture far from the truth? Is it any thing more than a strong and lively representation of the sorrowful reality?——And, *why* should this be? Why should Ireland be in a state of semi-barbarism? Why should it be in a state to render *necessary* such laws as we have seen above described, and such treatment as we have, alas! all heard of? "Traitors!" Yes, poor Ireland has had traitors indeed; but these traitors are men who have calumniated her for the purpose of serving their own interested and base purposes; these are the true Irish Traitors.——Ireland took the lead of England in civilization; she has a better climate and a more fertile soil; she has harbours, rivers, all the natural advantages that England possesses, and in a greater proportion. Her people are naturally robust, brave, generous *, and

* The following most striking instance of the kindness and generosity of the Irish peasants is worthy of notice and admiration. I quote the passage from a speech of Mr. O'Connel, at a late meeting of the Catholics in Dublin; and, when you have read it, say whether such a people are not capable of being gained by acts of kindness; say, whether nothing but an army can keep down French factions amongst such a people.——"This character of the "noble feelings of the Irish peasantry did "not rest on a single fact. What had oc-"curred in the county of Cork was in the "recollection of gentlemen from the South "of Ireland.—When a detachment of the "Brunswick Corps, quartered at Fermoy "in August last, was ordered to embark at "Cove, on the march from Fermoy some "women, who accompanied the soldiers "hither, for the purpose of keeping up "with the battalion, or because they knew "that incumbered with children, they

full of genius and spirit. I observed before how conspicuously this was proved by their success and influence in the American States. There, where *all nations meet*, without any preference; where they all enter the lists of talents, industry, and enterprize; there, where all have "a "clear stage and no favour," the Irish have obtained a decided predominance, notwithstanding the wretched plight in which they generally make their entry, notwithstanding the far greater part of them are, at first, bond men and bond women, and thus have to work for years to pay off the debt which the misery of Ireland had imposed upon them. We see grants made annually out of the public-money to make roads and bridges and canals in the *High-lands of Scotland* for the avowed purpose of *creating*, in that most steril of all countries, *labour* in order to *prevent the people from emigrating*. And, while we are doing this, we see, in every two or three years, as many people emigrate from Ireland as *the whole population* of the High-lands amounts to! Is this a mark of wisdom? Was there ever any thing so directly in the teeth of reason as this?—— Why not do something to keep the Irish at home. It is *certain* that people will not voluntar[illegible] quit their native soil if they be happy, or only tolerably comfortable there. Th[illegible] certain, and we, though very unwi[illegible] in my opinion, are taxing one part of [illegible] kingdom to *make work* for people in another part (the High-lands) in order to make the people comfortable. But, while this is done, shall we do nothing [illegible] the people of Ireland, who do not want our *money*; who want no work *made* for them; but, who have a climate and a soil ready to produce more than they can [illegible]—[illegible] asked *what* can be done for them, and whether I believe, that granting the claims of the Catholics would do every thing? I answer, that this particular measure would not, in my opinion, do much; but, it would do *something*. It is *one* of the things that should be done, and, as it would not cost one single penny beyond the amount of the paper and print of the Act of Parliament, there can be no ground for delaying, other than those grounds which have been so often stated, and so often *proved* to be futile.——But, though this measure would be something; though it would please a great number of persons, and give rise to hope in a greater number, it must be followed by other measures, having a tendency to better the lot of the common people; and, though to effect this must be a work of time, let it be recollected, that *content* would commence with the *commencement* of a better state of things. The patient dates his pleasure from the day when he feels that his cure has *begun*; and, perhaps, the day of his perfect re-establishment does not yield him pleasure so great.——If a people fall into a state like that in which the people of Ireland are, we are not bound to assign the cause. We have a right to assume, that the fault is in the manner of governing the country. Who that has read the observations of intelligent travellers, who that has travelled himself, has not ascribed the misery of a people, where he has found them miserable, to the go-

"would have less prospect of being re-
"ceived in the transports, began to aban-
"don their children, leaving them in the
"potatoe gardens and behind the hedges.
"One or two of the children were found
"in much danger from the cattle and pigs.
"The Country People became alarmed;
"compassion shot, like electricity, through
"them; they crowded to the troops, and
"attended their march, receiving every
"child the women chose to leave behind;
"—they even offered money to the
"mothers to give up the children with-
"out exposing them. Astonished at the
"eagerness of their humanity, some of
"the women availed themselves of it, and
"actually set up their children to auc-
"tion. A child or two, between Middle-
ton and , sold as high as six shil-
"lings. I was myself shewn some of the
"children in about six weeks after, and
"the potatoe diet had agreed very well
"with them.—Can any man be found so
"callous to humanity as not to regret that
"the noble nature of the Irish Peasant is not
"better cultivated; but the fact I speak
"of passed almost as a thing of course,
"and nearly without notice: it was in-
"deed mentioned in one or two of the
"Cork News-papers, but there it rested.—
"In England, had a man of fortune, out
"of ostentation or vanity, taken up a single
"child of a foreign soldier, it would be
"blazoned forth trumpet tongued—the
"newspapers would never cease extolling
"the bountiful benefactor—the fact would
"be sung in ballads, and recorded in lyric
"poetry; but in Ireland, it is a crime
"against the hirelings of the day, to praise
"Irish virtues; for which I trust that they
"will never forgive me."

vernment, and not to the people themselves? Who that has looked over the stock of a farm and seen a parcel of poor, wretched-looking animals, ever thought of ascribing the condition of the stock to any one but the farmer? I do not compare men to beasts; but the cases are exactly similar. And, do not governments themselves recognize this principle in taking credit to themselves for the prosperity of the people, which they never fail to do when they can? Indeed, it is to the *laws* of a state, as well as to the *rules* in a family, that we are to look for the cause of prosperity or of misery.——Therefore, without entering into any detail, we may ask *why* the people of Ireland are in their present state; *why* they require a regular army to keep down French factions; *why* they fill every hole and corner in every ship that goes to America; *why* they go to cultivate the lands and to add to population, the talents and the power of other countries? We have a right to ask of our rulers, *why* these things are, and to call upon them to put an end to their existence.——I have always thought, that the measure of Catholic emancipation, as it is called, should be followed by others of far more extensive effect; and, one of these is, the doing away of that ground of everlasting heart-burning, the *tythes.* The people of Scotland pay no tythes. They maintain their own clergy. And, why should *Catholics* not have the same exemption, in this respect, that *Presbyterians* have? Ireland is as much a Catholic country as Scotland is a Presbyterian country.——In the establishment of tythes, where the mass of the people profess the religion of the church to which the tythes are given, and *where the rector or vicar resides,* there is no injustice at all, and, in general, the cry, as injurious to industry, against tythes, is not well-founded, any more than a cry against rent would be; but, where three fourths of those who pay tythes are well known not to belong to the church to which they are obliged to render them, and especially when the mode of exaction is such as it is in Ireland, where the parties have to deal with a tythe factor, and where the heats and animosities of a tythe auction are annually revived in every parish, the hardship and mortification are intolerable. —— This might be completely done away, and without any injury to the Protestant Church. To purchase up the whole of the livings in Ireland, including the sees, would not cost *half so much as the war in Portugal has already cost;* and, if the incumbents were paid the worth of their livings for their lives, what reason would they have to complain?——If any one should object, that the Church of England would suffer in its patronage, and, if, upon due consideration, that should be determined to be an evil, the livings in England might be augmented in value as the Irish incumbents dropped off, so as to preserve to the Protestant church the same amount of income and the same degree of weight that it now has in both islands, and, of course, the same degree of patronage to the Crown. ——There would a question arise as to *private patronage;* but, it should be observed, that it is a monstrous abuse, a most outrageous insult to all true principle, to consider the advowsons as *private property,* when it is in the way of a *trust,* and in no other way, that they are looked upon by the law; and when the statute book will tell any man that will take the pains to look into it, that it was the *abuse* of this trust, by the communities of monks, that produced the Reformation in this country, and the putting down of the Catholic religion. Nevertheless, in order to leave no ground for complaint upon this score, the additional patronage given to the patrons in England might be paid for, and thus the loss of private patronage in Ireland might receive a just compensation.——All the minor regulations for the allotment of churches, &c. would be easily managed. The whole would not be a work of three years; and, in those three years, no "regular army would be wanted to keep "down French factions." In the course of seven years, I should suppose, that this army would cost much more than the whole of the expences of this change. Does not reason, nay, does not necessity, point this measure out to us?——Of the effect of such a measure no man can judge, who has not very closely considered the workings of the tythe system in Ireland. This measure would, besides the real *relief* that it would afford the people, put an end to all religious animosities, because it would do away the great distinctive mark of different religions. Ireland would no longer exhibit the unnatural spectacle of a parish church (where there is one yet standing) where a Protestant curate performs his hasty service to half a dozen people, while a Catholic chapel, standing near to it, is crammed to the very mouth of the porch, and while, in many instances, the flock, for want of room within, are

kneeling in the dirt round about the walls. While this is the case, things may possibly go on; Ireland may be held to England, and we may use the title of *United Kingdom;* but, I think, that every reasonable man must be convinced, that Ireland never will be tranquil, and that the Union will exist only in name.——That dissenting Protestants in Ireland (of whom the number is very considerable) would gladly see such a measure adopted, there can be no doubt; and, as to the Protestants of the established Church, though they might regret the loss of predominance as a religious sect, they would feel an ample compensation in the relief, in which they too would share, from the burthen and vexations of a tythe system, such as that existing in Ireland, and of which an English cultivator cannot form any thing like an adequate idea.——The scruples of those Protestants, who would consider such a change as tending to foster the Catholic religion, and to prevent the chance of *converting* Catholics to the *true faith,* I wish to treat with all possible tenderness; but, when they consider, that we have been *two hundred years* at this work of conversion, and that we have made such trifling progress therein, they must, I should imagine, be disposed to think that we have been pursuing *a wrong plan,* and be ready to agree with me, that a change of plan, even with this object in view, is dictated by sound policy; and that, at any rate, as far as relates to the work of conversion, no change of system can be for the worse. ——Is there any one, who objects solely upon the ground that I propose an *innovation?* What have we seen but innovations for the last twenty years? And what have we heard in justification of them, but that "the *times* were such as rendered extraordinary measures necessary to the safety of the state?" Are not the laws above-mentioned, now existing in Ireland, *an innovation?* Are they the settled laws of the land? Was not the Union itself *an innovation?* And, is it a less thing to take away the legislature of Ireland, than to make a change in the disposition of the property of the church?——It is acknowledged, on all hands, that the reign of QUEEN ANNE was the most glorious that England ever saw; but, the Union with Scotland was by far the most glorious act of that glorious reign; and, if the Union with Ireland had been bottomed upon the same principles (with some few exceptions) the latter would have served, in some measure, to compensate for the numerous and weighty losses and calamities of the reign of George the Third. The people of Scotland had *their own Church* established; they were not compelled to contribute to the support of the Church of England. There was none of those odious and galling distinctions left remaining, which, in spite of names and forms, keep different parts of a kingdom effectually *divided,* divided in *heart,* separated by feeling, and, as is the case in all family disputes, strongly disposing the weaker party to throw himself into the hands of the enemy, be he who he may, of the stronger party. In short, such a state of things presents to the stronger party this sole alternative, either of putting the weaker party upon a fair footing with himself, or keeping him in subjection by force.——As to matters of *trade* and *commerce,* there ought to be, in no way whatever, any distinction. If Ireland possess any natural advantages superior to England, let her have the full benefit of them. Why should she not, seeing that her strength and wealth would belong to the whole kingdom? It would be as foolish to make any distinctions, in this respect, between Northumberland and Sussex, as between England and Ireland. If Ireland has a fine port, why not have one of our great dock-yards and arsenals there? Would the French hope to seduce Ireland, if she were placed upon such a footing? Ireland abounds with timber, why should not that timber be converted, upon the spot, into ships of war? And, how foolish as well as unjust would it be in us to grudge her a share in these advantages and honours? But, if we have any feelings of this sort; if *we* find it impossible to divest ourselves of such feelings, let us, for decency sake, not be guilty of the flagrant injustice of railing against the Irish for appearing to be impatient of our predominance.———In whatever light, therefore, that I view the matter, whether I consider what is in justice due to this part of the kingdom, or, taking a more narrow and selfish view, confine myself to the interests of England; whether I take justice or policy for my guide, I am led to the firm conviction of the wisdom of adoptbling the measures that I have here proposed, and of any other measures, which, to a person of greater knowledge and experience, may present themselves as likely to have the same tendency, namely, that of gaining the people of Ireland by

kindness and conciliation, and thus enabling us to set at nought all the powers of seduction, now said to be exercised by the factions in the interest of France.——Thus have I stated, as fully as it appears to me necessary, at present, my opinion as to what ought to be done with regard to this important part of the kingdom; I have shewn its consequence, its weight in the general scale of dominion; the causes of its being liable to the influence of our enemy; the danger to be apprehended from those causes, and the means that I think likely to remove the causes, and, of course, the danger. I have shewn, I think, that self-preservation as well as justice call for the measures I have recommended; and, I see no solid objection, of any sort, to their adoption.——Whether his Royal Highness, the Prince of Wales, with all the limitations upon his Authority (if they should be persevered in) will be able to effect such measures, I know not; but, it will be in his power, and I am sure he will have the inclination, to convince the people of Ireland, that his *wishes* are to do every thing just and reasonable, to conciliate them and restore tranquillity and happiness to their country.

Mr Lemaitre.——Immediately following this Article, will be found the Petition of Mr. Lemaitre, who, in consequence of an attack of one Jacks, a Member of the Common Council of London, and a man *who makes great coats water-proof for the army*, has been compelled again to appear before the public.——The Trial at Guildhall, upon this subject, is before the public; but, as I deem it a matter of vital importance to put every thing of this sort upon record, being well convinced, that this is not the last time we shall *hear of them*, I have taken the fullest report that I could find (that in the Morning Chronicle) and have inserted it below.——From this report it will be seen, that the defendant Jacks did not attempt to make good his charge against Mr. Lemaitre; and that the latter failed from a want of legal exactness in the drawing up of the declaration. But, at the close, the Attorney General (who was the *defender* of Jacks) said, that he could declare, that his client did not make use of the words imputed to him.——I beg the reader, if he has any regard for freedom; if he has any desire at all to see preserved the smallest remains of what has been called *liberty* in this country, to read the proceedings upon this Trial carefully through; and above all things, to mind what was said by the JUDGE. I beg him to do this, and, if he is likely not to have it at hand, to note down the very words upon a slip of paper, and put them into his pocket book. He will in time, find them of great use to him. I beg him to do it, and if he does it not, he will be sorry for the omission.—— In bare justice to Mr. Lemaitre, I have placed his Petition, in front of the proceedings in this Trial: and, from the two together, the people of England and the world, will see what sort of treatment he has received.——He presented several petions. He all along *challenged trial* He was either imprisoned, or harrassed from the age of 18 to 25. He never obtained *redress* of any sort. Is he *never* to have it? Is he, on the contrary, still to be charged with the crime to prove, or to *try* him for which, his accusers did not venture to attempt?——The *public* are much indebted to him for thus causing the subject to be revived and again discussed. It makes us look back to the times of the power of "*the great statesman now no more.*" It brings up again the merits of that great cause that was before the public 16 years ago. It reminds us of the acts that were then done, and tends to hand them down to our children, just now beginning to be able justly to estimate them.——Such men as the great coat renderer call for "*unanimity;*" they are always bawling out to the people to "join *heart* and *hand* against the enemy," that they may go quietly on making, or rendering, great coats and the like. But, at the same time, they fail not to bawl, with equal loudness, *Jacobin* and *Traitor*. This is their way of producing *unanimity!* But, the truth is, this they must do, or give way at once in all the political contests. They have neither *fact* nor *argument* wherewith to meet their adversaries, and, therefore, they must resort to personal abuse, to personal imputations, to charges of some sort or other; or, they must hold their tongues. Hold their tongues they cannot, they *dare* not; and, of course, out must come the abuse and the false charges.—— These men are, however, now driven up into a corner. They are beset with difficulties. They do not like the looks of Napoleon's fleets and armies. They smell powder. They, in the language of the Courier (for the Morning Post has cowed down) talk of "*the Burdettite Livery;*" but, then, again they are checked,

when they reflect, that these are the people, *all the people,* whom they call *Burdettites;* and, with this reflection in their minds, *they cast their eyes across the channel.* The Livery of London are a fair specimen of all the men of *sinews* in England, and what is to become of England, if all men of sinews are Burdettites, and all the Burdettites traitors?——These accusers are, therefore, now in a very sad dilemma.——There was a time when their accusations were attended with no apparent danger. But, now the matter grows a little serious. They cannot now deny, that imminent danger from without is approaching. They feel it too; and, though they mortally hate "the Burdettite Livery," they are aware, that the time may come, when "the Burdettite Livery" may be wanted. ——Would they not do well, then, to bethink them, while there is time, of a change of tone; or, at least, of a suspension of their accusations? Let us hope, however, that we are now going to see, *a change of system;* let us hope. that, there will now be a trial made of the effects of *conciliation;* let us hope, that, as far as it is possible, we shall now see undone what was done by "*the great statesman now no* "*more;*" let us hope, that these accusations will now cease, and that those who ask for nothing but their *rights* will no longer be exposed to the accusation of *treason;* let us hope, that Englishmen will be once more united in wishes for the defence of their country by having nothing to tempt to hold cheap that most important object. This is amongst the benefits which we have a right to expect from men not wedded to the system of "*the great* "*statesman now no more.*"

WM. COBBETT.

State Prison, Newgate, Friday, January 18, 1811.

MR. LEMAITRE.

ENGLAND.——The Petition of Mr. P. T. Lemaitre to the House of Commons, presented by MR. GREY, now EARL GREY.

"*To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland the humble Petition of P. T. Lemaitre,*

"Sheweth,—That your petitioner was arrested in Sept. 1794, in the house of Macaire, and Co. watch case makers, where he was articled, under a warrant from his Grace the Duke of Portland, charging him with high treason; his books and papers were seized to the amount of several pounds, and are still detained, although the Privy Council, during several very long examinations, never produced any thing said to have been found in his possession to which they endeavoured to attach blame. Your petitioner hoped that he had satisfactorily repelled before them the charges preferred against him of a design to assassinate his Sovereign, and beside his own testimony some respectable friends without his knowledge voluntarily presented themselves, and were examined, to prove the strong improbability of his being engaged in such a plot. Yet he was committed to the House of Correction, in Cold Bath Fields, and treated there with the utmost brutality. On the arrest of your petitioner, his mother was told by one of the officers that they had seized enough in his possession to hang him, and that she must expect to see him no more until she saw him go to the gallows. She was put to bed and rose no more. She died in about two months. On this occasion, Aris, the keeper of the Cold Bath Fields prison, had the inhumanity to order two persons whom his deputy had directed to attend your petitioner in strong convulsions, to quit his chamber, and leave him to his fate, which they did, supposing, as they informed him, on his recovery, he could never survive this treatment.—Thus torn from his business, ease, and comfort, your petitioner passed the severe winter of 1794 and 1795, in a cold damp cell, and still he occasionally suffers by a complaint contracted in this place. His friends were refused admittance, his father and cousin (Macaire) alone excepted, even a taylor was not allowed to measure him, for mourning; all parcels coming to or going from him were closely searched in the prison, and in this examination they found their account, as they could select the articles they chose for their own wear; and when your petitioner complained, to the keeper, Aris, that he had been plundered of a month's linen, &c. he said he could do nothing in it, unless your petitioner chose to have the lodgings of all the turnkeys searched: an indiscriminate and fruitless measure, your petitioner did not consent to adopt. Robbed of health, peace, and property, your petitioner left this place on £.300 bail in May, 1795, and immediately on his liberation went to the house of the Right Hon. Wm. Pitt, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, to demand the necessary

documents in order to institute a prosecution against the parties, by whose machinations he had so severely suffered. After some time he was referred to the Privy Council, but his application to their lordships was unsuccessful. The following year, 1796, your petitioner was surprised with the intelligence that a bill of indictment for high treason had been found against him at the Old Bailey. He immediately surrendered to the court, and was committed to Newgate. Some weeks after this he was arraigned at the bar, when, strange as it may appear for the first time in his life your petitioner met here, a man, Crosfield, and held up his hand with him, whom to the best of his knowledge he had never seen or heard of before, but with whom he was charged with conspiring the King's death. Some months after this, your petitioner was again put to the bar and acquitted; Mr. Attorney General declaring he had no evidence to produce against him. But, your Hon. House will observe that this summary discharge did not acquit your petitioner of any of the expences of a defence, the great amount of which to a private individual without fortune is exceedingly oppressive, nor was this the whole extent of the pecuniary loss incurred by your petitioner. His agreements with Messrs. Macaire, and Co. exacted of him for every day's absence from business 9 shillings, on which account he paid upwards of an hundred guineas.—In April, 1798, your petitioner was again seized, and again committed to Newgate, on charges of "treasonable practices," where after he had been confined about a year he was attacked violently with spasms in the stomach, and, once more in a prison, his life was despaired of. Your petitioner earnestly solicited of His Grace the Duke of Portland, that he might be brought to trial, but received no answer. From this prison on the 10th August, 1799, your petitioner was removed to Reading Jail, where his spasmodic complaint again returned, on which occasion he met with the reverse of the humane treatment he had before experienced in Newgate. Your petitioner remained here until the 2d of March, 1801, when he was ordered to town, and taken before Mr. Justice Ford, in Bow Street, who offered to liberate him on condition of giving his own recognizance to appear on the first day of the ensuing term in the Court of King's Bench. But, as the Privy Council had refused to tell him on his examination in 1798, on what specific charge, he had been arrested, your petitioner refused to enter into the recognizance demanded of him, until he could learn the real grounds of accusation on which he had been three years detained in various prisons. On his refusal to accede to the terms proposed, your petitioner was taken from this office to the Parliament Street Hotel, whence he wrote to the Duke of Portland, desiring to be liberated without any condition or recognizance. Your petitioner received no answer, but was committed the same afternoon to Tothill Fields prison, in which new hardships awaited him, for either he must submit to be lodged in an apartment destitute of every accommodation, wherein to exclude the inclemencies of the season he must shut out the light, the window not being glazed, he must associate with felons at the rate of 35 shillings per week, or pay two guineas and a half per week for his board and lodging. The state of your petitioner's health demanded that he should reject the first, his character and feelings would not allow him to submit to the second, and thus he was reduced to the necessity to preserve his health, and avoid the worst society, to incur an expence in this protracted season of suffering beyond his power to discharge, without a painful dependance on friends, whose resources he had already exhausted. In this situation your petitioner again appealed to the Duke of Portland, but his Grace directed that he should be allowed only 20 shillings per week, leaving £1. 12 6. to be paid by himself. By stat. 7 of William 3 cap. —— it is enacted that no person shall be prosecuted for treason, unless it be against the king's person three years after the fact is committed. The Habeas Corpus Act was now in force. Your petitioner therefore, having since his last arrest been confined three years, thought the law would liberate him Lord Kenyon was applied to for an Habeas, but he refused to grant one, and referred your petitioner to the Court of King's Bench in the ensuing term. But before the first day of term when your petitioner was to have been brought up to the Court, the Habeas Corpus Act was again suspended. Under these circumstances your petitioner submitted to the terms of liberation again offered to him through the personal medium of Mr. Ford, and was liberated on the 25th of April last. On the 11th inst. your petitioner addressed to his Grace the Duke of Portland, a memorial giving a detail of the

above particulars, and requesting to be reimbursed his immediate expences. To this application no answer has been made. ——By every consideration your petitioner is now invited to appeal to your Hon. House. Did your petitioner feel in the smallest degree culpable, he would court obscurity, and silently submit to the ruin that unavoidably follows such an age of suffering, having been confined a great part of the period between eighteen and twenty-five years of age. But your petitioner assures your Hon. House, that he has innocently incurred the injuries he has endured, and such your petitioner humbly submits is the presumption arising from the protraction of imprisonment, beyond the period limited by the statute already alluded to for the trial of persons accused of treason (except on the king's person, with which your petitioner was not charged) inasmuch as were your petitioner guilty *even in the judgment of his Majesty's then ministers*, it would leave them without excuse, and guilty themselves of a high misdemeanour of neglect, and breach of public duty to his Majesty and their country, for suffering a traitor to escape for ever without bringing him to trial. Your petitioner, therefore, humbly prays your Hon. House to take his case into your consideration, and for such relief or the adoption of such measures as your Hon. House in your wisdom these circumstances may seem to require.——And your petitioner shall ever pray.——P. T. LEMAITRE.—— *June* 1, 1801.

Report of Proceedings, in the Trial of an Action, brought by MR. P. T. LEMAITRE *against* JACKS, *for defamation.—Tried, in the Court of King's Bench, Guildhall, on Wednesday, the* 10*th January*, 1811.

This was an action for words spoken in defamation of Plaintiff by defendant.

Mr. TERRY opened the pleadings.

Mr. GARROW stated the Plaintiff's case. He said it became his duty to address his Lordship and the Jury upon a case of no ordinary importance, whether it was considered in reference to the rights of an individual or of the privileges of well regulated society in general—it was indeed a case of that weight, that though, since last he had addressed a jury, he doubted much if ever he or a jury should again hear his voice within a Court of Justice, yet he had not cared if his absence had been lengthened out another day, that his Client might have the advantage of having this cause opened to them by his Learned Friend upon his right hand (Mr. Topping). The Plaintiff in this case, Mr. Lemaitre, was well known to them; he had resided for ten years in the City of London, in the same house, surrounded by the same friends, in the same neighbourhood where he had for that time uniformly conducted himself as, and was known as a tender husband, and the decorous father of a family faithfully discharging all the duties of an honest industrious citizen. In this situation he discovers, from a communication made to his friends, that an attack, as unexpected as it was gross and unprovoked, has been made upon his character. He sees himself represented in the Newspapers as a convicted traitor, and held forth in that odious light to his fellow citizens. A charge of this nature must of course have had retrospective tendency, but it could be proved that no part of Mr. Lemaitre's antecedent life could warrant so severe an imputation; the circumstances, however, which had been made the pretence of that charge, he should explain to the Jury. Some years ago many well meaning men had been led into an association for the laudable purpose of furthering, by all Constitutional means, what appeared to them the great and desirable object of a Reform in Parliament; of these Mr. Lemaitre was one; to these other men contrived to add themselves, professing the same ostensible object, but who were far from being influenced by the same honest views. The designs of such evil men, together with the urgent dangers of the crisis, excited more than ordinary suspicion and alarm on the part of the Government, and the great men who then presided thought it necessary to suspend for a time that great bulwark of the rights of Englishmen, the Habeas Corpus Act. In the midst of the alarm, Mr. Lemaitre, at that time but eighteen years of age, had become an object of the suspicion of Government, owing, no doubt, to the youthful ardour and indiscretion of his zeal in a good cause, rather than from any actual concern in a bad one. Mr. Lemaitre was arrested upon suspicion of seditious practices; and upon being brought to his trial his Majesty's Attorney General acknowledged he had no evidence against him, and he was discharged. Now he would ask, were these circumstances to warrant any other man in branding him as a convicted traitor—if they were, who

could be safe—what was the use of trial or what the advantage of acquittal, if any miscreant could with impunity charge an innocent man with accusations the most foul and injurious; but he would ask what, in such circumstances, would have been the conduct of any Christian man, in adverting to any such topic—what might be expected from common charity in judging or in speaking of circumstances which had involved an innocent man in sufferings, under the consequences of which he yet laboured; for the corporeal infirmities brought down on Mr. Lemaitre, by his imprisonment at that period, he would perhaps feel as long as he lived. Yet, under all these afflicting circumstances, of which Mr. Jacks, the Defendant, could not have been ignorant, Mr. Jacks comes forth, in open day, in a full assembly of the Common Council, and reports and publishes Mr. Lemaitre as a convicted traitor—the man who, after a long imprisonment upon suspicion, merely was acquitted without any opening. Had Mr. Lemaitre ever dreaded or shrunk from enquiry? No, he had all along courted it, and had even subsequently petitioned against a Bill before Parliament, for indemnifying certain conduct at that time. The circumstances more immediately connected with the fact of defamation, he should briefly state—a debate took place in the Court of Common Council, upon the question of a Reform in Parliament; the conduct of Sir Francis Burdett came indirectly to be questioned or applauded according as the respective speakers thought of his merits or demerits. Here, were he disposed to question the privileges of this City Parliament, he might say, that such a debate might be carried on without necessarily involving slander against any one; and that those privileges could never have been meant to extend to the justification of such slander. Let no one, however, now go forth and say that he had been treating the Common Council with disrespect. He was not only incapable of treating that body with contempt, but he felt for that Court the greatest possible respect. But, to proceed, it seems, says Mr. Garrow, that there had been great speaking on this day; some very fine speeches; among others, Mr. Quin spoke, who I understand is a great orator (a laugh); I speak it seriously; I have been so informed: I cannot speak of my own knowledge, and indeed I have often regretted that my avocations in this Court did not allow me to attend the Common Council on those days, for the purpose of improving myself (a laugh); had I done so, you, Gentlemen, might have had a much better speech than you can now reasonably expect from me (a laugh); but after Mr. Quin sat down, up rose Mr. Jacks, and what think ye, Gentlemen, was Mr. Jacks' mode of reasoning; the object of it, I am first to tell you, was to establish the demerit of Sir Francis Burdett. And how does he endeavour to compass that object? If he had descanted on the general conduct, or the particular acts of that honourable Baronet's public life, and had endeavoured to shew that that course of conduct, or those facts, did not deserve the public confidence, I could understand that whether he was right or wrong in his opinion, he was fairly trying to persuade others to think as he did; but no, this was not the course pursued by Mr. Jacks; after saying all he could against Sir Francis, upon his own grounds, he steps out upon other, and dragging in the character and feelings of an innocent man, asks his hearers, "What ought they to think of Sir Francis Burdett, associating, as he did, with such convicted traitors as Despard, O'Connor, and Lemaitre?" So that his argument was this: You cannot think too badly of Sir Francis Burdett; and why, because he associates with such a convicted traitor as Lemaitre: thus does he top his climax of accusation against the character of Sir Francis Burdett, by holding it forth as a stamp of the vilest ignominy, he having associated with such a convicted traitor as my client; and, Gentlemen, is this to be borne? What is to become of the characters or feelings of men, if they are thus slanderously and ruinously to be violated and sported with? —So much for the offence itself: and now, Gentlemen, we shall see how far that offence was aggravated by the subsequent conduct of Mr. Jacks. My client on hearing of this wanton slander, instead of allowing it to provoke him into the commission of any corresponding outrage, sends a friend to Mr. Jacks, and in temperate measured language applied for such an explanation, or apology, as under such circumstances the injured party might expect, and no well regulated mind would have refused; but instead of Mr. Jacks making any acknowledgment, either denying the offensive words or the intention of offending; instead of saying, "I do not recollect using the word traitor, or if it

did escape me in the heat of debate, in the effervescence of my eloquence, I am sorry for it, and from what I have since learned I now acknowledge that the word does not apply to you;" but no, nothing of all this from Mr. Jacks, and here I would not trust my memory, so astonished was I, and no doubt must you, Gentlemen, be when you hear his cool, well considered, deliberate reply to the man he had so cruelly injured; so astonished was I when I first saw it, that I should be afraid to trust my memory, and shall therefore read it to you from the original, which I now hold in my hand, and which will be given in evidence to you by and by; it begins thus: "I have spoken to several of my friends who were present that day at the Common Council, none of whom remember my having used the expressions complained of, and several of them have no recollection of your name having been mentioned by me; besides, in any of the newspapers I have seen, I have not observed in any of them such expressions attributed to me."—Here, Gentlemen, allow me one word, Mr. Jacks says that several of the Members of the Common Council did not hear Mr. Lemaitre's name mentioned, and what does all this prove? Why that Mr. Jacks, eloquent a Gentleman as he is, was not heard, perhaps not attended to by every Member of the Common Council throughout the whole of his speech! Are the Members of that Court so few in number? My Learned Friend, the Common Serjeant, could assist us here; there are I believe about 200 Members, and the room is large and commodious, for I have been there. I remember I went as a beggar, and most generously did the Common Council treat me. I made them a speech; that to be sure would have been no recommendation had it not been a short one They gave me 200*l.* in aid of a most excellent charity, the Sea-bathing Infirmary, so Gentlemen you will judge whether I have not good reason to feel all respect for that body, and not the less so as I am shortly again to pay my respects to them in a visit upon a similar occasion, when I have no doubt of experiencing the same liberal reception. (A laugh!) But, Gentlemen, Mr. Jacks further says in this paper, that the newspapers he had seen, made no mention of those slanderous expressions. I can tell him why they did not, because they did not think fit to subject themselves to a prosecution, and I could produce some of those Gentlemen who are in the habit of taking reports, who not only heard the words as spoken, but who demurred as to the safety of inserting them. He could produce one of those who had dissuaded others from reporting the defamatory words upon a well-grounded apprehension of this sort. Those gentlemen evinced not abilities only, but discretion in the discharge of that duty, for as they might well say to one another, "Whether the Parliament at Westminster, or the Parliament in the City, or this Court, or that Court have, or have not their peculiar privileges, this we must know, that we have no such privileges, and that if we publish the libel we hear, it will be poor consolation to us that the libeller can stand on his privileges if we, however, are to stand in the pillory." (A laugh!) But, Gentlemen, to go on with this paper, Mr. Jacks having said thus much, arrogantly adds—so arrogantly that I was going to say what I am glad did not escape me. What Gentleman ever before heard it claimed as the right of a British subject, as a part of his public duty, to deal out against another the most opprobrious and destructive slander? If such has been Mr. Jacks's notion of his public duty, I shall this day set him right, I shall tell him not with my feeble voice, but by your verdict, that he has no such right, and that the use he has made of the right he had was a gross abuse of it. What had my Client to do with the question?—Why was his feelings to be torn anew by so sudden and gross an attack upon his character?—If Sir Francis Burdett, or any other person obnoxious to Mr. Jacks be introduced into debate, can Mr. Jacks find no other way of expressing his dislike of him than by starting up upon his legs to throw out calumnies against an innocent man, who had nothing to do with the case in question; starting up upon his—I was going to say upon his hinder legs—(A laugh;) and yet the words might not have been so extravagant, for (my Lord I dare say remembers it) when the new room was first fitted out for the Common Council, Mr. Bearcroft was heard to say, that the room was so fine a room, it might tempt a very dog to speak in it—(A laugh.) But seriously, thus injured, what is a man to do? I might feel provoked to pull the nose of the calumniator, or to kick him; but no, this I dare not do. I must not break the King's Peace—then where am I to go for redress but to a Jury of my country? • My Client comes before you; he submits to you his

complaint, and asks you, is it met by the haughty privilege pleaded by the Defendant, a privilege that claims the right of saying all sorts of things, of all sorts of persons; either Mr. Jacks had information concerning my Client's history, or he had not; if he had, he must have known he had been acquitted without an opening, and therefore he must have known that what he was saying was calumny, or if he had not, then was he responsible for calumniating a man, of whose true history he was ignorant. But what gave the sting to this calumny is the fact, that Mr. Lemaitre had been suspected of seditious practices; we wish to conceal nothing, he was confined upon suspicion; but he was fully acquitted. The greatest injury you can do a man in this metropolis, and I state it with a feeling of satisfaction, is to spread a suspicion of his loyalty, let him be generally believed to be a disloyal man, and he is ruined—did not then my Client owe it to his wife, his family, his friends, to bring this action? But Mr. Jacks would have a City Special Jury to try this cause, why out of the twenty-four they could strike out none; they might exempt for either want of loyalty or want of brains; they could strike out no loyal man from the list, they could find no fools there———

Lord ELLENBOROUGH—"Disloyal you mean, finding none there, they could strike out none."

Mr. GARROW thanked his Lordship, and said, such was his precise meaning, that there was such untainted loyalty in the whole list none could be objected to on the ground of disloyalty. Mr. Garrow then adverted to what he thought an high practical compliment to the profession of which he was a member. He had been Counsel for the Crown against Mr. Lemaitre on the occasion he had before alluded to, but that circumstance did not excite a doubt of finding in him, if not an able, an honest Advocate on the present occasion. He ridiculed the idea of bringing down a troop of the members of the Common Council to prove a negative; he and his Learned Friend were too old birds to be caught with such chaff. He concluded by exhorting the Jury to lay down that rule by their verdict, which would do more to regulate the order of assemblies in debate than the Mace, the authority of the Chair, or calls to order, had yet been able to effect.

Mr. *Samuel Miller* was then called and examined by Mr. Topping: Knows the plaintiff for the last ten years. Plaintiff in Castle-street, Holborn, and is by trade a watch-case maker. Recollects being at a meeting of the Common Council early in June last, upon the subject of Parliamentary Reform. Mr. Quin spoke, as did Mr. Jacks. Recollected a passage in Mr. Jacks's speech injurious to the character of the plaintiff: has a perfect recollection of the passage, and states it to be as follows:—"What opinion can be formed of Sir Francis Burdett, associating as he does with such convicted traitors as Despard, Lemaitre, and O'Connor?"—understood the defendant to mean the plaintiff, Lemaitre—had no doubt that he meant him—believes the plaintiff to be acquainted with Sir Francis Burdett.

Cross-examined by the ATTORNEY-GENERAL. That meeting was not called by Mr. Quin—it was called in consequence of a requisition—Mr. Quin's name was among the signatures to that requisition—the business was parliamentary reform—not the only business of the meeting—the late alarming assumption on the part of the House of Commons was one of the prominent features of the discussion, as also the character and conduct of Sir Francis Burdett—heard the conduct of the House of Commons in that instance reprobated—not severely reprobated—in his judgment not severely; the severity would be judged of according to the different opinions of the thing reprobated—could not give three lines from Mr. Quin's speech, though he heard it all—not at that distance of time—remembered Mr. Jacks's words, because they contained so severe an attack upon his friend—this is the reason why he remembered them so much more accurately than the other. Attorney-General, "Did Mr. Quin or any other orator praise Sir Francis Burdett?" Witness—"I heard several of those who spoke approve of his conduct." Attorney General—Extol him as a patriot of the first water! In the same way as I might praise Sydney or Lord Russel? Mr. Jacks, however, entertained a different opinion? Witness—He did. Attorney-General—He controverted that point? Witness—He *tried* to controvert it. Attorney-General Oh! but he *did* controvert it? Witness—That is matter of opinion. Attorney-General; It is matter of fact, and you have proved that fact; in short, you don't understand the meaning of the word controvert. *(A laugh.)* Witness to one or two

other questions said, that he had not heard the defendant say "or suspected persons"—if he had, thinks he must have heard them; there was a general cry of Shame! shame! on hearing the defamatory words—Mr. Quin, he heard, was editor of the Traveller, but he don't think he ever saw the paper.

Lord ELLENBOROUGH then read from his notes the words sworn to by the witness, and told him he might then correct them if he saw an error in them; but the witness persisted in swearing, that such were the words, to the best of his recollection.

Mr. *Hurcombe*, a member of the Common Council, was next called. He was present at the meeting, and within three or four yards of the defendant while speaking—he was speaking of Sir Francis Burdett; witness felt much impressed with that part of the defendant's speech attacking the plaintiff—the words were in substance, "What could be thought of a man of that description, who associated with Despard, O'Connor, and Lemaitre?"—did not recollect the words "convicted traitors"—there was a cry of Shame! shame! when the defendant had used those words—did not hear defendant qualify those words, revoke them, or make any apology for them. This witness was not cross-examined.

Mr. *Quin* was the next witness called. He was present at the meeting of the Common Council in June last—witness spoke—defendant also spoke—he was as near the defendant as he then was to his Lordship—something about that distance—Mr. Jacks spoke after the witness—he could not pledge himself to the exact words, or to more than the substance—Mr. Jacks said, that he differed more widely than witness did from the political doctrines of Sir Francis Burdett—he (the witness) having previously stated in his speech, that he did not agree in all the doctrines entertained by Sir Francis Burdett; the defendant then took occasion to remark, in speaking of Sir Francis, "who had associated with such traitors as Despard, Lemaitre, and O'Connor"—witness could not speak distinctly as to the arrangement of the names—did not know whether the name of Lemaitre or that of O'Connor followed next after that of Despard, but was sure Despard was the first name mentioned—Mr. Jacks's words excited a general burst of indignation, and a cry of shame! shame!—there was no apology offered by the defendant.

Cross-examined by the Attorney-General.—Attorney General. You gave notice of this meeting; you summoned it? Witness—I did not; I had no such power.—Well, Sir, I am unacquainted with the forms of the Common Council; but were you not one of the persons who signed that requisition? Unquestionably.—You spoke that day; did you not? I did.—You talked of the alarming assumption of the House of Commons; you spoke against the conduct of the House of Commons? I did.—Mr. Jacks was of a different opinion? He was.—There were some fine speeches on that day? Mr. Jacks made a fine speech.—Was there much speaking? Some of the speeches were of half an hour's continuance.—Rather long, Mr. Quin? I am not to judge of that.—I was not asking you, Mr. Quin, your opinion of your own speeches (a laugh;) but was there not a good deal of earnestness, of vehemence amongst the orators? There was earnestness, perhaps, not vehemence.—You are the Editor of the Traveller? I am not; I am the Proprietor.—You are only the Proprietor; have you never been the Editor, or were you not the Editor of that paper at the time this meeting was held? I was at that time occasionally the Editor.—Did you edit that paper containing the report of the proceedings in the Common Council on that day? To the best of my recollection I am rather inclined to think I did not.—To the best of your recollection! Why, can't you recollect the fact whether you did or did not edit it on that day? I cannot. I am anxious to answer every question in the fullest manner I can. I cannot say particularly that I did or did not edit the paper on that day; but this I can say, of the report that appeared in the Traveller, that not a line of it was written by me, and that the report was not inspected by me.—Are you not Editor of some other paper? I am connected with another, the London Chronicle.—Did you edit that paper upon this occasion? I can answer this question only as I did the other relating to the Traveller, and upon the same principle.—What principle? That I cannot recollect whether I did or not; though I take it for granted that I did not.—Will you swear that you had not seen the account of that bate before it appeared in those papers? I might possibly have seen it; but I did not read it. The fact is, if your Lordship will permit me to explain myself, that no

evening paper has an original report of any debate, whether Parliamentary or otherwise. All evening papers take their reports of the debates from some of the morning papers; and this probably had been done before I saw the Traveller the next day. If, however, I did see the Traveller before this was done, I am sure that in that case I took the fullest report I found in the morning papers; and, in that sense, may be said to have seen the report of the proceedings of that day, before they had been published in the Traveller. At the same time stating it as my belief, to the best of my recollection, that I did not edit that paper on the day following that debate

Lord ELLENBOROUGH.—"It would certainly be more satisfactory, Mr. Quin, if you could speak from your own knowledge; especially as your evidence goes to a matter of fact, in which you are yourself personally concerned."

ATTORNEY GENERAL.—"Will you take upon yourself to swear that you did not edit those papers on the day following that debate?" Witness—I cannot.

Mr. *Reeve* was next called, who stated the words used by the Defendant to be in substance:—"What opinion can you form of Sir Francis Burdett, who has associated with such traitors as Despard, Lemaitre, and O'Connor?"—Did not hear the words, "or suspected persons;" if said, thinks he must have heard them; there was a considerable expression of disapprobation of these words—knew the Plaintiff——he was an inhabitant of the Ward he represented. This witness was not cross-examined.

Mr. *James*, a partner of Mr. Jacks, the Defendant, was next called, and examined by Mr. Garrow:—Witness was a partner of Mr. Jacks, but had nothing to do with the rendering the water-proof coats.

Mr. GARROW—"Is not Mr. Jacks a Government Contractor for great coats for the Army?—Witness—No; he only renders water-proof coats.

Mr. GARROW—Oh! he renders those coats—does he?—well! *renders* is a new name for contracting—(A laugh.)—Witness—I mean he renders the coats water-proof.

Mr. GARROW. I understand you, Sir; look at that paper: is that the hand-writing of Mr. Jacks?—Witness. No; 'tis mine. Witness then stated, that the paper (Mr. Jacks's answer to Mr. Lemaitre), had been written down by him according to the dictation of Mr. Jacks; it was dated the 14th of June, 1810, and was as follows:—"I have spoken to several of my friends who were present at the Court of Common Council on Wednesday last, none of whom remember to have heard the words imputed to me by Mr. Lemaitre; several have no recollection of his name having been mentioned, and I have not observed that any of the newspapers have noticed that circumstance; apprehending, however, that as a Member of the Corporation of London, I have an undoubted privilege to deliver my opinions freely in that Assembly on public measures, and also on men whose conduct has come before the public view, I feel no disposition whatever to apologize to any one, for any sentiment or language uttered by me in the execution of my public duty on that occasion.—June 14, 1810."

Mr. *Waithman* was the next witness called; he was present at the Court of Common Council; Mr. Jacks sat opposite to him, or as near him as the Counsel (Mr. Garrow). Witness was attentive to the speech of Mr. Jacks: he was speaking of Sir Francis Burdett: the witness would not pledge himself to more than the substance. The defendant, speaking of Sir Francis, said, as nearly as witness could recollect, "who (meaning Sir Francis) had associated with such traitors as Despard, Lemaitre, and O'Connor,"—heard nothing like a qualification or apology from Mr. Jack in consequence of his having uttered those words; knew the plaintiff as an inhabitant of his Ward these three or four years back. Mr. Garrow was about to put the question as to the cry of shame! shame! which the words had provoked, but it was over-ruled by Lord Ellenborough.

Lord ELLENBOROUGH.—"Pray Mr. Waithman, was there any contemporary circumstance which occurring then, served to fix the memory of those expressions on your mind more forcibly?"—Witness, "certainly my Lord, my mind was the more strongly directed to those expressions by the burst of indignation which they had excited around me."

ATTORNEY GENERAL.—"Then it seems it was the *burst of indignation* which first directed your attention to those expressions?"—Witness, "It served to fix the memory of them more strongly on my mind." Attorney General, "Did you

take any part in that burst of indignation?"—Witness, "It is probable I did." Attorney General, "You, then, were one of those who cried shame?"—Witness, "I dare say I did cry shame." Attorney General, "And your own cry of shame directed your attention to the expressions that excited that cry? You will not say that, I am sure, Mr. Waithman!"—Witness, "I have not said it; I say only that the general expression of disapprobation" Attorney General, "Excited your attention to those words?"—Witness, "Fixed it, rather; fixed my attention more strongly.'

Mr. GARROW. Here I rest my case.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL, before he entered on the Defendant's case, begged leave to submit to his Lordship that the case of the Plaintiff had not been made out. The first count must be given up at once; the words stated in the remaining five had not been proved.

Lord ELLENBOROUGH. The first witness, Samuel Miller, was the only one to the first count. I gave him a fair opportunity to correct his evidence if it needed it. He adhered to that evidence, and the words proved by him to have been uttered were, "What opinion can be formed of Sir Francis Burdett, associating, *as he does*, with such convicted traitors as Despard, Lemaitre and O'Connor;" how could Sir Francis be then associating with a man dead seven years before? Those words *could not have been spoken*, and as to the words "*convicted*" he has been disproved by all the witnesses who follow him.

Mr. GARROW contended, that the allegation in the counts was sufficiently made out by the evidence, if all the words alleged in the five first counts were not fully proved, those in the sixth count had been established beyond a doubt. The word traitor had been proved, but was inference nothing? suppose it was said of a man that he was seen coming out of public houses in company with profligate characters in the noon day, and that he constantly associated with those characters, was there nothing of calumnious inference here? but was not the inference infinitely more strong when one man is attacked for associating with such a traitor as another is said to be?

Lord ELLENBOROUGH. "The inference in that case is nearer the amount of the allegation, but it is not the precise allegation."

Mr. GARROW. If A B openly attacks the character of another, because he associated with such a traitor as C D is not that calling C D a traitor?

ATTORNEY GENERAL. My Lord, this is an action for *words uttered*, we can therefore have nothing to do with inferences drawn from words not laid in the action. The indictment runs "For that he spoke these words."—Let them prove these words, otherwise they cannot maintain their action: an action of slander can have no other foundation than the specific words complained of.

Mr. GARROW. "I do not the less prove those specific words, by proving other words to the same inference as well as those specific words."

Lord ELLENBOROUGH. "The five first counts must be given up; then as to the sixth, where am I to look in the evidence for the 'certain words?' the word traitor is proved, but nothing more."

Mr. GARROW. Then your Lordship may reserve the point.

Lord ELLENBOROUGH. I must *take on myself the responsibility*; the allegations have not been made out: there must be a nonsuit.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL then said, "My Lord, I am *authorised by Mr. Jacks* to state, that he has no doubt upon his mind he never used the words imputed to him as ascribed to Mr. Lemaitre."

We understood then, that in consequence of this apology offered by Mr. Jacks, of his never having intended to use the expressions imputed to him, Mr. L. was induced to withdraw a Juror, in preference to the nonsuit offered by the Court.

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# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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"As it is essential to the very being of Parliament that Elections should be free, "therefore, all undue influences upon the electors are illegal, and strongly prohi- "bited; for Mr. Locke ranks it amongst those breaches of trust in the executive "magistrate, which, according to his notions, amounts to a dissolution of government, "if he employ the force, treasure, and offices of the society to corrupt the represen- "tatives, or openly to pre-engage the electors, and prescribe what manner of persons "shall be chosen; for, thus to regulate candidates and electors, and new-model the "ways of election, what is it but to cut up the government by the roots, and poison "the very foundation of public security."—BLACKSTONE'S COMMENTARIES ON THE LAWS OF ENGLAND: Book I. Chap. 2.

EARL MULGRAVE.

"BUT, my lords, there is another kind of incapacity worse than this, I mean that "of parliament men's having such places in the exchequer, as the very profit of "them depends on the money given to the King in parliament. Would any of your "lordships entrust a man to make a bargain for you, whose very interest is to make "you give as much as he possibly can? It puts me in mind of a farce where an "actor holds a dialogue with himself, first speaking in one tone, and then answering "himself in another."—EARL MULGRAVE'S SPEECH, *in the House of Lords, Dec. 22, 1692. Cobbett's Parl. Hist. vol. 5. p. 749.*

THE GREAT LORD CHATHAM.

MR. PITT, when contending for a Reform in Parliament, in 1782, told the House, that he personally knew, that it was the opinion of his father, that, "without recur- "ring to first principles in this respect, and establishing a more solid and equal "representation of the people, by which the proper constitutional connection should "be revived, this nation, with the best capacities for grandeur and happiness of any "on the face of the earth, must be confounded with the mass of those whose liberties "were lost in the corruption of the people."

MR. PITT.

"THE defect of representation is the national disease; and unless you apply a "remedy directly to that disease, you must inevitably take the consequences with "which it is pregnant. Without a Parliamentary Reform the nation will be "plunged into new wars; without a Parliamentary Reform you cannot be safe against "bad ministers, nor can even good ministers be of use to you. No honest man can, "according to the present system, continue minister."—MR. PITT'S SPEECH, 1782.

MR. FOX.

"THE whole of this system, as it is now carried on, is as outrageous to morality as it "is pernicious to just government; it gives a scandal to our character, which not "merely degrades the House of Commons in the eyes of the people, but it does more; "it undermines the very principles of integrity in their hearts, and gives a fashion to "dishonesty and imposture. They hear of a person giving or receiving four or five "thousand pounds as the purchase-money of a seat for a close borough; and they "hear the very man who received and put into his pocket the money, make a loud "and vehement speech in this House against Bribery; and they see him, perhaps, "move for the commitment to prison of a poor unfortunate wretch at your bar, who "has been convicted of taking a single guinea for his vote in the very borough, per- "haps, where he had publicly and unblushingly sold his influence, though that

"miserable guinea was necessary to save a family from starving under the horrors of "a war which he had contributed to bring upon the country .... These "are the things that paralise you to the heart; these are the things that vitiate the "whole system, that spread degeneracy, hypocrisy, and sordid fraud over the country, "and take from us the energies of virtue, and sap the foundations of patriotism and "spirit."—Mr. Fox's Speech, 1797.

Mr. Grey (now Earl Grey).

"Has the House of Commons shown either vigilance of inquiry, or independence "of spirit? Have they investigated the origin of their misfortunes, or checked "ministers in their ruinous career? Nay, the very reverse. In a war remarkable "only for misfortune, and distinguished on our part solely by disgrace, they have "suffered ministers to go on from failure to failure, adding misfortune to misfortune, "and madness to folly, without either investigation or inquiry.—As a remedy for "these evils, Mr. Grey recommended 'a Reform of Parliament; and to obviate the "'charge of making complaints without prescribing some specific mode of relief, he "'proposed, that instead of 92 county members there should be 113, and that the "'right of voting should be extended to copyholders and leaseholders who are bound "'to pay rent for a certain number of years. To prevent compromises he proposed "'that every county should be divided into grand divisions, each of which should "'return a representative. He also proposed that the remaining 400 members "'should be returned by householders.'"—Mr. Grey's Speech in 1797.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

The Regency.——In my last I mentioned *a Reform of the Commons' House of Parliament* as a measure, which the people would naturally look for at the hands of those, be they who they may, that may become the ministers of the Regent. It is now forty years since this measure was, by men in high situations in the country, declared to be absolutely necessary to the safety of the nation.——Twenty eight years ago Mr. Pitt, Mr. Wilberforce, and Mr. Horne Tooke were all co-operating most heartily for the attainment of this object; which was afterwards taken up by Mr. Fox, Mr. Grey, now Earl Grey, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Tierney, Mr. Whitbread, and others; and it is now called for by all that description of persons, taking an active part in public affairs, at the head of whom his talents and his well-tried devotion to public freedom have placed Sir Francis Burdett.——This is not, then, a trifling matter. It is not a matter that can be put aside easily. It is not a nine day's wonder. A thing that rises up and makes a hubbub, and then sinks down again. It is a great question, in which every man, who has any thing worth the name of property, feels that he has an interest. It is a question that has lived from father to son. It is, in short, a great *contest*, which, on the part of the people, will never be given up.——*All* the men, who have, at the different stages of the contest, stood on the side of reform, cannot have been *wrong*. This is not to be believed; and, therefore, to treat those who now call for reform as "*wild theo-"rists*," is, to say the least of it, extremely impudent.——As to the *principles*, upon which the demand of reform is made, they have been so often discussed, and are so well understood, that it would be waste of time to say much about them; nevertheless, a short and plain view of them may not, upon this occasion, be altogether useless.——Ours is a government, consisting of three Branches. The King, who is invested with certain prerogatives in order that he may be an efficient Executive Magistrate, and, that his power may be the more solid and durable, he possesses his office and prerogatives by heirship. The Peers, who form a House by themselves, and who are the guardians of their own and their families' properties and freedom. The third Branch is that of the Commons, that is to say, all the nation, except the Peers and the Royal Family. The three Branches together form the *Legislature*, and the *King* is the executor of the laws.——The Commons' House arose out of the maxim, that men ought not to be governed by, or subjected to, laws, to which they have not given *their assent*; and, indeed, it is this maxim which alone distinguishes *free* from *despotic* government, the former meaning a government exercised by the

people's assent, and the latter a government by the rulers will.——But, there is a maxim of more confined and familiar meaning, which we are accustomed to repeat, and which is taught by all the eminent writers on our constitution; namely, that *Englishmen* ought not to be TAXED *without their own consent*.——This, after all is said and done, is the point to which we must always come. This is the great principle of our government. This is the principle which distinguishes it from all others, except that of America, which is of English descent. This is the great principle contended for in the times of Magna Charta. It was for this principle that Hampden made his stand, and, rather than pay 20 shillings in a tax imposed on him without his consent, he ventured his whole fortune and his life in a contest, which finally cost him the latter in the field, but which brought his ill-advised sovereign to perish on a scaffold, and which brought the greater part of the advisers to a death still more ignominious. It is for this principle, that, at bottom, all the contests between the kings and the people of England have been; and so firmly is it rooted in the hearts of the people, that to tear it out you must take away their lives, and, if, by means of corruption, you succeed in deadening it there, the same cause will produce an apathy as to all public matters, an insensibility as to national honour, and consequently a disregard for national independence and defence.——He who laughs at these notions, and who, after what he has seen upon the Continent of Europe, still believes, that a people will voluntarily shed their blood for their country, let their treatment in it be what it may, will, of course, not think it worth his while to read any further; but, those who are of a different opinion, will agree with me in the conclusion, that, at this time in particular, it is necessary that the hearts of the people should be kept alive to the interests and honour of their country, and not deadened by the workings of corruption.——To be able to say that you have the people's *consent* to the taxes which they have to pay, it is not necessary that the separate consent of *each man* should be obtained. This is not, and never was, the notion of any man in England. The thing is *impossible*, and that is quite enough. But, we all know, not only what is the maxim of the constitution, but what is practicable, and of extremely *easy* practice, and that is, that the people should give their consent *by their representatives*; and, as it is next to impossible that all the people in any given part of a country should be exactly of one mind as to the person, or persons, to represent them, the question, as in all cases of arbitration between man and man, must be decided by the majority of voices.——This is the way, in which those who call for a reform of the people's House of Parliament, say that the consent of the people to tax them *ought* to be obtained.——What *is* I need not say; and, I shall now proceed to make some observations upon the progress of this contest for the reform, which has been so long in existence.——The first movers for it, were esteemed men of the greatest wisdom as well as patriotism, and their opponents discussed the matter with them with arguments built upon what they said were the principles of our constitution of goverment. At a still later period, when Mr. PITT and Mr. WILBERFORCE stood in the ranks, or rather, at the head, of the reformers, a little more of the spirit of party mixed itself in the discussions, but, still, wickedness of motive was not ascribed to those who called for reform. It was not till after the commencement of the French Revolution, that *Republican, Leveller, Jacobin, Traitor* and *Parliamentary Reformer* became synonymous terms in the mouths of those who took the side opposite to that of reform, amongst whom were many of the very men, who had themselves been amongst the most zealous reformers. That great event, which has already gone far, but which has, in my opinion, much farther yet to go, in changing the political state of the world, warmed into life the chilled and dormant seeds of reform in England, where the cause, though not openly disclaimed, had been effectually abandoned by all those men in power who had before espoused it.——The example of the French people exhibited a successful struggle for their rights; and, it was perfectly natural, that the people of England should feel an enthusiasm in their cause, and that they should, at the same time, endeavour to rival them in this way as well as in contests in arms.——This was the golden opportunity for the government of England; not to go to war; not to enter into a contest in arms with a people engaged in a struggle for their liberties; but, to let them quite alone, and to make that reform at home, which had been so long called for, and the making of which, by giving satisfaction to every reasonable

man, would have enabled the government to set at nought all the invitations to rebellion that any of the mad heads in France might have been disposed to give. ——England was in a state of growing prosperity at that time. She was, contrary to the expectations of those who wished her best, recovering from the effects of the then late war at an astonishing rate; and, indeed, though party contests agitated the higher political circles, there was, save the question of Reform, nothing to agitate the great mass of the people. That question completely set at rest, what might the government not have contemned, on the part of France, in the way either of force or seduction?——The government unhappily chose a different course, a course precisely opposite; namely, a contest in arms against republican principles in France, and a resolution to keep down by force those who were struggling for reform in England, reform being now confounded with republicanism, and its advocates confounded with republicans, levellers, jacobins and traitors.——In both objects the government of England finally *succeeded*. The *pecuniary* cost of that success we know and feel, in part, at least; but of the ultimate *political* cost no man can form any computation.—— In his war against republican principles in France Mr. Pitt succeeded to admiration. But, what has he raised up in the stead of those republican principles? His wars and subsidies collected soldiers together to crush liberty in France, and to make the very name of liberty hateful even to the French themselves. But, has not something succeeded full as dangerous to England as French liberty and equality would have been?——And, as to his success at home against the reformers, under the names of republicans, levellers, jacobins and traitors, what has followed it? Has the *success* been attended with any beneficial consequences? LORD DESART is, in the parliamentary reports, said to have produced this *success*, the other day, as a proof of Mr. Pitt's being "*a great statesman.*" He is reported to have said, that "the great man crushed the *democrats*" in England. That is to say, the *reformers*, for none of them pretended to ask for any thing but a reform of Parliament. Well, "the great man" did succeed in crushing them for the time. By one means or another, by acts for which he afterwards obtained from the parliament a bill of *indemnity*, he kept them down. But, what of that? Has the *country* been rendered more secure by the keeping of them down? Has the keeping of them down prevented the Income Tax, the increase of the Paupers, the Bank Restriction; and, has it prevented the growth of the power of France? It produced an *union* with Ireland, indeed; but did it produce *friendship* and *strength* and *safety* there?——Such men always seem to think that there are only *two* parties, the *government* and the *reformers*, and that if the former can but succeed against the latter, it may shout victory. But there is a third party to look to, that is, *Buonaparté*, and to beat him and the reformers too, is more than "*the great man* "*now no more*" was able. Yet, until Buonaparté be beaten there is no good ground for shouting victory. Yes, the reformers were kept down; but do those who lent their hands to that work, think they are *now safe* from without? In short, would they not gladly exchange their present situation for that of 1792? What, then, even upon their own ground, has been gained by keeping down the reformers? ——There are men, who care not one straw for any thing but the quiet enjoyment of their wealth, and who would see any thing done to the people, no matter what, provided that that object were thereby secured. Such men have no mercy upon any one whose principles tend to *disturb* them. They care not, in such a case, who it is that suffers. Their cry is, "*he is a troublesome fellow*," and that cry they have long kept up. But, has this mended their state? Are they likely to enjoy much quiet? How are they to put down that "troublesome fellow," Buonaparté? Their cry will not affect him. They *becall* him, indeed, without mercy; they decorate him with all the appellations suited to a fiend, and their mouth-piece, the Morning Post, asserts that *he and his ministers* are men who boast of being guilty of *unnatural crimes*, like the *Vere Street gang*. But, alas! this does not avail. There is no such thing as getting at him. His Legions and his Serjeants push on. His fleets are preparing, in spite of all the associations against republicans and levellers and jacobins and traitors. He gets into Sweden and the ports of the North in spite of all the *successes* against democrats. The transportations of Palmer and Gerald and Muir and Margarot tended, indeed, to stifle reform in England; but, upon *the whole*, what has it done for the *security* of England?——It is, I think, quite impossi-

ble to take this view of the matter, without coming, at once, to the conclusion that what it would have been wise to do in 1793, it is, as far as possible, wise to do now. To reduce France to what she was then is impossible; to prevent the further increase of her enormous power is also impossible; but, it is possible to make England *secure* even against that enormous power by giving a new spirit to the people, by uniting them heart and hand, and all this would be done by a reform of parliament, such as was called for by all those men, whose words I have taken as mottos to this Number, and to effect which reform would not cost one single sixpence.——A people *never die*; a people cannot perish if they would; and a great question like that of reform, becomes, in time, part of the public soul. It may be smothered for a while, but, it will always break out again. The want of reform is the great source of all complaint; every separate complaint flows from it, and, quick as thought, is traced to it.——It is nonsense to say, that the *people* do not wish for reform, because they do not crowd up *petitions* calling for it. I have often-times shown *why* they do not crowd up petitions; and, after what every man has *seen* of late, what can any man want more to satisfy him of the futility of such an argument, to use which, indeed, is an insult so outrageous as never to be forgiven.——We are told, that the "*quiet good sort* of folks" say nothing about reform. This is not true; for, in *private*, they do say a great deal about it, and are very anxious for its adoption. That they will not *stir*; that they will not expose themselves, in any way, I know very well. But, of what use would these "*quiet good sort* of folks" be, if Napoleon's Legions were to land in the country? Does any man imagine, that they would not retain this admired quality of *quietness*? Does any man suppose, that they would change their nature all at once; and that they who had not had the courage openly to express their sentiments, would, all of a sudden, find courage sufficient to meet the French bayonets? ——Oh, no! This were a foolish supposition indeed; and, whoever lives to see the day of trial, will find that these Quakers in politics will be something worse than Quakers in war.——Common sense says, that, in the hour of real danger, the fate of the country must depend upon the disposition of the *active* and *zealous* part of the people, and these are *all* for reform. Leaving, therefore, the *justice* of the proposed measure wholly aside, national safety calls loudly for it, unless we make our minds up to the notion, that nations do not depend for their safety upon the activity and zeal and courage of the people. I hope, indeed, that nothing will ever prevent Englishmen from fighting in defence of their native land; but, is it to be supposed, that, if the necessity arose, they would be *able* to do it so effectually unless they were previously united by the measure of reform? Is it to be supposed, that while those active and zealous men, who call for this measure, are, by their opponents, branded as *Jacobins* and *traitors*, the whole people can possibly be brought, upon any emergency, to act cordially together for any purpose whatever? And is there not good ground to fear, that a season of general danger would be also a season of mutual reproaches and perhaps revenge;——These are the considerations that ought to weigh with statesmen, even supposing them to leave justice to the people entirely out of the question.——A passage in the leading venal print, the COURIER, of the 21st instant, furnishes a pretty good specimen of the means at present made use of to conciliate and unite the people and to stand by one another in an hour of danger. "The Ministry and the Public should be guarded against a clamour raising by persons "*uniformly in the interest of France* against "sending troops to Portugal. They cry out that Ireland is in danger of invasion, that England is in danger of invasion. Now, there is less danger of invasion now, as they know, than at any former period of the war; but their wish is to let Massena get his reinforcements, and to prevent Lord Wellington from getting any, by which means *the victory for the enemy may be secure*, and the *English Jacobins* will have created a happy diversion in favour of *their allies, the French.*"—— Thus are all those, who, after having seen Lord Talavera followed by Massena from he frontiers of Portugal to the vicinity of Lisbon; who, after having been, by these same prints, assured, that Lord Talavera intended to draw Massena to that point, where he had got him in a trap, saw him et the Frenchmen out of the trap; who, after having been over and over again told, hat the French were starving, now find hat they have plenty of provisions; who, after having been told, till the ear grew weary of the sound, that Massena possess-

ed not an inch of ground but that on which his army stood, now find him to be the master of all Portugal, except the little nook in which our army is penned up; who, after being a hundred times told, by this same writer, that our army was superior in numbers to the French, and that the latter was daily and hourly wasting away by famine, sickness and desertion; all those, who, after having seen and heard these things, now think that *more troops ought not to be sent to Portugal,* and who are of opinion, that to send them out is only to incur a certain additional heavy expence, without the smallest chance of doing any good; all those persons are thus branded as *Jacobins*, are charged with *being in the interest of France;* and with *wishing to make the victory of the enemy secure.*——These are the means; these and the like of these, are the means now in use for *conciliating* and *uniting* the people, and for inclining them to spend their last shilling and shed the last drop of their blood in defence of the country, including, of course, these their calumniators!——The men who are thus depicted are *parliamentary reformers.* There is no other description of politicians that the venal have any serious objection to; and, the reason is plain: these latter know well, that *reform* strikes at the root of corruption. This is the reason, and the only reason, that they hate the reformers, for the purpose of destroying whom, they would annihilate the country. This object is always uppermost in their minds, and, in their endeavours to effect it, or, merely for the purpose of venting their hatred, they think nothing of proclaiming to the enemy, that there are men in England, who are *uniformly in the interest of France;* who wish by all means *to secure the success of the French army over our own;* and who, in a word, regard the French as their *allies.* The *number* of these men, when he looks at the "*Burdettite Livery,*" Napoleon will want nobody to tell him. ——What would be said of *me*, if I were to state, in the Register, that a part of the people of England wish success to the arms of Napoleon against our army; that a part of the people of England are steadily in his interest; that a part of the people of England look upon him as *their ally?* What would be said of *me*, if I were to state this? Should I not be called a "seditious libeller?" Should I not be charged with "*inviting* the French to our shores," as I was, in the time of the Addingtons, because I urged the necessity of measures of defence that I thought were neglected? In short, what would not be said against me, or against any man of my sentiments, that were to state what is here, without any reserve or qualification, proclaimed to the world by this venal writer?——But, this is all perfectly natural. It all proceeds from the same source. These venal men feel conscious of their weakness upon the real subject in dispute. They know that, if they speak of *reform*, they are beaten. They have so often been defeated and exposed in those discussions, that they turn from them as a perjuror does from the pillory. They use all possible endeavours to divert the public attention from the real cause of their hatred. To cry *reformer* would not do; but the cry of *Jacobins, French faction,* and the like, suits them to admiration, being, as they are, quite regardless of the consequences to the country, so that by these, or any other means, they secure to themselves the advantages of their venality and corruption.——I shall be told, perhaps, that I am teaching the public to expect *too much* from the Regency Ministry, and that the latter will not be able to carry a *parliamentary reform.* —I do not teach the public to expect too much; for I do not say, that the Regency Ministry will be able *immediately* to *carry* this great and vital measure; but, I am fully justified in pointing out what I think *ought to be done.* And, *something* they will certainly be able to do They will be able to give the people a patient and respectful hearing; they will be able to abstain from ascribing their applications to jacobinism; they will be able to hear the statement of their grievances without calling out for "a *stand against popular encroachment,*" and without designating them as a "*low, degraded crew.*" All this they will have full power to do; and they will, besides, have full power to show the people, to give them *convincing proof*, that they, at least, *wish* success to the cause of reform. Nothing can prevent them from being able to entertain the subject; to give it ample discussion; and to let it take its fair chance of the benefits to be derived from reason and truth. ——Is this too much to expect from them? If it be, the safe way is for them to expect *nothing;* but, then, if the people expect nothing, if they are to have no hope of any benefit from the approaching change, it is not reasonable to expect that they will either discover or feel any interest in it.——In offering these observations, I am so far from having any wish to

embarrass the government of the Regent, that my wish really is to prevent embarrassment by stating before hand what are the expectations of the people. Every thing, I am well aware, cannot be done *all at once*; but, every thing may be done in time, and *something* may be done immediately, that is to give the people *proofs* of a wish to do more. But, in the end, I am thoroughly convinced, that this country can be saved by nothing but a constitutional Reform of the Commons' House of Parliament.——In the meanwhile the venal men are hard at work to prepare, to muster up, and set in motion, all the prejudices that they can against the Prince and his government. The COURIER of the date above-mentioned, after some criticism upon His Royal Highness's Answer to the Deputation from the two Houses, in which the writer has discovered, what he calls *contradictions* and *insinuations*, he proceeds thus:——"But if his Royal Highness's "advisers are really anxious to manifest "their reverential delicacy towards the "King, they will find full as good oppor- "tunities of doing so in the exercise of "those prerogatives which the Regent will "have, as they could have done in the "disuse of those which he has not; and I "will suggest to them the delicacy *of not* "*changing his Majesty's confidential servants*, "and placing in their room those whom "his Majesty lately dismissed from his "service, and who have expressed their "determined hostility to *the system which* "*his Majesty has so successfully persevered in*, "and which, there is every reason to hope, "he is desirous of continuing. There is "no comparison between the indelicacy of "changing the King's servants and the "making a few respectable individuals, to "whom his Majesty is not known to have "any violent personal objections, Peers. "But we are even told, that Catholic "Emancipation will delicately be assented "to, by these advisers. Thus, in his Majes- "ty's name and for him, a measure will be "assented to, *to which during his whole reign,* "*he is known to have felt the most conscientious* "*and irrevocable objections*: this is delicacy "with a vengeance. I hope the rumour "upon this subject will be contradicted. If "there is no delicacy shewn in the exer- "cise of those powers which the Regent "is to have, the country will not value "much a delicacy which would have "been shown in the exercise of those "which he has not."——Thus, then, are the people of Ireland told, that those claims, which they have so long been urging, have been refused solely from *the will of the King*. And thus have these vile hypocrites, these pretenders to exclusive "loyalty," given the country another proof of their readiness to throw every thing upon the King, which is felt as a grievance by any part of the people.——But, what an outrageous principle is here? The Prince is not to listen to the people of Ireland, because *the King is known to have felt objections to the granting of their claims!* Why should not this argument be extended to any time beyond the *life* of the King? The Prince will hold his authority *in trust*, and so does *the King*. The whole, to use the Prince's own words, "is held as *a trust* for the be- "nefit of *the people*." But this writer would have us regard it as a thing of the nature of *personal property*; and that the happiness or misery of a whole people is to depend upon the mere *feelings* of one man; nay, that those feelings, even to such an extent as this, are to be consulted and submitted to, after the person having them is declared to be in a state of *mental derangement*; than which, perhaps, a more perfect specimen of *despotism* never was exhibited in this world; for, according to this venal writer, not only is it proper to refuse to listen to the alledged grievances of the people upon the sole ground of the King's feelings, but they are still, upon that same ground, not to be listened to when the King is declared to be in a state not to be able to form any judgment on the matter, and to be utterly incapable of all business whatsoever.——This surpasses, if possible, in comprehensiveness, the argument of MR. YORKE. It goes to *all measures* whatever that shall be disagreeable to the men now in place, who, if this reasoning be, for one moment, admitted, have nothing to do but to say, "*the* "*King felt objections to this measure, and we* "*know it*." And, as this writer has very consistently observed, it is well known that the King chose these present ministers, of course that he would feel objections to their being put out, and that, therefore, *they ought to remain in place*, and have all the power and profit that they now have.——This is complete in all its parts. It provides for every thing. It insures us the perseverance in that same system, in which this most barefaced scribe tells us, "his Majesty has so *success-* "*fully* persevered." Where is the proof of success? Venal man, look *across the Channel*; and then tell us where the *success* has been. Look at the American States,

formerly his Majesty's *Colonies*; look at *Ireland*; look at *the Bank*; look at *Sweden*; look at *Holland*; look up the *Scheldt*; look back at *Walcheren*; or, look now at *Portugal*; look *any where*, and produce us your marks of success.——Here, again, too, *the system*, which has led to all the evils that these names bring to our recollection; this fatal system is ascribed wholly *to the King*.——The day will, I trust, yet come, when the system and its measures will be ascribed *to others*, and that, too, in such a way as truth and justice demand.——The insult here offered to His Royal Highness is truly abominable. This writer, in addition to all his other insults, tells him, that he is bound in *delicacy* to adhere to a *system*, part of which, and no very trifling part, has been *to misrepresent, calumniate*, and *degrade himself!*——Sir Samuel Romilly, in the debate of the 21st instant, said, upon this subject, that he "neither "accused nor could he suppose Mr. Perceval capable of offering any insult to "the Prince of Wales. He wished he "could say the same of his political adherents. If so, they would not have found "those public prints, which he should not "say were under the *protection* of the administration of his right hon. friend, "but which were *certainly not prosecuted* "*with the same severity and rigour as were* "*manifested in other instances*, pursuing a "systematic course of attack upon his "Royal Highness, *calumniating every act*, "and *misrepresenting every word of his Royal* "*Highness*, and holding *up to scorn and derision every member of the Royal family*. "Neither should they have found them "incessantly imputing *the basest motives to* "*many members of that House for pursuing* "*on this occasion what they conscientiously* "*considered their duty*."——It was well to point this out, though it could not have escaped the public attention. But, there is, in the present conduct of the venal prints towards the Prince of Wales, nothing *new*. They have been constantly at it, in a way more or less open, ever since I have been a reader of news-papers; but, now, they have thrown off all reserve, which, to say the truth, is less objectionable than the base eves-dropping misrepresentations, the whispering and canting calumnies, in which they have so long dealt, but which they now perceive can no longer serve their MEAN, MERCENARY and MALIGNANT purposes.

Wm. COBBETT.

State Prison, Newgate, Tuesday,
January 22, 1811.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

America and Florida.—*Proclamation of President Madison, 27th Oct.* 1810.

Whereas the Territory South of the Mississippi Territory, and Eastward of the River Mississippi, and extending to the River Perdido, of which possession was not delivered to the United States in pursuance of the Treaty concluded at Paris on the 30th of April, 1803, has at all times, as is well known, been considered and claimed by them, as being within the colony of Louisiana conveyed by the said Treaty in the same extent that it had in the hands of Spain, and that it had when France originally possessed it. — And whereas the acquiescence of the United States in the temporary continuance of the said territory under the Spanish authority was not the result of any distrust of their title, as has been particularly evinced by the general tenor of their laws, and by the distinction made in the application of those laws between that territory and foreign countries; but was occasioned by their conciliatory views, and by a confidence in the justice of their cause, and in the success of candid succession and amicable negociation with a just and friendly Power.—And whereas a satisfactory adjustment, too long delayed, without the fault of the United States, has for some time been entirely suspended by events over which they had no controul; and whereas a crisis has at length arrived subversive of the order of things under the Spanish Authorities, whereby a failure of the United States to take the said territory into its possession may lead to events ultimately contravening the views of both parties, whilst in the mean time the tranquillity and security of our adjoining territories, are endangered, and new facilities given to violations of our revenue and commercial laws, and of those prohibiting the introduction of slaves.—Considering moreover, that under these peculiar and imperative circumstances, a forbearance on the part of the United States to occupy the territory in question, and thereby guard against the confusions and contingencies which threaten it, might be construed into a dereliction of their title, or an insensibility to the importance of the stake: considering that in the hands of the United States it will not cease to be a subject of fair and friendly negociation and adjustment: considering finally, that the Acts of Congress, though contemplat-

ing a present possession by a foreign authority, have contemplated also an eventual possession of the said territory by the United States, and are accordingly so framed as in that case to extend in their operation to the same: Now be it known, that I, J. Madison, President of the United States of America, in pursuance of these weighty and urgent considerations, have deemed it right and requisite, that possession should be taken of the said territory, in the name and behalf of the United States. W. C. C. Claiborne, Governor of the Orleans Territory, of which the said territory is to be taken as part, will accordingly proceed to execute the same; and to exercise over the said territory the authorities and functions legally appertaining to his office. And the good people inhabiting the same, are invited and enjoined to pay due respect to him in that character; to be obedient to the laws, to maintain order, to cherish harmony, and, in every manner, to conduct themselves as peaceable citizens, under full assurance, that they will be protected in the enjoyment of their liberty, property, and religion.

FLORIDA-WEST.—*Declaration of Independence.—26 Sept.* 1810.

It is known to the world with how much fidelity the good people of this territory have professed and maintained allegiance to their legitimate Sovereign, while any hope remained of receiving from him protection for their property and lives.—Without making any unnecessary innovation in the established principles of the Government, we had voluntarily adopted certain regulations in concert with our First Magistrate for the express purpose of preserving this territory, and shewing our attachment to the Government which had heretofore protected us.—This compact, which was entered into with good faith on our part, will for ever remain an honourable testimony of our right intentions and inviolable fidelity to our King and Parent Country, while so much as a shadow of legitimate authority remained to be exercised over us. We sought only a speedy remedy for such evils as seemed to endanger our existence and prosperity; and were encouraged by our Governor with solemn promises of assistance and co-operation.—But those measures which were intended for our preservation, he has endeavoured to pervert into an engine of destruction, by encouraging, in the most perfidious manner, the violation of ordinances, sanctioned and established by himself as the law of the land.—Being thus left without any hope of protection from the mother country—betrayed by a magistrate whose duty it was to have provided for the safety and tranquillity of the people and government committed to his charge, and exposed to all the evils of a state of anarchy, which we have so long endeavoured to avert; it becomes our duty to provide for our own security as a free and independent state, absolving from all allegiance to a Government which no longer protects us.

"We, therefore, the Representatives aforesaid, appealing to the Supreme Ruler of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do solemnly publish and declare the several districts composing this territory of West Florida to be a Free and Independent State; and that they have a right to institute for themselves such form of government as they may think conducive to their safety and happiness, to form treaties, to establish commerce, to provide for their common defence, and to do all acts which may of right be done by a sovereign and independent nation; at the same time declaring all acts within the said territory of West Florida, after this date, by any tribune or authorities not deriving their powers from the people, agreeably to the provisions established by this Convention, to be null and void, and calling upon all foreign nations to respect this our declaration, acknowledging our independence, and giving us such aid as may be consistent with the laws and usages of nations.—This declaration, made in Convention at the town of Baton Rouge, on the 26th day of September, in the year of our Lord 1810, We, the Representatives, in the name aforesaid, and on behalf of our constituents, do hereby solemnly pledge ourselves to support with our lives and fortunes.—By order of the Convention,

JOHN RHEA, President.
AND. STEELE, Secretary.

[The above act of independence was communicated to the Governor of the Mississippi Territory, requesting it might be transmitted to the President of the United States, with the expression of a hope that the Government would take the present Government and people of Florida under their immediate and special protection. The answer of Mr. Secretary Smith to the Governor of Mississippi,

states the right of the United States to the territory of West Florida, as far as the River Perdido, it having been fairly acquired by purchase, and formally ratified by treaty; and also that the President cannot recognize in the Convention of West Florida any independent authority whatever, to propose or to form a compact with the United States.]

AMERICA AND ENGLAND.—*Letter from Mr.* SMITH, *Secretary of State, to Mr.* PINKNEY, *American Minister in England, relative to the recall of the latter.*—15 *Nov.* 1810.

Sir,—From a view of the conduct of the British Government, in relation to a Plenipotentiary, successor to Mr. Jackson, as presented in your several communications, including even those brought by the Hornet, at which date, and on which inviting occasion the subject does not appear to have been within the attention of Government, the President thinks it improper, that the United States should continue to be represented at London by a Minister Plenipotentiary.—In case, therefore, the appointment of a successor to Mr. Jackson, of that grade should have taken place at the receipt of this letter, you will consider your functions as suspended, and you will accordingly take your *leave of absence*, charging a fit person with the affairs of the Legation. Considering the season at which this instruction may have its effect, and the possibility of a satisfactory change in the system of our relations with Great Britain, the time of your return to the United States is left to your discretion and convenience.

AMERICA, ENGLAND, AND FRANCE.—*Documents, laid before the Congress of America, by the President, relative to the Disputes with England and France, 6th Dec.* 1810.

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Smith to Mr. Pinkney. Department of the State, Jan. 20, 1810.

In my letter to you of the 11th Nov. 1809, you were authorised to assure the British Government, that the United States sincerely retained the desire which they have constantly professed to facilitate a friendly accommodation of all the existing differences between the two countries, and that nothing would be more agreeable to them than to find the successor of Mr. Jackson invested with all the authorities necessary for the accomplishment of so desirable an event, and moreover, that if the attainment of this object through your agency should be considered more expeditious, or otherwise preferable, it would be a course entirely satisfactory to the United States.—I am now charged by the President to transmit to you the enclosed letter subjoined, authorising you to resume the negociations with the British Government, under the full power that had been given, severally and jointly, to you and Mr. Monroe. And in your discussion therein, you will be regulated by the instructions heretofore given to Mr. Monroe and yourself. It is, however, not intended, that you should commence this negociation, until the requisite adjustment shall have been made in the affair of the Chesapeake. And in the adjustment of this case, you will be guided by the instructions which you have heretofore received from this department in relation to it.—It is moreover desirable, that preparatory to a treaty upon all the points of difference between the two countries, an arrangement should be made for the revocation of the Orders in Council. As it is uncertain what may be the ultimate measures of Congress at the present Session, it cannot be expected that the President can, at this time, state the precise condition to be annexed to a repeal of the Orders in Council. But, in general, you may assure the British Government of his cordial disposition to exercise any power which may be invested, to put an end to Acts of Congress, which would not be resorted to but for the Orders in Council, and at the same time, of his determination to keep them in force against France, in case her Decrees should not also be repealed.

Mr. Smith to Mr. Pinkney, Department of State, Jan. 20, 1810.

Sir; The President, anxious to adjust the existing differences between the United States and Great Britain, and deeming it expedient to make another effort for that purpose, has given it in charge to me to instruct you to renew negociations in London under the commission, dated 12th of May, 1806, authorising Mr. Monro and yourself, severally, as well as jointly, to treat with the British Government relative to wrongs committed between the parties on the high seas, or other waters, and for establishing the principles of navigation and commerce between them. I have the honour, &c. &c. R. SMITH.

Mr. Smith to Mr. Pinkney. Department of State, May 22, 1810.

Sir; Your dispatch of the 27th of March, by the British packet, was received on the 17th of this month—The President has read with surprise and regret the answers of Lord Wellesley to your letter of the 2nd of January, and also his reply to your note requiring explanations with respect to the blockades of France. The one indicates an apparent indifference as to the character of the diplomatic intercourse between the two countries, and the other evinces an inflexible determination to persevere in their system of blockade.—The provision made for the Diplomatic Agency which is to succeed that of Mr. Jackson, manifests a dissatisfaction at the step necessarily taken here with regard to that Minister, and at the same time a diminution of the respect heretofore attached to the diplomatic relations between the two countries. However persevering the President may be in the conciliatory disposition which has constantly governed him, he cannot be inattentive to such an apparent departure from it on the other side, nor to the duty imposed on him by the rules of equality and reciprocity applicable to such cases. It will be very agreeable to him to find that the provision in question is intended merely to afford time for a satisfactory choice of a Plenipotentiary successor to Mr. Jackson, and that the mode of carrying it into effect may be equally unexceptionable. But whilst, from the language of the Marquis Wellesley, with respect to the designation of a Charge d'Affairs, and from the silence, as to any other successor to the recalled Minister, it is left to be inferred that the former alone is in contemplation, it becomes proper to ascertain what are the real views of the British Government on the occasion, and should they be such as they are inferred to be, to meet them by a corrospondent change in the diplomatic establishment of the United States at London. The President relies on your discretion for obtaining the requisite knowledge of this subject, in a manner that will do justice to the friendly policy which the United States wish to be reciprocal in every instance between the two nations. But in the event of its appearing that the substitution of a Charge d' Affairs, for a Minister Plenipotentiary, is to be a continuance not required or explained by the occasion, and consequently justifying the inference drawn from the letter of Lord Wellesley, the respect which the United States owe to themselves will require that you return to the United States, according to the permission hereby given by the President, leaving charged with the business of the Legation such person as you may deem most fit for the trust. With this view a commission, as required by a statute of the last session, is hereby enclosed, with a blank for a Secretary of Legation. But this step you will not consider yourself as instructed to take, in case you should have commenced, with a prospect of a satisfactory result, the negociations authorised by my letter of the 20th of January.—In a letter of the 4th of this month, I transmitted to you a copy of the Act of Congress, at their last Session, concerning the commercial intercourse between the United States and Great Britain and France. You will herewith receive another copy of the same Act. In the fourth section of this Statute you will perceive a new modification of the policy of the United States, and you will let it be understood by the British Government, that this provision will be duly carried into effect on the part of the United States.—A satisfactory adjustment of the affair of the Chesapeake is very desirable. The views of the President upon this delicate subject you may collect, not only from the instructions heretofore given to you, but from the sentiments that had been manifested on the part of this Government in the discussion with Mr. Rose, and from the terms and conditions contained in the arrangement made with Mr. Erskine. And conformable with these views, thus to be collected, you will consider yourself hereby instructed to negociate and conclude an arrangement with the British Government in relation to the attack on the Chesapeake.—I have the honour to be, &c. R. SMITH.

Mr. Smith to Mr. Pinkney. Department of State, July 2, 1810.

Sir—Your several letters of the 8th and 9th of April, and 2d and 3d of May have been received.—Whilst it was not known on the one hand, how far the French Government would adhere to the apparent import of the condition as first communicated, on which the Berlin Decrees would be revoked, and on the other hand, what explanations would be given by the British Government with respect to its blockades

prior to that Decree, the course deemed proper to be taken was that pointed out in my letter to you of Nov. 11, and in that to Gen. Armstrong of the 1st of Dec. The precise and formal declaration since made by the French Government, that the condition was limited to the blockades of France, or ports of France, of a date prior to the Berlin Decree, and the acknowledgment of the British Government of the existence of such blockades, particularly that of May, 1806, with a failure to revoke it, or even to admit the constructive extinguishment of it, held in your letter to the Marquis Wellesley, give to the subject a new aspect and a decided character.—As the British Government had constantly alledged that the Berlin Decree was the original aggression on our neutral commerce; that her Orders in Council were but a retaliation on that Decree, and had, moreover, on that ground asserted an obligation on the United States to take effectual measures against the Decree, as a preliminary to the repeal of the Orders, nothing could be more reasonable than to expect, that the condition, in the shape last presented, would be readily accepted. The President is therefore equally disappointed and dissatisfied at the abortiveness of your correspondence with Lord Wellesley, in this important subject. He entirely approves the determination you took to resume it with a view to the special and immediate obligation lying on the British Government to cancel the illegal blockades; and you are instructed, in case the answer to your letter of the 30th of April should not be satisfactory, to represent to the British Government, in terms temperate but explicit, that the United States consider themselves authorised by strict and unquestionable right, as well as supported by the principles heretofore applied by Great Britain to the case, in claiming and expecting a revocation of the illegal blockades of France, of a date prior to that of the Berlin Decree, as preparatory to a further demand of the revocation of that Decree.—It ought not to be presumed that the British Government in reply to such a representation, will contend that a blockade, like that of May, 1806, from the Elbe to Brest, a coast of not less than 100 miles, proclaimed four years since, without having been at any time attempted to be duly executed by the application of a naval force, is a blockade conformable to the law of nations, and consistent with the neutral rights. Such a pretext is completely barred, not only by the unanimous authorities both of writers and treaties on this point, not excepting even British treaties; but by the rule of blockade communicated by that Government to this, in the year 1809, in which it is laid down that orders have been given not to consider any blockade of those islands (Martinique and Guadaloupe) as existing, unless in respect to particular ports which may be actually invested; and then not to capture any vessels bound to such port, unless they shall have previously been warned not to enter them, and that they (the Lords of the Admiralty) had also sent the necessary directions on the subject to the Judges of the Vice-Admiralty Courts in the West Indies and America.—In this communication it is expressly stated that the rule to the British courts of cruizers was furnished in consequence of the representations made by the Government of the United States against blockades, not unlike that now in question, and with the expression of redressing the grievance complained of. Nor ought it to be presumed that the British Government will formally resort to the plea that her naval force, although unapplied, is adequate to the enforcement of the blockade of May, 1806, and that this forms a legal distinction between that and the Berlin Decree of November following. Were it admitted that an adequate force existed, and was applicable to such a purpose, the absurdity of confounding the power to do a thing, with the actually doing of it, speaks for itself. In the present case, the absurdity is peculiarly striking—a port blockaded by sea, without a ship near it, being a contradiction in terms, as well as a perversion of law and of common sense.—From the language of Lord Wellesley's two letters, it is possible he may endeavour to evade the measure required, by subtle comments on the posture given to the blockade of May, 1806, by the succeeding orders of 1807. But even here he is met by the case of blockade of Copenhagen and other ports of Zealand in the year 1808—at a time when these with all Danish ports were embraced by these orders of 1807—a proof that, however the orders and blockades may be regarded as in some respects the same, they are regarded in others as having a distinct operation, and may consequently co-exist, without being absolutely merged in, or superseded, the one by the other.—

In the difficulties which the British Government must feel in finding a gloss for the extravagant principles of her paper blockades, it may perhaps wish to infer an acquiescence on the part of this Government, from the silence under which they have, in some instances passed. Should a disposition to draw such an inference shew itself you will be able to meet it by an appeal, not only to successful remonstrance in the letter to Mr. Thornton above cited, but to the answer given to Mr. Merry, of June, ——, of the notification of a blockade in the year 1806, as a precise and authentic record of the light in which such blockades and the notification of them were viewed by the United States; copies of the answer have been heretofore forwarded, and another is now inclosed, as an additional precaution against miscarriage.—Whatever may be the answer to the representation and requisition which you are instructed to make, you will transmit it without delay to this Department. Should it be of a satisfactory nature you will hasten to forward it also to the diplomatic functionary of the United States at Paris, who will be instructed to make a proper use of it for obtaining a repeal of the French Decree of Berlin, and to proceed, currently with you, in bringing about successive removals by the two Governments of their predatory Edicts.—I avail myself of this occasion to state to you, that it is deemed of great importance that our Ministers of Foreign Courts, and especially at Paris and London, should be kept, the one by the other, informed of the state of our affairs at each. R. SMITH.

General Armstrong to the Duke of Cadore.—Paris, Sept. 7, 1810.

Sir—Your Excellency will not think me importunate if I should employ the last moments of my stay in Paris, in seeking an explicit declaration of the following points:—1st. Has the decree of his Majesty, of the 23d March last, enjoining acts of reprisal against the commerce of the United States, on account of their late law of Non-Intercourse, been recalled?—2d. What will be the operation (on the vessels of the United States) of his Majesty's decrees of July last, forbidding the departure of neutral ships from the ports of France, unless provided with Imperial licences? Are ship licences merely substitutes for clearances; or do they prescribe regulations to be observed by the holders of them without the jurisdiction of the United States? Do they confine the permitted intercourse to two ports only of the United States; and do they enjoin that all the shipments be made on French account exclusively?—Is it his Majesty's will that the seizures made in the ports of Spain and other places on the principle of reprisal, shall become a subject of present or future negociation between the two Governments?—I need not suggest to your Excellency the interest both Governments have in the answers that may be given to these questions, and how nearly connected they are with the good understanding which ought to subsist between them.—After the great step lately taken by his Majesty towards an accommodation of differences, are we not at liberty to suppose that any new consideration will arise which shall either retard or prevent the adoption of measures necessary to a full restoration of the commercial intercourse and friendly relations of the two powers?—I cannot omit expressing on this occasion, the sense I shall carry with me of the many obligations I am personally under to your Excellency, and of the very high consideration with which I have the honour to be, your most obedient and humble servant,— JOHN ARMSTRONG.

The Duke of Cadore to General Armstrong.—Paris, Sept. 12, 1810.

Sir—I have received your letter of the 7th of September, that which I wrote to you the same day, answered the first questions you put to me.—I will add to what I had the honour to write to you, that the Decree of the 23d of March 1810, which ordered reprisals in consequence of the Act of Congress of the 1st of March, 1809, was repealed as soon as we were informed of the repeal of the Act of Non-intercourse, passed against France.—On your second question, I hasten to declare to you, that American vessels loaded with merchandize, the growth of the American Provinces, will be received without difficulty in the ports of France, provided they have not suffered their flag to lose its national character, by submitting to the Acts of the British Council. They may in like manner, depart from the ports of France.—The Emperor has given licences to American vessels. It is the only flag which has obtained them. In this his Majesty has intended to give a proof of the respect he loves to shew the Americans. If he is somewhat dissatisfied [peu

satisfait] that they have not as yet been able to succeed in causing their flag to be respected, at least, he sees with pleasure that they are far from acknowledging the tyrannical principles of English Legislation.—The American vessels which may be loaded on account of Frenchmen or on account of Americans, will be admitted into the ports of France.—As to the merchandize confiscated, it having been confiscated as a measure of reprisal, the principles of reprisal must be the law in that affair.—I have the honour to renew to you, Sir, the assurances of my high consideration.—CHAMPAGNY, Duc de Cadore.

From Mr. Smith to Mr. Pinkney. Department of State, Oct. 19th, 1810.

SIR; Your dispatch of the 24th of August, enclosing a newspaper statement of a letter from the duke of Cadore to gen. Armstrong, notifying a revocation of the Berlin and Milan Decrees, has been received. It ought not to be doubted that this step of the French Government will be followed by a repeal on the part of the British Government of its Orders in Council. And if a termination of the crisis between Great Britain and the United States be really intended, the repeal ought to include the system of paper blockades, which differ in the name only from the retaliatory system comprised in the Orders in Council. From the complexion of the British prints, not to mention other considerations, the paper blockades may, however, not be abandoned. There is hence a prospect that the United States may be brought to issue with Great Britain, on the legality of such blockades. In such case, as it cannot be expected that the United States, founded as they are, in law and right, can acquiesce in the validity of the British practice, it lies with the British Government to remove the difficulty. In addition to the considerations heretofore stated to you in former letters, you may bring to the view of the British Government the retrospective operations of those diplomatic notifications of blockades, which consider a notice to the minister as a notice to his Government and to the merchants who are at the distance of 3,000 miles. It will recur to your recollection, that the present ministry, in the debates of parliament, in opposition to the authors of the Orders of January, 1807, denied that they were warranted by the laws of nations. The analogy between these Orders and the blockade of May 1806, in so far as both relate to a trade between enemy's ports, furnishes an appeal to the consistency of those now in office, and an answer to attempts by them to vindicate the legality of that blockade. It is remarkable, also, that this blockade is founded on the new and extraordinary means resorted to by the enemy, for the purpose of distressing the commerce of British subjects. What are those means? In what respect do they violate our neutral rights? Are they still in operation? It is believed that true answers to these questions will enforce the obligation of yielding to our demands on this subject. You may also refer the British Government to the characteristic definition of a blockaded port, as set forth in their Treaty with Russia, June, 1801, the preamble of which declares, that one of its objects was to settle an invariable determination of their principles upon the rights of neutrality. —Should the British Government unexpectedly resort to the pretext of an acquiescence on the part of the United States, in their practice, it may be remarked, that prior to as well as during the present administration, this Government has invariably protested against such pretensions; and, in addition to other instances heretofore communicated to you, I herewith transmit to you an extract of a letter to the department of State, of July 15, 1799, from Mr. King, our Minister in London, and also such part of Mr. Marshall's letter to him of the 20th September, 1800, as relates to the subject of blockades. And it may, moreover, be urged, that the principle now contended for by the United States, was maintained against others, as well as Great Britain, as appears from the accompanying copy of a letter to our Minister at Madrid, in the year 1801. To this principle the United States also adhered, when a belligerent, as in the case of the blockade of Tripoli, as will be seen by the annexed letter from the navy department. You will press on the justice, friendship, and policy of Great Britain, such a course of proceeding as will obviate the dilemma resulting to the United States, from a refusal to put an end to the paper blockades as well as the Orders in Council.—The necessity of revoking the blockade of Copenhagen, as notified to you in May 1808, will not escape your attention. Its continuance may embarrass us with Denmark if not with France.—Your answer to the Corfu blockades is approved; and should the answer to it

render a reply necessary, the President directs you to remonstrate against such a blockade; availing yourself as far as they may be applicable, of the ideas in the letter to Mr. Charles Pinkney, of October 1801, and particularly of the proof it affords of our early remonstrance against the principle of such blockades.—No communication having yet been made by Gen. Armstrong, of a letter to him from the Duke of Cadore, declaring that the Berlin and Milan Decrees will cease to be in force from the 1st of Nov. next, I can at this time only inform you, that if the proceedings of the French Government, when officially received, should correspond with the printed letter of the Duke of Cadore, enclosed in your dispatch, you will let the British Government understand that on the 1st day of November, the President will issue his Proclamation conformable to the Act of Congress, and that the Non-intercourse Law will consequently be revived against Great Britain. And if the British Government should not, with the early notice received of the repeal of the French Decrees, have revoked all its Orders which violate our neutral rights, it should not be overlooked, that Congress, at their approaching session, may be induced not to wait for the expiration of the three months (which were allowed, on the supposition that the first notice might pass through the United States) before they give effect to the renewal of the Non-Intercourse. This consideration ought to have its weight in dissuading the British Government from the policy, in every respect misjudged, of procrastinating the repeal of its illegal edicts.—If the British Government be sincerely disposed to come to a good understanding, and to cultivate a friendly intercourse with the United States, it cannot but be sensible of the necessity, in addition to a compliance with the Act of Congress, of including, at this time a general arrangement of the topics between the two countries; and, above all, such a one, as will, upon equitable terms effectually put a stop to the insufferable vexations to which our seamen have been and yet are exposed from the British practice of impressment, which has so strong a bearing on our neutrality, and to which no nation can submit consistently with its independency. To this very interesting subject you will, therefore, recal the attention of the British Government, and you will accordingly consider yourself hereby authorised to discuss and adjust the same separately, conformably to the instructions in my letter to you of the 20th of January last, on the condition, however, contained in that letter, namely, that the requisite atonement shall have been previously made, in the case of the outrages on the Chesapeake. But as in this case every admissible advance has been exhausted on the part of the United States, it will be improper to renew the subject to the British Government, with which it must lie, to come forward with the requisite satisfaction to the United States. You will, therefore, merely evince a disposition to meet in a conciliatory form, any overtures that may be made on the part of the British Government.—The British Government, having so long omitted to fulfil the just expectations of the United States, in relation to a successor to Mr. Jackson, notwithstanding the reiterated assurances to you of such an intention, has no claims to further indulgence. On the receipt of this letter, therefore, should the appointment of a Plenipotentiary successor not have been made and communicated to you, you will let your purpose be known of returning to the United States, unless, indeed, the British Government should have unequivocally manifested a disposition to revoke their Orders in council, conformably to the Act of Congress of May last, and our affairs with them should have accordingly taken so favourable a turn as to justify, in your judgment, a further suspension of it. I have the honour to be, &c. R. SMITH.

SPAIN.——*Statue to George III.——Sitting of the Cortes, Nov. 19, 1810.*

Senor Perez de Castró, addressing the Cortes, spoke in substance as follows:—"I have long felt a desire to propose to the Cortes a resolution, the adoption of which appears to me very proper, because it is very just; but the important affairs which have occupied your Majesty since your installation, and the multitude of occurrences, if not so important in themselves, yet at least all springing from the wish to advance in the grand career of the salvation of the country, have hitherto prevented me in spite of myself. In the mean time, I have been able to observe, with much satisfaction, on repeated occasions, that the opinion of many Deputies of the Cortes, as appeared from

their speeches, was in accordance with my own ideas; therefore, I submit them to your Majesty, in the well-founded confidence that they will merit your high approbation. I mean to speak of the profound gratitude which the Spanish nation feels for England, its generous ally. The whole world knows how much we are indebted to her illustrious Sovereign, as great in his sentiments towards the Spaniards, as determined in his purpose to protect their sacred cause. There is not a patriot, who, so to speak, does not feel his sensibility excited when contemplating the abundant supplies of troops, arms, ships, and money which the generous British nation has freely bestowed on Spain from the moment at which it beheld our heroic resolution. Donations, praises, enthusiasm, all have been lavished by the English people on their ally; and posterity, painting in majestic colours the heroism, the constancy, and fidelity of Spain, will place in the same picture the unbounded generosity and truly inimitable exertions of Great Britain in our behalf. England knows our gratitude, the whole world knows it; it is engraven on our hearts; our past governments have repeated it on every occasion that offered; but it is just, it is necessary, that the whole nation, that is, the Cortes, who represent it, in the fullest manner should solemnly manifest it, by voting an eternal monument of national gratitude to the worthy head of their great nation. Thus shall we perform a sacred duty; thus we shall give a public proof of one of those virtues, which greatly characterise the noble nation whom we represent, I mean gratitude. Let us declare at the same time, that we will never lay down our arms till we have seen secured our independence, the integrity of our territory in both hemispheres without dismemberment, and our lawful King free. Let us run the painful but heroic and glorious course of our holy war, always in good understanding with, always united to the great nation which aids us so generously; and may that union be as eternal, as the ties are sacred and sincere which bind us to our ally, by the last treaty of the 14th January, 1809. My wish is, that since such are the vows of the whole nation, its representatives also may sanction them. If the Cortes think fit to adopt my ideas, I beg permission to read the heads of a decree, conformable to what I have suggested.—The motion was approved of by acclamation. The decree was then read, which was also carried by acclamation, without the alteration of a single word. Joy was depicted in the countenance of all the spectators, and the gratitude which filled their bosoms was displayed by the most affecting demonstrations of applause.

DECREE.

The Cortes General and Extraordinary, actuated by the most lively and sincere gratitude towards his Most Sacred Majesty George the Third, King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, for the most generous interest he has displayed, and for the important assistance he has afforded the Spanish nation, in liberally supplying her with arms, money, troops, ships, and stores, from the first moment in which the provinces raised the loud acclaim of independence and fidelity to their legitimate Sovereign King Ferdinand VIIth, insidiously ensnared, captured, and insulted by the unprincipled Usurper of the Throne of France, Napoleon Buonaparté:—hereby decree, that a public Monument shall be erected to his Majesty George the Third, in testimony of the national gratitude of Spain, not only to an august, generous Sovereign, but to the unconquerable English Nation, for the ardour and patriotism which she has evinced in the glorious cause of Spain. The Cortes at the same time declare, that the Spanish Nation will not lay down her arms until she has secured her independence, the absolute integrity of the Spanish Monarchy in both worlds, and recovered it for her lawful Sovereign, Ferdinand VII. acting always with the concurrence, and in the most perfect harmony, with the King of Great Britain, in pursuance of the strict amity, and the perfect and indissoluble alliance, solemnly stipulated in the treaty of the 14th of January, 1809. The Council of Regency will take care to make known to his Majesty, respecting the most solemn and appropriate manner in which the same can be executed, and will also submit to the Cortes the plan which it thinks will be the best for carrying such national intention into effect. The Council conceives it proper, in the first instance, with a view to the attainment of the desired object, that this Decree shall be printed, and publicly circulated.—LUIS DEL MONTE, President.—MANUEL LUXAN.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

The Regency.——Before I proceed to what I intended principally to make the subject of observation in this Number, I think it necessary to go back, for a little, to the subject of *Reform*, treated of in my last. I there spoke of the measure as necessary to produce that sort of spirit and union in the country, now so loudly called for by all the circumstances of the nation, both at home and abroad; but, I omitted to notice one possible emergency, in which the beneficial effect of this great conciliatory measure must be felt in a degree hardly to be calculated: I mean, the emergency attending *the total destruction of the Paper-Money*, an emergency, which every one will allow to be *possible*, and which all those, who have much reflected upon the matter, will allow to be *probable*; and, one would think, that there could not be found a man, even amongst the most venal, to deny this position, after the Report of the Bullion Committee and the declarations of many of those men, who, if they possibly could have done it, would still have disguised from the people the real state of the Paper-money. Mr. Huskisson has acknowledged, that the Bank-Notes, in which the Dividends in the Funds are paid, have depreciated 15 per cent, and he has said, in express words, that the Fund-holder now receives only 17 shillings in the pound, out of which he pays 2 shillings more in *Income Tax*, reducing his former pound to 15 shillings.——Mr. Horne Tooke long ago said that this would be the case. During the short time that he was in Parliament, he uttered more good sense, upon subjects of Political Oeconomy, than I have ever heard of being uttered in that House for the last 30 years. He dealt not in fine-spun stuff that has no other effect than that of puzzling plain men, and that always has its rise in a want of clear notions in the speaker or writer. He saw the thing clearly himself; and he communicated his knowledge to others, in a way that no man of common sense could fail to understand.——He said it would be as the Bullion Committee have now declared it to be; he said that the pound of interest in the funds would go on sinking lower and lower in value, till at last (if the progress were not interrupted by some convulsion) the pound of interest would not purchase *a quartern loaf*.——Now, that this depreciation will *continue* is certain. All the powers upon earth cannot prevent it. And it must finally produce its natural and inevitable consequences. These consequences *may* not be attended with any violent shock, though any violent shock that should accelerate or produce the catastrophe, would also make that catastrophe the more dangerous. The *time*, too, may be more or less distant; events from without or within may operate upon the paper system more or less rapidly; but, the death of you or me, reader, is not more certain, than the catastrophe now in contemplation.—— This being the case, a wise government will look forward to it; it will be amongst the objects for which such a government will endeavour to provide. And, in the making of such provision, will a wise government leave the temper, the disposition, the wishes, of the people out of the question? Will not a wise government do all that it can to leave the people no solid ground of complaint in such a crisis, when, in spite of all that can be done, so much must depend upon the disposition of the people, and when, indeed, the very existence of the government and the maintenance of order and of law will rest upon that sole foundation?——At such a time there ought to be left in being no great and general grievance; for, is it not manifest, does not common sense, as well as the experience of the world, teach us, that, if such grievance were, at such a time, in being, that the people would not be likely to cease their complaints, and, indeed, that they would seize upon that very moment for urging them in all the ways in their power?——That the present state of the Paper-money may be fairly ascribed to the want of a Reform of Parliament there can, I think, be no doubt; because, it was the want of that Reform that led to an expenditure, which produced the expulsion of gold and the inundation of paper. But, whether this be admitted

or not, there can be no doubt, that, if the system produce any very great and general calamity, the calamity would be traced to that source, and that it would be no wonder if the popular accusations were even to exceed the bounds of the real truth.——Mr. PITT succeeded in keeping down the "democrats," that is to say, *the reformers*, in England; but, what was the *cost?* Six hundred millions added to the national debt, and the present fearful state of the Paper-money!. Neither he nor his successors of the same school have *succeeded* in keeping down the Debt and the Taxes. He often declared, in express terms, that our National Debt was "*the* "*best ally of France.*" What, then, did he gain by silencing, for a while, his old co-operators for Reform, if, in doing that, he augmented, fourfold, the strength of "France's *best ally?*" -That the first war with France arose out of a *dread of democracy*, a dread of the *people* of England obtaining too much power, is certain. I do not say, that there were *no* men, at that time, in England, who wished to overturn the kingly government altogether; but their numbers must have been very small, and they would have been, at once, discovered and effectually put down by the granting of that Reform, for which many of the most eminent men in England had contended, and for which, therefore, it was perfectly reasonable, that the people should still contend.——But, supposing that the well-known moderation of the people of England was not to be trusted; even supposing, that, if not kept down by the means of a war with France and of Barracks and an army at home, the reformers would have gone the length of demanding too great a share for the people. Was it not better to have run that risk than to do what was done? Let us suppose ourselves now in the year 1792, and let me put this question to the great Land-holders in England. "You have "now your choice: will you have *univer*-"*sal suffrage* and *annual parliaments* in Eng-"land; or will you add six hundred mil-"lions to the national debt, pay ten per "cent. upon your income, see France the "absolute mistress of the Continent of "Europe, and building navies in all her "ports wherewith to attack you?"——That man of great estate must, I think, be very perverse indeed, who would not choose the former. What, then, has been gained in this eighteen years struggle against popular principles? What has been gained by this long "*stand against* "*popular encroachment?*" What has been *gained*, I say, by the "*success*" of "*the* "*great man now no more*" in keeping down democrats?——And, are we to be answered in the stale cant about "the *times*" and about the will of *Providence* to permit this or that? Providence,

"——— The Universal Cause
"Acts not by *partial*, but by *general* laws;"

And, amongst those laws, is this: that wisdom shall, in the end, triumph over folly, and that, in the end, every crime shall bring its own punishment. If the *result* of this long struggle shall be favourable to those who have pursued the present system in this country, then, indeed, they may boast of its wisdom; but, until that result be known, it will be too soon for them to boast.——In all the concerns of life, be they of what kind they may, the failure of a long series of trials point out the wisdom of *a change.* This is the wisdom of experience, which is of so very humble a sort that it is possessed even by the brutes. The ox that has found yon corner of the pasture sour, will feed there no more; the horse that has felt the whip will not fail to flinch at its smack. What would be said, then, of the shepherd, who, having, year after year, found the dell to rot his sheep, were still to lead them to the same spot? And, yet, is this more unwise, more absurd, than the conduct of those statesmen, who, having, for many years, seen that their system has produced an annual increase of expence, difficulty, and danger, still adhere to that system?——The system of Anti-Jacobinism; the system of making two distinct classes of the people; the system of keeping down reformers; this system has had an eighteen years trial. The tree is known by its fruit, and the fruit of this system are seen at the Bank, in Ireland, in our Pauper List, across the Channel.——If this be *good fruit;* if it be such as is pleasant to the taste, and promises a healthful digestion, let the system continue, and let its author be an object of praise; but, if its taste be bitter and its consequences death, let it be changed as quickly as possible. And, as the keeping down of reformers has been the great and prominent feature of the system, let the effects of letting them up again be *tried.*——We have had *experiments* enough in other ways. We have had all sorts of commercial and military and naval and diplomatic experiments; we have had warlike and subsidizing experiments;

we have had a *peace* experiment, and we have had an *Union* experiment. What have they all done? Have they led to happiness at home? Have they lessened the number of bankruptcies? Have they strengthened public credit? Have they made us *secure from without?* Well, then, as all these have failed, why not try a new course? Why not see what *reform* would do? It would cost neither lives nor money. It would require neither army nor fleet. It would make no demands upon the War-office, the Admiralty, the Barrack Department, or the Ordnance. Why not *try* it, then? What else is there left to try? As to *diversions* abroad, they are over. The war in Spain and Portugal is the last of these experiments. What, then is to be done? I ask any one of the abettors of the system to point out any thing that there is left, except the bare *defence* of the country; and any thing that he can *hope* for but that England should be able just to avoid being *conquered* and made a department of the French empire. Indeed, this is all that the "life-and-fortune" men now pretend to hope for; so that they have brought all their high boasting, to a pretty pass. They set out with projects of conquest, and they now *hope* not to be conquered. They set out with resolutions to subdue, with bullying threats against all the republicans in the world, "*crush, stifle*, "*strangle*," were their words. Nothing short of a complete re-establishment of the old order of things would satisfy them. They looked as big and as bluff as giants amongst pigmies. How changed! Now they whine and cant and turn up their eyes, and, in a consumptive sort of voice, express their fervent hopes that they shall be able to *defend* themselves, or, rather, that they shall be defended by the people, whom they so long calumniated, and no small portion of whom they would gladly have seen hanged. They won the day. They *beat the democrats*. They *subscribed* and *toasted* and *addressed* and *huzzaed*; but, what has the victory availed them? What is their condition *now?* They *beat the reformers*; but, the reformers are still *alive*, and they are not to be killed by any thing. Time, which is hard at work *against* their persecutors, is as hard at work *for* them. There is not, in the whole chapter of events, one that can be favourable to the enemies of reform; and, if the country remains independent, reform will take place.——But, how much better would it be that it should now originate with the government itself? How gracious this would appear; and what an excellent effect it would have! That this vital measure; this measure, without which all other measures must fail of producing any great good, it will not, perhaps, be in the power of the Regent's ministry to adopt *immediately*; but, as I said in my last (and I cannot repeat it too often) they may immediately give the subject *fair play;* they may evince their *wishes* for reform; for, unless they do this, they may be well assured, that they will have *no support from the people.*——They will take to the government in a fine plight. They will find an enormously expensive war in Spain and Portugal, for the *perseverance in which* they will find all those who profit, either directly or indirectly, *from the taxes*. Such men love war of any sort, if it be but *expensive* and give rise to places and jobs. If they put an end to this war, they will have roused all this description of persons against them; and, if they continue it, they will thereby hasten the Paper-money crisis. Commerce and Manufactures they will find in a ticklish state. The war against the Republicans of France, which, it was boasted by Mr. Pitt and his set, had given us the trade of the whole world, has, at last, led to the destruction of no small part of that trade, with a fair prospect of a much greater destruction.——I, for my own part, do not hold, that *foreign* trade is at all necessary to the maintenance of the independence and the greatness of England. I am quite convinced, that it is not necessary. But, it makes part of the present system; and, at any rate, a great diminution of it must produce a shock; it must, as to certain parts of the kingdom, produce very serious embarrassments; and it must affect the revenue and the means of propping up the Paper-money.——It is quite useless to laugh at the idea of Napoleon's banishing all our trade from the Continent of Europe; for, it is plain that he *will* do it. He has already reduced it to a mere *smuggling trade*. He has so loaded it with embarrassments and penalties, that it cannot be carried on but with a loss to us.——Manufacturing establishments will grow up on the Continent, whither English manufacturers will go, in swarms, as they are now going from Ireland to America. It is preposterous to suppose, that in the countries, whence we draw our raw materials, the same goods cannot be made as we make

in England. Is it not absurd to believe, that, while all the wool that we make into superfine cloth, comes from Spain and Germany, superfine cloth cannot be made in those countries?——See what has been, only by the short operation of the *Embargo* and *Non-intercourse* Acts, done in America. To such an extent have the cloth and cotton manufactories grown up there, that I have been credibly informed, that, during the last year, that the *Cards* for carding wool and cotton, shipped for America from the Port of Liverpool, have exceeded in amount the cloths shipped at the same port, from the counties of Somerset and Gloucester.——I always thought, that the United States could not produce *wool* in sufficient quantity, on account of the long winters, which prevented the keeping of sheep. This was a wrong notion, grounded upon the universal mode in practice in England, of keeping sheep upon green food in winter. I now find, that, in Germany, whence comes the *finest wool in the world*, and where is (in Silesia) *the very finest flock of sheep in the whole world*, all the sheep are kept in *yards* during *six months* in the year, and, no small part of the time actually in *houses*. These are facts not to be doubted of. The feed of the sheep, during the long winter, consists of hay, straw, and roots, chiefly *potatoes;* and this being the case, America may have sheep in as great abundance as they are in England.——Indeed, I understand, that very great progress has been already made in the increase of sheep in America, which has received much assistance from the breaking up of the Spanish flocks, of which America has had a share ——So great is the spirit of enterprize in this way, that a very intimate friend of mine, near Philadelphia, wrote to me, in July last, that the price of a *Spanish ram* there was, in some cases, *a thousand dollars;* that is to say, £.225 of our Bank of England note money. But, there have been great numbers sent to America since that time, from Spain and Portugal; and, which is not a little curious, many *thousands*, which I, at one time, notified that I expected to receive in *Hampshire*, are, I have every reason to suppose, and, for the sake of the worthy owner, I anxiously hope it, *now safely landed in the United States!* His wish, they being the finest flock in Spain, was to bring them to England, where his intention was to have made a most liberal and public-spirited distribution of them; but, as I understand, *he was refused leave to send them home in empty transports*, and was, therefore, compelled either to leave them for the French, or ship them off to the United States, and, of course, he chose the latter; and, thus, perhaps, by this single act, the epoch of the final and complete independence of America upon England for *woollens* will be accelerated by several years; and, with regard to the *fineness* of wool, that country will be, at once, put upon an equal footing with this.——There would be no excuse for a detail like this, were I not thoroughly persuaded, that we have here before us the seeds of a great event; *nothing less than the complete and absolute independence of America upon English Manufactures.* Cotton she had to export; Iron she had to export; she had every thing but *wool*, and now she has that with an abundance of food for all sorts of manufacturers; so that, in a very short time, so far will she be from wanting woollens from England, that she will have them to export, and that the manufacturers will follow the manufactory there can be no doubt at all. She will be able to make cloths much cheaper than we can; and, of course, she will be able to sell them cheaper.——Now, observe, I draw from this, no conclusion unfavourable to the happiness or the security or the greatness of England, none of which are at all favoured by the country's being *a workshop for other nations.* I am satisfied that foreign trade is injurious to England; and that it has been one of the great causes of the dangers she now has to dread. But, as I said before, foreign trade is *a part of the present system of finance*, and its sudden decline must add to the difficulties that the government will have to encounter.——The Regent's ministry, therefore, will not, in this respect, be upon "*a bed of roses,*" any more than as to matters connected with war and paper-money. They will, in short, be beset with difficulties. Look which way they will these difficulties face them, not in single rank, but in column. And, do they imagine, that they are destined to subdue all these without the *cordial co-operation of the people?* If they do, they will find themselves most egregiously deceived.——There is one other measure that I shall mention here, and which, if they have any regard for their reputation as ministers, or any desire of keeping their places for four months, they will, one would think, not fail to set about, the moment they get into office. I mean, the causing to be made a *full* and *clear* state-

ment of the *situation of the nation*, in the several departments of *army, navy, church, poor, taxation, paper-money, colonies, foreign trade*, and, above all, the *liberty of the subject* and the *representation in parliament*.——When any man, in private life, takes a trust out of the hands of another, he never fails to have a clear statement made out of the situation of every part of the concern, unless he means to take upon him responsibility for the *past* as well as for the *future*. Common prudence points this out; and, at this time, I am sure, that every consideration that ought to have weight with men in power points it out to those who shall be ministers of the Regent. Some of them remember being twitted of coming in upon a *bed of roses*. It will be their *own fault*, if they be thus twitted again. They took to the concern before with the hope of *jogging on* in the *old way*. They were forewarned of the consequences. They were told, that the Roses and Castlereaghs would beat them at that. They despised the warning; but, at the end of 15 months, they found it verified; they found themselves where they will again find themselves, at the end of less than another 15 months, unless they adopt a widely different course.——They seemed then to have adopted the opinion, that *place* would do every thing, and that *principle* was nothing; that, after representing the system of Mr. Pitt as the most unwise and wicked in the world, they might safely pursue it; and that, having got into place, they might, with impunity, extol the public virtues of Mr. Pitt, and even vote a reward, out of the people's pockets, to his *public services*, in the teeth of those amongst whom they had gained credit solely by their reprobation of his public character and public conduct. This was the most cutting affront that ever was offered to the understandings and feelings of a nation, and as such it made a deep and lasting impression; an impression that it will not be easy to wear away.——When they had once been prevailed upon to do this; when they had once identified themselves with the public character of the man, whose public character it had been the business of their whole political lives to reprobate, they were, in fact, from that moment bound hand and foot, and at the mercy of their enemies; for the *people* cared just as much for one party as they did for the other; and, of all the ministries that I ever knew, or heard of, the turning out of no one ever excited so little regret.——Let them *beware*, then; for the minds of the people are not changed, and never will and never can be changed, as to the system of the last 26 years.——But, the Regency ministers have another, and still higher, consideration to weigh with them. The late ministry acted under the same *head* which Mr. Pitt and his set had acted under. The Regency ministers will have a new head. If, therefore, they again take up the system; if they again take it under their protection; if they again identify themselves, by eulogies or otherwise, with the public character of Mr. Pitt, what shall we say of their conduct *towards the Regent himself*? He stands clear, in the eyes of the people, of any, even the smallest, participation in that system. *He* has had no art or part in any of the measures of the last 26 years. *He* has had no hand in adding six hundred millions to the national debt. *He* has had nothing to do with the Pitt wars against republican principles. *He* had nothing to do in the *successes* over democrats. *He* has had no hand in the measures which have augmented the taxes fourfold. *He* has never had any thing to do with that system which has augmented the poor-rates from 2 to 5 millions. In short, he stands *new, fresh*, and *fair* before the people, whom, in the course of nature, he is destined to govern. He is a sheet of unsoiled paper; and, ought not his advisers to take care, how they cause it to begin by writing upon it, "*the system of Pitt*"? Ought they not to be very careful how they pledge him to this, how they identify him with what has been so fatal to England, and the sound of which will, to the latest ages, be so hateful to English ears?——Thus have I stated, *in time*, what it appears to me the Regent's ministry ought to *think about*, at least, the moment they are in power, and even *before* they are there.——As to the Bill, now before the House of Lords for making the Prince Regent, there is nothing more to be said upon the subject. It is well understood. The *principles* have all been amply discussed, and whether *one fourth* or *one half* of the regal powers and prerogatives are withheld from the Regent makes no difference at all. The *principles* are, and must remain, the same; and, whether they be violated little or much, the same objection must exist.——Our eyes must now be turned towards the *measures* that will be pursued; and, all that I shall say upon them now is, that, after having pointed

out *those* which appear to me to be most essential, I have only to add, that I *wish* the whole of them may be good; and, that, be they what they may, I shall, in giving my opinion of them, divest myself of all prejudice and partiality.——In the mean while, as connected with this subject, I cannot forbear making a few remarks upon one more passage that appeared in the COURIER (the leading venal print) of the 23rd instant.——The venal man is commenting upon a speech of Sir SAMUEL ROMILLY, upon the subject of the means used to excite *suspicions* against the PRINCES. "Review the doctrines contained "in these extracts. The Regent should "not be responsible, though his office is "not supreme, but merely a delegated tem-"porary trust. Who ever heard before of "a deputy being irresponsible to his prin-"cipal, or any other authority?—Mr. "Fox, at the Shakespeare Tavern, in Oc-"tober 1801, publicly exulted in the ex-"ample afforded by the French Revolu-"tion, of the right and power of the peo-"ple to cashier Kings for misconduct; "but the Foxites of the present day will "not allow even a King's deputy to be "responsible. Was it candid to talk of "proceeding against the Regent by infor-"mation, as if so high an officer would be sued like a common culprit? Was it not invidious and inflammatory to represent him as degraded to the rank of "an Exciseman because he was required "to take an oath, though the King him-"self takes one? The Opposition would "*in reality exalt the office of Regent above* "*that of King!* It was humorously re-"marked that Mr. Burke's brother thought "himself a greater man than Burke, be-"cause he was his brother; and now the "Opposition would have the Regent a "greater man than the King, because he "is his deputy! No law must be made "to restrain the Prince. *Every thing must* "*be trusted to his magnanimity: to controul* "*is to insult him.* Such language as this "might lead a Prince of weak intellects, "of an irritable, impatient, and arbitrary "temper, to dissolve the parliament for "ever, as a body that did nothing but in-"sult him, stigmatise him, degrade him "to the rank of an Exciseman, and render "him liable to prosecution like a petty of-"fender. Yet this, according to the "Newspaper reports, is the language of "the Foxites, those friends of freedom! "If they will trust *every thing to the Prince's* "*discretion, what is the use of a Parliament?* "Why not reform it as a regiment is re-"formed, *by disbanding it altogether, sub-"stituting a military government in its "stead?* We have *already made too great* "*a progress towards a military Govern-"ment;* and the Opposition, by piquing "the Prince personally, by representing "the conduct of Parliament as personally "offensive to his Royal Highness, seem "desirous of *preparing his mind to resort to* "*one.* No arguments against the restric-"tions can be referred to the Prince per-"sonally without being in their nature "highly unconstitutional, as making our "safety *depend upon his discretion, rather* "*than upon the law;* and those who can "use them are fitter to become the Mi-"nisters of the Seraglio than of *a free* "*Country.* Were the Prince a weak, im-"perious man, fond only of flatterers and "sycophants, with such an abject fawning "Ministry as the Opposition seem ready "to become, and the *Burdett mob at his* "*heels,* the Country would have *cause to* "*tremble.* But his Royal Highness has "too much good sense to be influenced by "the crawling adulation of slaves, and "too great a love of the liberties of his "country, to encourage the anarchical "tyranny of a mob."——If the fact were not so notorious that this man is actuated solely by a love of *gain,* one would really suppose, that he had heated his brain into insanity. One is at a loss to decide between the *impudence* and the *nonsense* of this passage. This sentence insinuates that the Prince is disposed to call in the aid of *military force* wherewith to put down the parliament, and the next, that he wishes to have the "*Burdett mob*" at his heels, as if the two would so *cordially unite!*——But, the main drift of the thing is to inculcate the notion, that those who are opposed to the *restrictions* wish to introduce some *new* powers and give them to the Regent; that they want to "set him "*above* the King;" that they are willing to "entrust every thing to *his magnani-"mity;*" that they are willing to leave all "to *his discretion;*" that they are willing "to depend upon his discretion *rather than* "*upon the law.*"——What an impudent, what an unprincipled, what a shameless man this must be! For my part, I cannot form an idea of any thing so base in human nature as those qualities that can enable a man to act thus. He knows that every man of sense and information will perceive the grossness, the foulness, of his misrepresentation; but, he also knows,

that the uninformed will not, and that the whole of the corrupt tribe will be pleased with him; and thus, for the sake of deceiving the ignorant and obtaining the approbation of the corrupt, he knowingly and voluntarily incurs the contempt and detestation of those whom he is compelled to respect.——Where is the man who has, at any time, expressed a wish to invest the Prince with any *new* powers? Who has proposed to set him *above* the King? Who has ever thought of depending upon his magnanimity *rather than upon law*?"——What we, who object to the restrictions and oaths and conditions say, is this: that, as the Prince is to fill the office of the King, he ought to possess *all the powers of the King*, during the time that he fills that office; and *no other powers*. We say, that he ought to take no oath *that the King did not take*. We say, that he ought to be *no more responsible than the King was*. We say, that it is an outrageous insult, not only to the PRINCE, but to common sense, *to suppose him less fit to be trusted with power than the King*; but, so far from saying, that we are willing to trust to his discretion *rather than to law*, we have said, over and over again, that he ought to have not an atom of power, not *awarded him by the constitution*, that is to say, the *settled laws of the land*.——This is what we have, all along, said, and this is what we continue to say. We say, that, if any one will bring forward a proposition for *diminishing the prerogatives of the Crown*, we shall cheerfully hear him, and discuss the matter with him. Such a measure may possibly be proper; but, we say, that no such proposition is offered to us; we say, that it is not a *diminution*, but a *division* that is proposed; and, we say, that, in a division, which would *separate a part of the prerogatives from the office of King*, we see a departure of the principles of our constitution, which holds, that "the prerogatives are "vested in the Crown *for the benefit of the* "*people*." We say, that this separating must consider the prerogatives in the light of *personal property*; and that we do not so consider them.——Plain as all this is; consonant as it is with all just notions of freedom; evident as are the truth and justice of it; yet, this venal writer finds his account in perversion, or, we may be assured that he would not take the pains to pervert. His readers consist, for the most part, of those bigotted and intolerant people throughout the country, who had their heads well crammed with Anti-Jacobinism about 12 or 15 years ago, and who are busied much more about the means of "putting down "Jacobins and Levellers," than about defending their country; those incorrigibly stupid animals, who even to this hour, tell you of the *glorious* prospect in Spain and Portugal, and who *laugh* at Massena and even at his master; who, when you remind them of the fleets preparing in all the ports of Europe, answer you by repeating the saying about the "*wooden walls of Old* "*England*;" and who, were they to see, or hear of, the approach of a French army of only five thousand men, would, if they could, sink into the very bowels of the earth. These are the bigotted, intolerant, stupid, and cowardly people, to whom this writer addresses himself. Stupid as they are, however, they are more malignant than stupid, and though, at bottom, they despise him (and he knows it), their malice is fed by him, and thus he has a hold which he well knows they cannot shake off.——To these he adds the *elect* amongst the *corrupted* and *corruptors*. All those whose object it is to live unfairly, in one way or another, upon the people's earnings, to fatten upon their sweat: and who, rather than see the means of doing this put quite beyond their reach for ever, would cheerfully view the destruction of half the nation by fire and sword. The prevalence of justice is, to such people, certain destruction. They cannot breathe the same air with truth and justice. Let delusion cease, and they perish without the assistance of either violence or law. This race is in *great alarm* at present, and all that I can say is, that I sincerely hope that their alarm *may not prove groundless*.

STAFFORDSHIRE ELECTION.——Below I insert two letters, to which I beg leave to call the reader's attention.——Mr. WOLSELEY does, it seems, mean to make a stand in that County, upon the principle of Mr. BURGOYNE in Essex; whereat SIR JOHN WROTTESLEY seems to be very angry. To be sure! That is very natural. That any man should attempt to give the Freeholders of any County an opportunity of voting for a man who will pledge himself to demand their rights, is ground for anger, in such a case.——I hope, I shall live, however, to see this done in every county; and that elections will become something a little more than mere meetings of a family or two, surrounded by their tenants.——If the *really independent* of every County were to unite, they would

carry all county elections, in spite of all the jobbing that can, even now, be made use of; or, at the very least, they would give the jobbers and family compacts so much trouble and mortification, that an election would be to them a serious matter. ——The *yeomen* and *tradesmen* are not just to *themselves*. They want spirit to assert what is their due. They shrink at *great names*, which only means *great riches*. And, why should they? What is there in the name of *Wrottesley* more than in that of *Hodgson* or *Jackson* or *Williamson*? *Man* is *man*, and nothing more. There are only two sorts of superiority: one of *body*, the other of *mind*. If farmer Hodgson can beat Sir John Wrottesley at boxing, he is, in that way, the *best man* of the two; and if he, or any other farmer or tradesman, has more *sense* and *virtue* than Sir John, he is the *best man* here again. It is a base abandonment of a man's rights to acknowledge any other kind of superiority, unless it be exacted by *the law*; and, I am quite sure, that there is no law yet in England, that calls upon farmer Hodgson to acknowledge his inferiority to Sir John Wrottesley.——*Modesty* is becoming in all men, but modesty calls upon no one to acknowledge himself inferior to another man, unless he is conscious of bodily or mental inferiority; and as to *money* and *lands*, if I were to pitch upon an *infallible* sign of baseness, it would be a proneness to acknowledge superiority in the rich.——I shall return to this subject, and, in the mean while, I most heartily wish Mr. Wolseley success.

W^M. COBBETT.

State Prison, Newgate, Friday, January 25, 1811.

STAFFORDSHIRE ELECTION.

Letter from Sir John Wrottesley to the Editor of the Wolverhampton Chronicle.

Sir; A Letter having appeared in the Staffordshire Advertiser, signed C. Wolseley, I address you as affording me an earlier opportunity of an explicit declaration upon the subject of its contents. An answer to Mr. Wolseley is unnecessary; and to him, I must add those, who, like himself, consider my brother's election as conclusive of an understanding between the families. But for enabling me to explain to more cautious and impartial gentlemen, who hear the evidence before they decide the cause, he has my thanks. —In consequence of a reported insinuation of Mr. Wolseley at the last nomination, which at the election he positively denied, I felt it incumbent upon me to state openly the connection that had subsisted between the late lord Stafford and myself, and flattered myself that I had proved, to the satisfaction of every person, and even to this gentleman, that that connection was not renewed with the present marquis. This open declaration did not tend to improve that common intercourse of civilities which might and often does subsist without any political consideration; and beyond the formal exchange of visits in London, nothing has taken place by word of mouth, letter or message, or any, even the slightest conversation that could tend either to general or local politics.—As to my brother's election, I had no intimation of his intention, till he had determined to offer himself a candidate for Brackley. At the age of thirty-eight he is wholly independent of me, and capable of forming his own opinions. Had he asked my advice, I should have given it with that sincerity and friendship which has ever subsisted between us. But the measure was determined upon before I knew it; and my advice not having been asked, I certainly never intruded it; particularly at a time, when it could no longer avail.—The only application to me, was for a qualification, and, for the first time in my life, I refused him; because I was resolved not to give so unequivocal a proof of my approbation. —To these circumstances, I add a declaration, upon my honour as a gentleman, that no political connection whatever has subsisted between lord Stafford and myself since I quitted Litchfield; and while I shall feel flattered with the support of those who give me credit for this assertion, I scorn to accept it from any man who considers me as capable of the smallest deviation from truth. —— But the true motives of this letter appear in the postscript, no man who reads it will doubt that Mr. Wolseley intends to become a candidate for the representation of the county, after the example of Mr. Burgoyne in Essex. If these are his intentions, it would be more manly to make an open and explicit declaration, resting his pretensions, rather upon his own merits, than attempting to detract from the character of others.—I am, Sir, your very obedient humble servant,

JOHN WROTTESLEY.

Wrottesley, Jan. 12, 1811.

Mr. Wolseley's Answer.

To the Freeholders of the County of Stafford.

Gentlemen; Sir John Wrottesley has published in the Wolverhampton Newspaper of the 16th inst. a letter in answer to mine, inserted in the Staffordshire Advertiser of the 12th inst. in which I expressed my doubts of his claims to represent this county in Parliament; I lament that he has thought it necessary. It is impossible for me to be personally hostile to Sir John Wrottesley; but I have so great an affection for my family, that I never can or shall allow myself, under any circumstances, to degrade myself so far, as to disavow publicly the conduct of an honourable brother, whom I profess sincerely to love and esteem: I have so high an opinion of Sir John Wrottesley, that I cannot allow myself to suspect, that he differs from these sentiments. But will Sir J. W. say that there is any merit in him in refusing a qualification to his brother, to enable him to be the representative of a rotten borough, under the auspices of the Marquis of Stafford; will he say that the member for Brackley, can in honour vote otherwise, than as the Marquis of Stafford directs? Now, does Sir John Wrottesley mean this, that he refused the qualification to his brother for fear of becoming a party to the fraud? or does he mean to say that it is upon principle, that he is an enemy to fraudulent qualifications. The county has a right to an explicit declaration on these points.—Sir John Wrottesley has stated it would be manly in me to make an open and explicit declaration, as to my pretensions. I flatter myself that the Freeholders of the County will think this letter sufficiently manly, open and explicit. I now call upon Sir J. Wrottesley to be as explicit, as open, and as manly. Sir J. Wrottesley says 'But the true motives of this letter appear in the postscript: no man who reads it will doubt that Mr. Wolseley intends to become a candidate for the representation of the county, after the example of Mr. Burgoyne, in Essex. If these are his intentions it would be more manly to make an open and explicit declaration, resting his pretensions rather upon his own merits, than attempting to detract from the character of others.' This requires an open and explicit declaration; my explanation shall be a manly one. The principles on which a person ought to be sent to serve in Parliament, are to keep the Prerogative of the Crown unimpaired—to secure the liberties of the People—to oppose in every shape the system of Mr. Pitt's administration; and to obtain a radical reform in the Representation of the People in Parliament.—These are my principles, are they those of Sir J. Wrottesley? If he will distinctly avow them, I will resign all my pretensions to him, and will give him my most cordial support; but if he will not make this avowal, he will find in me a decided opponent, and I can assure the county, that I will give the Freeholders, at the next election, an opportunity of shewing whether their principles coincide with mine.—There is an old proverb, "Those who buy dear cannot afford to sell cheap." As I do not mean to sell you, I shall be at no expence in procuring your votes; it is your business more than mine; to ride to Stafford is very little trouble to you; but to do your business in Parliament will be a heavy burthen upon me: honourable as that burthen is, I have no anxiety to undergo it, if Sir J. Wrottesley, or any other person of respectability will bear it:—But I am resolved the county shall have an opportunity of declaring their sentiments.—In the present situation of the world, every thing depends on the energies of the people. Will you come forward and express by your votes, your detestation of the corruptions in Parliament, or will you shew that you submit? It was by such submission, with the aid of the politics of Mr. Pitt, that Napoleon has become the master of the world.—

C. Wolseley.

Wolseley Park, Jan. 18, 1811.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

American States.—*Report of the Secretary of the Treasury, made to the Congress, 11th Dec.* 1810.

In obedience to the directions of the Act supplementary to the Act entitled, "An Act to establish the Treasury Department," the Secretary of the Treasury respectfully submits the following Report and Estimates:—

REVENUE.

The net revenue arising from duties on merchandize and tonnage which accrued during the year 1808, amounted to 10,348,000 dollars.

The net revenue arising from the same sources, which accrued during the year

1809, amounted, as will appear by the statement (A) to 6,527,000 dollars.

The statement (B) exhibits in detail the several species of merchandize and other sources from which that revenue was derived during the year 1809.

It is ascertained that the net revenue arising from the same duties, has, for the three first quarters of the year 1810, exceeded 7,500,000 dollars; and it is believed that it will not, for the whole year, fall short of 12 millions.

The sales of public lands North of the River Ohio, have, during the year ending on the 30th of September, 1810, as appears by the statement (C) amounted to 159,000 acres, and the payments by purchasers to 610,000 dollars.

The same statement shews that the total amount of sales, from the establishment of the land offices in the year 1800, to the 30th of September, 1810, have amounted to 3,108,000 acres, which produced 6,681,000 dollars; of which sum 1,648,000 dollars remain due by purchasers. The sales in the Mississippi territory, being (after deducting expences) appropriated in the first place to the payment of 1,250,000 dollars to the State of Georgia, are distinctly stated.

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES.

1. *Year ending 30th Sept.* 1810.

The actual Receipts in the Treasury, during the year ending on the 30th of September, 1810, have amounted to... Dollars		8,688,861	17
Making, together with the balance in the Treasury, on the 1st October, 1809, and amounting to		5,828,936	1
An Aggregate of		14,517,797	18

The disbursements during the same year have consisted in the following items, viz.

Civil Department, including miscellaneous expences, and those incidental to the intercourse with foreign nations		1,219,200	06
Military and Indian Departments	2,514,623 75		
Navy	1,674,735 50		
		4,189,259	25
Interest on the Public Debt		2,735,198	91
Total current expences		8,174,558	22
Payment on account of the principal of the Public Debt		2,884,409	24
Amounting together, as will appear more in detail by the statement (E) to		11,058,767	46
And leaving in the Treasury on the 30th Sept. 1810, a balance of*		3,459,020	72
		14,517,797	18

It therefore appears that the actual receipts into the Treasury have exceeded the current expences of Government, including thereon the interest on the debt, by a sum of five hundred thousand dollars. The expences had, during the preceding year, exceeded the receipts by a sum of thirteen hundred thousand dollars. The difference arises, not from an increase in the receipts, but from a diminution in the expences, particularly those of the military and naval departments.

2. *Last Quarter of the Year* 1810.

The receipts for that quarter will, it is believed, be more than sufficient to defray the current expences and interest on the debt accruing during the same period. But the payments to be made on account of the principal of the debt in order to complete the annual appropriation of eight millions of dollars, amounting to more than 5,100,000, a loan first negociated for 3,750,000, and afterwards reduced to 2,750,000, became necessary. The receipts and disbursements for that quarter are therefore estimated as follows:

Receipts into the Treasury from the ordinary revenue	2,500,000
Proceeds of the loan receivable on 31st Dec. 1810	2,750,000
Balance in the Treasury on the 1st October, 1810	3,460,000
	710,000
Expences, Civil, Military, and Naval, estimated	1,570,000
Interest accruing on the domestic debt	500,000
	2,070,000
Payments on account of the public debt, in order to complete the annual appropriation of eight millions, and including the reimbursement of 31st Dec. 1810, on the six per cent. and deferred stocks, and that of same date of 3,751,125 exchanged six per cent. stock	4,640,000
	6,710,000
Probable balance in the Treasury on 31st Dec. 1810	2,000,000
	8,710,000

3. *Year* 1811.

The outstanding revenue bonds, after deducting the expences of collection and allowing for bad debts, will not probably, on the 1st Jan. 1811, fall short of eleven millions and a half of dollars: the actual receipts for the year 1811, on account of the sales of lands, may be estimated at five hundred thousand; and it is presumed that the portion of the re-

venue arising from importations subsequent to the present year, which will be received in 1811, will be more than sufficient to pay the debentures payable in that year. The actual receipts into the Treasury during that year may therefore be estimated at 12,500,000

Estimating the expences of Government for the year 1811 not to exceed the amount actually expended during the year ending the 30th of Sept. 1810, that is to say—	
Expences of a civil nature, both domestic and foreign	1,240,000
Military and Naval Departments	4,190,000
	5,430,000
And adding thereto the interest on the Public Debt, estimated	2,550,000
The aggregate of the current expences, exclusively of the payments on account of the principal of the debt, would not exceed.	7,980,000
The payments on account of the principal of the debt will be applicable to the annual reimbursement on the six per cent. and deferred stocks, to the re-payment of the loan of 2,750,000 dollars effected this year, and to the reimbursement in part of the converted six per cent. stock; and must, in order to complete the annual appropriation of eight millions of dollars, amount to	5,450,000
Making for the whole amount of the expenditures of the year 1811 ..	13,430,000

Or about one million of dollars more than the receipts for the same year.

If therefore this estimate could be relied on, an authority to borrow one million of dollars would be sufficient to enable Government to pay all the current expences, and to reimburse nearly four millions and a half of the principal debt, leaving at the same time in the Treasury a balance of two millions of dollars, a sum not greater than what under existing circumstances it is eligible to reserve. But a deficiency may take place in receipts, if the amount of debentures should exceed what has been estimated; and the expences for the Military and Naval Departments (which, according to the estimates of those Departments, and exclusively of the sum necessary for fortification, amount to 4,916,000 dollars) may be greater than the amount actually expended during the year ending on the 30th September 1810. In order to provide for these and other unforeseen contingencies, the propriety of authorising a re-loan not exceeding in the whole the amount of the principal of the debt reimbursed during the same year, is respectfully submitted.

Public Debt.

It appears by the statement (D) that the payments on account of the principal of the public debt, have amounted during the year ending on the 30th day of September, 1810, to 2,884,000 dollars; and during the nine years and a half ensuing on the same day to near 37,700,000 dollars exclusively of more than six millions of dollars paid in conformity with the provisions of the Convention with Great Britain and of the Louisiana Convention.

Taking the calendar year 1810 by itself the principal of the debt actually reimbursed, will amount to 5,163,376 dollars, viz.

Annual reimbursement of six per cent and deferred stocks	1,412,251
Reimbursement of the six per cent. Exchange Stock	3,751,125
	5,163,376
From which deducting the Loan from the Bank of	2,750,000
Leaves for the actual encrease of the debt, during the year	2,413,376

The loan authorised by the Act of last Session, had at first been negotiated in the latter end of May, for 3 750,000 dollars; but the expence having proved less than had been supposed, it was reduced in October to 2,750,000. With that object in view, and in order that no greater sum should be ultimately borrowed than might be necessary, and also in order to avoid as long as possible an increase of stock in the market, and that of a more permanent species of debt, a temporary loan from the Bank of the United States, was preferred to any other mode. It is reimbursable on the last day of December 1811, with a reservation that the Bank may, in case of a non-renewal of its charter, demand an earlier payment on giving three months notice. This condition may, if enforced, save some interest to the public, and can produce no inconvenience, as there will be no greater difficulty in effecting a new loan (if necessary) in the middle than in the latter end of the year. The documents F G H I shew both the object and the terms of the loan.

From what has been stated it appears that no other provisions are necessary for the year 1811, than a continuance of the additional 2 ½ per cent. duty, commonly called the Mediterranean Fund, and an authority to borrow a sum, probably much less, and certainly not greater than the amount of the principal of the public

debt, which will be reimbursed during the year. But as in conformity with the act of the 1st of May, 1810, the importation of articles, the growth, produce, or manufactures of the dominions, colonies, and dependencies of Great Britain will be prohibited after the 2d day of February next, if that nation shall not before that time, so revoke or modify her edicts as that they shall cease to violate the neutral commerce of the United States, some provisions appear necessary to be made for supplying the deficiency arising from that cause, and for giving to the revenue arising from that measure all the efficiency of which it is susceptible.

The probable defalcation in the Revenue cannot, for obvious reasons, be at this time estimated with any degree of precision. The experience of the ensuing year can alone afford a sufficient data for a permanent and detailed plan adapted to that state of things, and calculated to ensure perseverance in the system as long as may be thought proper. But in the mean while, it appears esential to lay the foundation of such plan, and to guard in time against any great deficit in the receipts of the year 1812.

It is believed that under existing circumstances it would be sufficient to render those receipts equal or nearly equal to the current expenditure, including therein the interests on the public debt, and estimated at about eight millions of dollars; and with a view to that object, a considerable and immediate increase of the present duties on importation is respectfully suggested.

It is not less important that that the Act should be free from legal difficulties and of well-founded objections, and that it should be enforced by every practicable means. On that subject the following observations are submitted:—

1. The law of the 1st May 1810, has neither expressly defined the edict, the revocation of which is expected, nor made a notification by the President of the evidence and the sole evidence of the fact. It follows that in case of an unsatisfactory modification of her edicts by Great Britain, the decision of the question itself whether the Non-Importation be actually in force or not, will be left to the Courts, whence delays and embarrassments will arise, which will considerably impede the operation of the law.

2. The Non-Importation is to take place on the 2d of February next, if a revocation shall not have taken place before that day. But this may have taken place and not be known on that day in the United States. If the Collectors abstain from seizing merchandize imported after that day, until the fact shall have been ascertained, and the edicts shall not have been revoked, the merchandize will escape forfeiture, and the law during that period will be in-operative. If they seize, and the edicts shall have been revoked, the seizure will have been illegal, and the Collectors will be liable to personal suits. This inconvenience may be remedied by a provision, directing that during that period, it shall be the duty of the Collectors to make seizures, but that the goods shall be restored to the parties on their giving bond with sureties for their value.

3. No exception has been made by the Act in favour of vessels which had sailed for the British East Indies prior to the President's Proclamation; and the short period of three months from the date of that Proclamation to the day when the law is to take effect, will occasion forfeiture or heavy losses in cases of *bonâ fide* American property in England paid for or ordered prior to the Proclamation. It seems in every point of view eligible that cases clearly foreseen should be provided for by law, instead of being left to executive discretion.

4. It is believed that an abandonment by the United States of their share of the penalties and forfeitures which may be incurred, and the distribution of these according to the cirumstances of the case, amongst the Collectors, the other Customhouse Officers, the Inspectors and others, who heretofore had no share, and the informer, in order to insure the greater degree of zeal and vigilance in detecting infringements of the law.

5. Some additional provisions will be necessary to enforce the law on the Northern frontier of the United States, amongst which may be reckoned the erection of some new collection districts, particularly on the river St. Lawrence and in the Eastern part of the state of Vermont; an increase of pay to the Collectors in that quarter, inasmuch as under the Non-Importation, that part of their compensation which is derived from fees will be considerably reduced, and that which arises from commissions altogether lost; and an authority to the armed force of the United States to make seizures. And it must be added, that the peculiar situation

of those districts will render condemnations extremely difficult, unless the obligation be imposed on persons claiming merchandize seized there to prove that the same was legally imported.—All which is respectfully submitted, ALBERT GALLATIN.

HANS TOWNS.—*Union of them to France.—Distribution of their Territory and Government.—30th Dec. 1810.*

Art. I. Holland, the Hans Towns, Lauenburg, and the territories which lie between the North Sea and a line which shall extend from the place where the Lippe enters the Rhine, to its sources; from these sources to the Upper Ems; from the Ems to the entrance of the Werra into the Weser; and from Stolzenau on the Weser to the Elbe, above the junction of the Sleekniss, shall form an integral part of the French Empire.—II. The said territories shall form 10 Departments, namely:—The Department of the Zuyder Zee, of the mouths of the Maise, of the Upper Yssel, the mouths of the Yssel, East Friesland, the West Ems, the East Ems, the Upper Ems, the mouths of the Weser, and the mouths of the Elbe.—III. The number of Deputies from these Departments to the Legislative Body shall be as follows:

For the Department of the		
	Zuyder Zee	4
	Mouths of the Maese	4
	Upper Yssel	3
	Mouths of the Yssel	2
	East Friesland	2
	West Ems	2
	East Ems	2
	Upper Ems	4
	Mouths of the Weser	3
	Mouths of the Elbe	4

IV. These Deputies shall be appointed in the year 1811, and shall be renewed in the year to which the Series belongs, in which the department to which they belong shall be placed.—V. These departments shall be placed in the following Series of the Legislative Body, namely:—First Series, mouths of the Maese and West Ems; 2nd Series, Friesland and the Upper Ems; 3rd Series, the Zuyder Zee and East Ems; 4th Series, mouths of the Yssel, and mouths of the Elbe; 5th Series, Upper Yssel, and mouths of the Weser.—VI. For the Departments of the Zuyder Zee, mouths of the Maese, Upper Yssel, mouths of the Yssel, Friesland, and West Ems, there shall be an Imperial Court of Justice, whose seat shall be at the Hague.—VII. For the Departments of East Ems, Upper Ems, the Weser, and the mouths of the Elbe, there shall be an Imperial Court of Justice, whose seat shall be at Hamburgh.—VIII. In the Departments which belong to the Jurisdiction of the Imperial Court of Justice at the Hague, there shall be a Council of Senators; and another shall be erected in the Departments which belong to the jurisdiction of the Imperial Court of Justice at Hamburgh.—IX. The cities of Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Hamburgh, Bremen and Lubeck are placed among the number of good cities; their Mayors are to be present at the oath of fealty to the Emperors at their Coronation.—X. A communication shall be formed with the Baltic by a canal, which, extending from the canal of Hamburgh to Lubeck, shall make a communication between the Elbe and the Weser, the Weser and the Ems, and the Ems and the Rhine.

AMERICA.——*Letter from Mr. Pinkney to Mr. Smith, Sec. of State.*

Sir;—On the 27th of November, Mr. Brownell delivered to me your letters of the 11th, 14th, and 23d, of the preceding month, and on the Saturday following I had a conference with the Marquis Wellesley, in the course of which I explained to him fully the grounds upon which I was instructed to request Mr. Jackson's immediate recall, and upon which the official intercourse between that minister and the American Government has been suspended.—Lord Wellesley's reception of what I said to him was frank and friendly, and I left him with a persuasion that we should have no cause to be dissatisfied with the final course of his government on the subjects of our conference.—We agreed that the interview could only be introductory to a more formal proceeding on my part; and it was accordingly settled between us, that I should present an official letter to the effect of my verbal communication.--Having prepared such a letter, I carried it myself to Downing-street a few days afterwards, and accompanied the delivery to Lord Wellesley with some explanatory observations, with which it is not, I presume, necessary to trouble you. You will find a copy of this letter inclosed, and will be able to collect from it the substance of the greater part of the statements and remarks which I thought it my duty to make in the conversation above mentioned.—Although I was aware that the answer to my letter would not be very hastily given, I certainly was not pre-

pared to expect the delay which has actually occurred. The President will do me the justice to believe that I have used every exertion consistent with discretion, and the nature of the occasion, to shorten that delay, which though not ascribable, as I persuade myself, to any motive unfriendly or disrespectful to the United States, may, I am persuaded, have been productive of some disadvantage. A copy of the answer received on the day of its date is enclosed.—Between the delivery of my letter and the receipt of the reply, I had frequent conversations with Lord Wellesley, some of which were at his own request, and related altogether to the subject of my letter. The rest were on other subjects, but Mr. Jackson's affair was incidentally mentioned in all. A particular account of what was said on these several occasions, would scarcely be useful, and would not fail to be tedious. It will, perhaps, be sufficient to observe, that although these conversations were less satisfactory to me than the first, there was always apparent anxiety on the part of Lord Wellesley to do what was conciliatory; and that in the share which I took in them, I was governed in the opinion, that although it might become my duty to avoid with more than ordinary care the appearance of my being a party to the ultimate proceeding of the British Government on my official representation, it could not be otherwise than proper in any turn which the affair could take, that I should avail myself of every opportunity of bringing to Lord Wellesley's mind such considerations as were calculated to produce a beneficial influence on the form and character of the proceeding. In what light the President will view the course, which after so much consideration, this Government has adopted, it will not become me even to conjecture. If in manner or effect it should not fulfil his expectations, I shall have to regret, that the success of my humble endeavours to make it what it ought to be, has not been proportioned to my zeal and diligence.—Of my letter to Lord Wellesley, of the 2nd of January, I have very little to say. I trust it will be found faithful to my instructions; and that while it maintains the honour of my Government, it does not neglect what is due to conciliation.—I am not sure that I ought to have quoted in it your letter to me, of the 1st November, of which the substance is undoubtedly given in the quotation of your subsequent letter of the 23d of the same month. But I saw no objection to a repetition of the just and amicable sentiments expressed in these quotations; and as I had been induced, at my first interview with Lord Wellesley, to read to his Lordship each of the passages, I thought that I was in some sort bound to the introduction of both in my written communication.—My letter avoids all discussion, and all invitations to discussions on the business of the Chesapeake, on the Orders in Council, and on topics which circumstances have connected with both. It does not, however, entirely pass them by, but contains such references to them as I had supposed were likely to be useful. I am assured that in this respect I have acted in conformity with the President's intentions. Indeed, if I had acted otherwise, I should have complicated and embarrassed a question which I was ordered to simplify, and forced into combination the peculiar difficulties of several subjects, to counteract the wishes of my Government on each. I should have done so too without inducement; for I had no authority to make any demand or proposal in the cases of the Chesapeake and Orders in Council, or to act on any proposal which Lord Wellesley might be inclined to make to me: and it is perfectly clear that these subjects were not susceptible of any very material written illustrations which they had not already received. I do not, however, imagine that I was to make no use of the reflections upon them which you have furnished in your letter of the 23d November. I was, on the contrary, convinced that it would be proper to suggest them occasionally in conversation, with a view to dispose lord Wellesley, and through him the British Government, to seek such fair and liberal adjustments with us as would once more make as friends.—Accordingly in my first conference I spoke of the affair of the Chesapeake, and the Orders in Council, and concluded my explanations, which did not lose sight of your letter of the 23d November, by expressing a wish that lord Wellesley would allow me an early opportunity of a re-communication with him on these heads. From the disposition evinced by lord Wellesley in the notice he took of these suggestions of that wish, I was inclined to hope that it might be in my power to announce to you by the return of the corvette, that a new Envoy would be charged, as the successor of Mr. Jackson, with instructions adapted to the

purpose of honourable accommodation. My letter to his lordship was writen under the influence of this hope, and concludes, as you will perceive, with as strong an appeal to the disposition on which it rested, as could with propriety be made.—I recurred in subsequent conversations as often as occasion presented itself, to the attack on the Chesapeake, and to the Orders in Council. It soon appeared, however, that a new Envoy would not in the first instance be sent out to replace Mr. Jackson, and consequently that arrangement of these subjects was not in that mode to be expected. A special mission would still less be resorted to, and it was not likely that approaches to negociation would be made through a Charge d'Affaires. It was still barely possible that though I had no powers to negociate and conclude, the British Government might not be disinclined to make advances through me or that Lord Wellesley would suffer me, so far to understand the views of his Government, as that I might enable you to judge upon what conditions, and in what mode, arrangement was practicable. This was possible, though not very probable; but it finally became certain that no definite proposal would, for the present at least, be made to us through any channel, and that Lord Wellesley would not commit himself on the details to which I wished him to speak, but upon which, of course, I did not press him.—It only remains to refer you for the actual sentiments of this Government, with regard to future negociations; with regard to the concluding paragraph of lord Wellesley's letter to me, which is substantially the same with his recent verbal explanations; and to add, that in a short conversation since the receipt of his letter, he told me that if I thought myself empowered to enter upon and to adjust the case of the Chesapeake, he would proceed without delay toconsider it with me.—I have not supposed that Lord Wellesley's letter requires any other than the common answer, and I have accordingly given the reply, of which a copy is now transmitted.—I have the honour to be, with great consideration, Sir, Your most obedient humble Servant, WM. PINKNEY.

FRANCE.—*Report of Capt. Duperre, commanding the French Maritime Force at the Isle of France.*—10*th Sept.* 1810.

General,—The events which have succeeded each other with such rapidity under your eyes have not allowed me a moment since my arrival to acquaint you with the operations of the squadron under my command during my late cruise. I hasten to discharge this duty.—Having sailed on the 14th of last March, the squadron proceeded to the latitude you had appointed, in which it captured two vessels, one from China and the other from Bengal. On the 1st of June, as there was no longer any chance of prizes, I quitted the cruizing ground and steered for St. Augustin's Bay, to repair damages and refresh the crew. I found there an English whaler, which was foundering, and could not be taken possession of; I ordered her to be burned. The squadron in a few days left the Bay, well caulked and equipped.—A few days after at day-break on the 3d of July, we perceived three sail, within sight of Mayotte Island, to which we gave chace. I soon discovered that they were three Company's vessels. They were making off on the opposite tack, about eight miles to windward. The Bellona being an admirable sailer afforded a chance that I should be able to bring them to action about the middle of the day; but the currents of wind did not favour her, although they did the Minerva, who got within cannon-shot of them at three o'clock. As soon as I had given the signal for attack she gallantly ranged along the line to windward, engaged them within pistol-shot, passed the headmost ship for the purpose of obliging her to fall back, and driving her to leeward, broke their line and engaged them again. This brilliant manœuvre was on the point of being crowned with the most complete success, when the frigate in an instant lost her main-top-mast and fore-top-gallant-mast. Fortunately at this time I had got into the enemy's wake, in which I continued under a press of sail. The unexpected success he had obtained appeared to give him courage. He restored his line. I made the signal for a decisive engagement. At half past five I passed to leeward of his line, which was formed in close order. I placed myself opposite the centre vessel, which appeared to be that of the Commander, but in such a way that I could partially direct my fire against the whole three, which I engaged within less than pistol-shot at six o'clock.—The enemy at first kept up a brisk fire; their small arms were vigorously exerted. At seven o'clock the headmost ship gave

herself stern way, for the purpose of getting under shelter of the vessel next to her, which becoming exposed by such a manœuvre to the whole of my fire, called out that she had surrendered. I wished to take possession of her, and put a boat out for that purpose, but it was unfortunately swamped. The headmost vessel having endeavoured to pass under my stern, I suffered her to do so, and found her on the other side within pistol-shot. I attacked her vigorously, and at the second broadside she struck, and extinguished all her lights. The manœuvre she had made brought her close to leeward of the Minerve and Victor. I left her to these vessels, and proceeded to take possession of the ship that had struck, and to compel the third to surrender. I soon came up with her, and at the second broadside her lights were pulled down. I sent to take possession of these two vessels, and steered for the Minerve. I came up with her at 10 o'clock, and was exceedingly astonished to find her alone. The Captain informed me that the vessel which had struck, and which I had given up to him, taking advantage of the excessive darkness of the night, and particularly of the confidence derived from her having surrendered, had, contrary to the laws of honour and of war, escaped from under his guns. It was necessary to man the two other ships, called the Ceylon and the Windham, coming from the Cape, and proceeding to Madras. They carried each 30 guns and had 400 soldiers on board each vessel, belonging to the 24th regiment of foot; a General Officer, a Colonel and the colours were on board, which accounts for their obstinate resistance. The disgraceful runaway was called the Astle, and was the strongest ship of the three. On the 20th of August, in the morning, I got sight of the mountains of Port Imperial, in the Isle of France. At noon, I could see the port. The National flag was flying on the Isle de la Passe, and the signal "the enemy are cruising off La Mire." A three-masted vessel was at anchor under the fort, with French colours. I determined to touch there, or at least to take my direction from it. The sloop was a-head; the Minerve followed her. The Victor, on doubling the fort, received some shot both from it and the frigate, and both instantly hoisted the English flag. It first struck me that all this part was in possession of the enemy. I made the signal to the squadron, which was still under sail, for close order, and to keep to windward. It was too late for the Minerve; she and the Ceylon had already entered the pass. In a few minutes she went through it, engaging the fort and the frigate. There was no longer hesitation. The passage was to be forced, the squadron carried in, and a diversion effected that might be useful to the country. I made sail, throwing out a signal to follow me. The Windham from some indecision was unable to do so. I entered the passage under easy sail, and the fire of the fort and the frigate. I gave the latter my whole broadside as I passed under the stern within cannon-shot. As soon as I had entered I discovered the French flag flying every where. The Isle de la Passe alone appeard to me to be in possession of the enemy. I joined my squadron, and gave orders that it should take a more advanced ground of anchorage, which was instantly done. I was informed from the shore of the situation of the island. On the 21st I placed the squadron near the shore, with the rear toward the rocks which skirt the Bay, and the van close to the coral reef. On the 22d the Nereide frigate, which was at anchor under the Isle of La Passe, was joined by the Sirius. Both of them made a movement to attack me. Your Excellency being aware of the weak state of my crews, in consequence of the prizes I had taken, and the engagements I had fought, sent me a detachment of fifty men from La Manche and L'Entreprenant sloop, with the necessary proportion of officers. I immediately stationed them on board the different vessels. The plan of attack was frustrated by the Sirius getting on the reef in the Channel, where she remained till night. On the 23d two more frigates made their appearance, and joined the former two at their anchorage at four o'clock. From the preparations they made, I had not the smallest doubt that they would attack me.—At five o'clock the four enemy's frigates advanced. One of them made for the Minerve, another for the Ceylon, and two for the Bellone, indicating by their movements that they meant to anchor and attack us.

(To be continued.)

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

THE REGENCY.——During the debate, in the House of Lords, which took place on *Friday* last, the 24th instant, there was something very curious transpired, relating to the *state of the King, at former times, when he was exercising the functions of royalty*.—— This is the point towards which the people's attention ought now to be *steadily* directed. The subject of *Limitations* has been amply discussed. But, that of *the resumption of the kingly powers by the King* is of still greater importance; and it should now be considered well; for, very much indeed will depend upon the provisions made as to this resumption.——Before I enter upon the remarks that are suggested by the debate of Friday, I must notice a very curious passage in the COURIER news-paper of that day, manifestly intended to have an effect upon the discussion then coming on in the Peers' House.——The COURIER, it should be observed, is now become the only steady organ of the hypocritical enemies upon the Prince, those vile men, who under the garb of affected attachment to the King, are calumniating and insulting his son, by means of the basest insinuations. The MORNING POST has long been faultering and vacillating. It varies in its tone with the variation in the *Windsor Bulletins*; and, one can see, that it is prepared to *go over*, the moment that it sees the Prince safely in possession of power, and other persons than the present in office. It discovered strong symptoms of ratting in a few days after it told us, that the King had a *slight cold*, and was attended by *three physicians*; and, when Dr. WILLIS was sent for, and came accompanied with *two gentlemen*, in a post chaise and four, it actually began to discover, that there was a *great difference* between such *respectable* men as Lords Grenville and Grey, and Sir Francis Burdett and Horne Tooke. When the Bulletins began to talk of *quiet nights* and *improvement*, the Morning Post began to talk of the *virtues of the King*, and the *fidelity* of Lord Eldon and Mr. Perceval; and when the *Terrace* tale came out, it so far re-ratted as to resume its old talk about "*the Talents*."——*Now*, it seems not to know what to do. It keeps a sort of middle tone. It is evidently waiting, as rats may well do, to see "which way the cat jumps." It leans to and from the ministry and the opposition by turns. It is precisely in that state which the country people describe by the phrase: "between "*hawk* and *buzzard*;" and in this very state are its readers of "the *fashionable world*."——The COURIER is steady to its point. It has taken its ground, and there it must stand as long as it can. It has all the old blood-sucking Anti-Jacobin crew at its back, whose gall must be fed, and this the COURIER knows, and hopes to be without a rival in supplying the food; to possess a sort of monopoly of the trade. Its supporters are *decided*; but, it is only because hesitation and indecision would, with *them*, be of *no avail*. Their *pretence*, meet them where you will, is, *attachment to the King*; but, if you could look into their hearts, you would there find hatred of those who are opposed to their base and selfish views. This race *risk* nothing. They are quite sure, that tacking about would do them no good. It would be *useless* for them to *rat*, and, therefore, they will not attempt it; but will take the chance of opportunities to annoy those whom they hate, and to glut their revenge upon all those, be they who they may, that have contributed towards an exposure of them, and have thus done their best to blast their corrupt views. ——Of this detestable race the COURIER is the Organ, or, rather, the Purveyor. They despise the COURIER; each man of them looks upon it as a vehicle of the most execrable hypocrisy; but, it keeps them in countenance; they are gratified to see in print what even they would be ashamed to utter: and, when they hand the paper about, they do it with views like those of murderers, when they drop poison into their neighbour's mess.—— Such is the COURIER, and, if the reader wants *proof* of it, he shall have it in the article above spoken of.——The article is entitled "DETHRONING OF THE KING;" and, after having insinuated in rather general terms, that this is the object of

the *New Men* (by whom he must mean the men whom the Prince shall choose for his ministers), he proceeds thus. "Sir "Francis Burdett leaves no doubt with "respect to his opinion upon the subject. "The Morning Chronicle reports him to "have said "that to have a person at "" the head of affairs, who had long been "" *incapable of signing his name to a document, without some one to guide his hand;* "" a person long incapable of *receiving* "" *petitions,* of even holding a levee, or "" *discharging the most ordinary functions* "" *of his office,* and now afflicted with this "" mental malady—was a most *mischievous* "" *example to the people of this country,* "" while it had a tendency to expose the "" Government to the contempt of foreign "" powers."——This at least is candid; there is no hesitation, no mincing matters here. We have it avowed, that the King ought to be set aside. The new men, therefore, thinking that he never can be fit to reign again, must be ex- "pected to act upon that opinion—and "we are justified in believing, that they "would never let him exercise the royal "functions again. Of this it is necessary "the people should be warned, they must "not be misled by the pretended eagerness of the new men to afford every "facility to the King to resume his au- "thority. They tell us he is unfit to "resume it, and *if they accede to power,* "*they will never let him resume it.* And one "of the means which they will use, will "be irritating and goading the royal mind. "This is very candidly avowed in an "article, in which they remind us of a "case in Chancery some years ago. "It "" may be useful to know," says the "Morning Chronicle of to-day, "that the "" same Lord Chancellor Eldon, when ap- "" plied to, to supersede a Commission of "" Lunacy some years ago, declared that "" *he should use extreme caution in comply-* "" *ing with the prayer of the petition;* for "" he well remembered a case where a "" lunatic had been brought into Court, "" whose case did not seem to warrant "" the continuance of the Commission; "" that the lunatic was rational, conversed "" well on every subject which was pro- "" posed, and appeared perfectly capa- "" ble of the management of his own "" affairs; the Commission was about to "" be ordered to be superseded, when, at "" the moment the Committee of the "" lunatic desired that he might be asked "" a certain question, (Catholic Emanci- "" pation for instance), which was no "" sooner done, than ample grounds were "" evinced for the continuance of the "" restraint."——Here is the secret of "their policy disclosed at once. How open, how simple the confession! Let the King pray to be put in possession of "the regal functions, and they will im- 'mediately use "their extreme caution." Let the King shew symptoms of recovery; let them see him making advances to a perfect re-establishment; they have a recipe that shall threw him back; press him upon the subject of Catholic Emancipation, which may agitate and hurry him, and they have said before "that a man subject to hurries is not '"fit to wield the Executive Power." 'Grievous indeed would it be to the whole 'country to see the King *thrown aside;* he 'has "*borne his faculties so meekly,*" been '"*so clear* in his great office." *But he* '*has the guilt of age upon him;* he has the '*guilt of want of sight. Throw him into a* '*corner;* tell him this is *the lot reserved for* "*a King who has reigned so long; wrench* "*the Sceptre from his hand, pluck the Crown* "*from his head,* and *bind it with thorns.* "*These are the doctrines that are now incul-* "*cated,* and no doubt will be acted upon "by the new men. *They have passed* "*sentence of dethronement, and we must ex-* "*pect it to be carried into execution.*"——What a disgrace it is to the English nation, that its character should be such as to embolden any one to put forth such hypocritical cant! What a shame it is for us, that any one, living amongst us, and pretty well able to ascertain the nature of the public mind, should think it his interest (for that is his guide) to publish a passage like this! What a disgrace to our national understanding, what a proof of gross national cullibility, and, indeed, what a symptom of degeneracy and baseness of spirit, that any man, after long experience at the press, should not only think it safe, but should deem it his interest, to address the public in this manner; to put forward in their teeth sentiments and assertions like these! It is true, that all men of sense will see them in their proper light; but, the publisher of them knows well, that there are enough who will not; and, upon the supposition that there are only *one thousand* persons out of *fifteen millions,* capable of being thus imposed upon, the fact is highly disgraceful to the country.——Let us examine, now, the close, particularly, of this gull-catching ar-

ticle; and see how it squares with *truth;* let us see how it will stand that test.——As to the King's having "borne his faculties *meekly;*" as to his having been "*so clear* in his great office;" these are points that I shall not attempt to discuss; but, whether true or not, it is, for several reasons, base in the extreme, in such a case, to make use of the assertion; first, because if any one dissented from it, the writer well knows that no one would *dare* to express that dissent, especially accompanied with the *proofs,* if any existed, of the falshood of the assertion. This is always the case, when praises are bestowed upon those whom no man dares attack. If, for instance, any one were to publish assertions of the wisdom and honesty and sincerity of Mr. Perceval and his colleagues Lords Liverpool and Eldon. The assertion, whether true or false, would not, I warrant you, be controverted in print; that there is no man now in England, who would say, "*that is not true;*" much less would he think of producing any *proofs* in support of his denial.——It is, therefore, always very base to introduce, in support of *an argument,* praises of the King, or, under the present state of the press, praises of any man in power; for, if it be a libel to *pain a man's feelings,* it is pretty evident, that if you assert, that the praise has been unjustly bestowed, you must necessarily pain the feelings of the praised party, and this you must do in a double degree, if you produce *proofs* of the falshood of the praise. To bestow praises upon men, whom nobody must attack, is, therefore, at all times very suspicious, at best, and when made use of in *an argument,* excessively base. What would this same venal writer say, if a French writer were to publish in France: "Napoleon is *a most excellently* "*good man;*" and, therefore, the people "ought to do so and so for him?" What would this venal man say thereon? Would he not say, that the assertion was very base, seeing that no one would dare to contradict it? "Napoleon is a good sovereign; *let any one deny it if he can.*" What would he say of a *challenge* of this sort? There needs nothing more to shew how base it is in any one to deal forth praises of those, whom it is well known no one dares attack; to put forth, in support of an argument, facts which no one *dares controvert,* and especially if he *prove* the facts to be false. The *facts* of the King's having "borne his faculties *meekly,* and "his having been *so clear* in his great "office," I shall, as I said before, not attempt to discuss, being quite willing to leave them to the judgment of the reader; but, I cannot refrain from remarking how these pretended *King's friends* are here, indirectly, again throwing all the *responsibility* upon the Prince's "*poor* Father," as this same writer calls him, in his paper of Saturday last, in an article, which, for hypocritical malice, exceeds even that, upon which I am now commenting. There is no one that talks about any thing that *the King* has done *wrong;* we hold *that he can do no wrong.* Aye, but this does not suit the venal. It suits them much better to hoist him up and thrust him forward, upon all occasions between the ministry and the people. "Here," say they, "*here* is your "mark: do not blame the ministers: cast "your stone here, if you have any fault "to find." This has been their constant practice. Never was there such a series of hypocritical tricks played off upon a people!——But, after all, what have the King's *virtues* to do with the great question now before the people? What have these virtues to do with the question, which this man has agitated, namely, *whether the King ought, without great caution, to be called upon to resume the regal state and functions?* What have the King's *meekness* and *uprightness* and *singleness of heart* to do with this question? It is not of meekness and uprightness and singleness of heart that he has been declared *incapable;* it is of exercising the functions of royalty; it is of executing the ordinary duties of his office; it is of understanding any thing; it is in this respect that he has been declared to be in a state of incapacity; in short, that he is in a state of *mental derangement,* to which is added the circumstance of corporeal blindness.——Suppose, in bar of an application to the Chancellor to issue a commission, or whatever else it is, of *lunacy* against any one, it was pleaded, that he had been a very good and mild master and a very honest man during the last fifty years. Would the Chancellor hear such an argument? Nay, could any advocate be found to make use of it? Would not any man of reputation be ashamed to urge it? Yes, and upon the whole earth, there is not another people to be found to whom such an argument would be addressed. This venal man, however, knows, that, in this nation, he shall find gulls to swallow his bait; especially in these *dark days,* when lowness of spirits amongst so many of the weak and the aged create a sort of

selfish sympathy in the case of the King.—The words, used as the title of the article: "DETHRONING OF THE KING," taken connection with the quotation from SHAKESPEARE, convey a most malignant meaning. MACBETH, when he is about to *murder* king DUNCAN, reasons with himself, and, during the soliloquy, he says, that Duncan, "has borne his faculties *so meekly*, has been *so clear* in his great office, "that his virtues, like angels trumpet-"tongued, will cry out against *the deep* "*damnation of his taking off*." These are the words, as nearly as I can recollect them. Why did not the venal man go on with the quotation? Why did he not quote the *latter part* of the sentence as well as the former, and leave the whole, as he has done a part, to be applied to the King's son, who is to succeed him in the Royal Authority, as Macbeth did Duncan? But, though he took not the words, the context is in every man's mind, and the inference is full as clear as those inferences upon which many a man has been convicted of libel.——Let us now take the closing gull-catching parts of this article, and expose the falshood, the fraud, the imposture of them.——"But, he has the *guilt* of age upon "him; *guilt* of want of sight. Throw "him into *a corner*; and tell him that is "the *lot reserved* for a King who has "reigned so long; *wrench* the sceptre from "his hand, *pluck* the crown from his head, "bind it with *thorns*. These are the doc-"trines that *are now inculcated*; they have "*passed sentence of dethronement*; and we "must expect it to be carried into execu-"tion."——No, impostor, there is nobody that talks of the *guilt* of age and of blindness. It is not a crime to be aged and blind. Nobody says that it is a crime. Nobody ever has said so. Every one expresses regret that the King, or that any other human being, should be afflicted with blindness. But, old age is old age, and blindness is blindness, in a king as well as in other men, and when blindness is unhappily added to old age, and to both are added *mental derangement*, is it unreasonable that people, whose happiness or misery must, in a great degree, depend upon their government, should be solicitous, that *great caution* should be used in the resumption of the royal authority by a person thus afflicted; and is it not quite right, that members of parliament as well as public writers should express their opinions upon the subject? Old age and blindness combined are very serious things where the weight of affairs is great and where the business actually to be performed is of a laborious nature and such as may well demand the most vigorous faculties of all sorts; but when, in such a situation, in a person having so momentous an office to discharge; to these two, when to old age and blindness, in such a person, *mental derangement* is added, is it not very impudent indeed to reproach any part of the people with want of feeling or of loyalty, because they express their wishes, that *great caution* should be used in the resumption of such an office by such a person, even leaving compassion towards himself out of the question, and most assuredly that alone is quite sufficient to call for extreme caution in this respect?——"*Throw him into a cor-*"*ner*, and tell him that is the *lot reserved* "for a king who has *reigned so long*."——These are words, like the context, put into the mouths of those, who have contended against restrictions upon the Prince, and who wish for great caution to be used in the resumption of the royal authority by the King. But this, like the context, is basely and impudently *false*. We do not say, "*throw* him into *a corner*." We say, take the best of care of him; cherish him; give him all the means you possibly can invent to divert his mind from distressing and embarrassing objects. He *is*, unhappily, in a corner; and we wish to see him out of it, if his state will permit it. We wish to see him have a succession of amusing and pleasing ideas presented to his mind; to see him cheered, if possible, by change of place, by agreeable variety, to live in the best air, to have, in short, every thing that the art of man can devise to console and comfort him; and all this we have said over and over again. To represent us, therefore, as wishing to throw him in a corner is a falsehood, invented by hypocrisy for the basest of purposes.——No: we do not say, that it is "the *lot reserved* for "a king who has *reigned so long*." We have had nothing to do with the *lot*; we have had no hand in making the King either old or blind or mentally deranged. The *lot* has fallen upon him. The first is the *lot* of every man, and is generally esteemed a very fortunate lot; the second is nothing very rare, it is by no means an unfrequent companion of old age; and the third, and all three, are the work of *nature*, and not of any of us. We have not *reserved* the lot. We did not even discover that nature had thus afflicted the King. It was *his own servants* that proclaimed the fact to us, and

his physicians confirmed it upon their oaths. What, then, have we had to do with *reserving* the lot? And, as to the King's having "*reigned so long,*" there is neither merit nor demerit in that, either in him or his people. If George the Second had reigned longer than he did, George the Third would not have reigned so long as he has. This, therefore, is a poor, miserable device to extort sighs from the weak-nerved valetudinarian, and must be quite thrown away upon any person who is in possession of a sound mind. It is like those tricks that we read of by which cunning priests, of all religions, contrive to rob a man's heirs.——"*Wrench* the sceptre from his "hand, *pluck* the crown from his head "and bind it with *thorns.*"——This again is false. We do not say any such thing. Nobody went to the ministers to *ask* for the kingly office. They made an *offer* of it. They *told us*, that the King was incapable of executing the duties of his office. What did they do this for, if this venal man was afterwards to say, that we, the people, wished to *wrench* the sceptre from his hand? If any body *wrenched* it, it was his own servants. But, nobody did it. It *fell* from his hand. He was incapable of holding it any longer, and then it was *offered* to his son, in a way that his son did not, indeed, approve of; but, still it was *offered* without being *asked* for.——And the same of the *Crown*. The King could not wear it. Nobody *asked* for it, much less *plucked* it from the King's head. And nobody says, "bind it with *thorns*;" but put safely by for the Prince. Do not *disfigure* it; do not *mar* it; do not *divide* it; do not *chip* it away; take nothing from it, either of the solid or ornamental.——This is what we say; this is what the people say. They say, in the words of the Prince, this crown exists for *our benefit*; therefore, do not lay the foundation for its total destruction, by dividing and hammering it about and new-shaping it; for, if you do, it will be no longer the same thing. No, no! We do not say "bind it with *thorns.*" The assertion is impudently *false*; it is a barefaced trick to gull the weak and the foolish. We say, *let it be as it was.* Let us have no *thorns*, either for King or *Regent*. We want to see all the powers and prerogatives accompany the office of King. If you will, indeed, propose to us a scheme for *diminishing* in perpetuity these powers and prerogatives, we will say, that you *may* be right; though, if the people be fully and fairly represented in *their* House of Parliament, we do not think that any diminution of the Royal powers and prerogatives is at all necessary. If, however, you make such a proposition we will *discuss* it with you; but, we deny, that you have proposed any *diminution*. All the powers, all the prerogatives, all the patronage, all the expences of Civil List and Privy Purse are still to exist; but a very considerable part of them are to be *separated from the kingly office*, to which office they were attached for *the people's benefit*. A part are to be possessed by the Prince Regent; a part by the Queen and a Council; and another part are to be kept *in reserve* to be used by the King, who, if he shall be again declared to have recovered from his mental derangement, will have to possess them in *retrospect*.——Thus *all* the assertions of this venal man are *false*. They are falshoods, contrived by some *arch-hypocrite* for the purposes of delusion; for the fraudulent purpose of enlisting compassion and arraying it against the Prince, kidnapping the feelings of the weak and the ignorant and making them subservient to the purposes of *interested hypocrisy*.——These expressions of "his *poor* "*Father*;" the "*poor old King*;" the "*poor* "*dear King*;" all these expressions, all the reverential cant, all the professions of personal attachment, all the hiccupping and the blubbering that we hear from these venal men, can be ascribed to base self-interest and to nothing else. One of the great characteristics of the thorough-bred *harlot*, is, that she has always a flood of tears at command. It is generally her *last resource*. When all her other tricks, when disguise, when wheedling and coaxing, blustering and threatening, shuffling and lying (Oh! how she'll LIE!); when all have failed, out comes her handkerchief and her flood of tears; and at the moment that they pour down her cheeks, a glance through the flood ascertains the relenting disposition of her cull, and, then, even then, she coolly plans fresh dilapidations upon his purse. Crocodiles, those most voracious *Robbers* both by land and water, when they want to inveigle their prey within reach of their insatiable jaws, set up a most lamentable *cry*, which to the dogs, more sagacious than other animals, is always a signal to *keep at a distance*. Englishmen, avoid the example of the cull, and follow that of the dogs of the Nile. Shun these canting and hiccupping and blubbering men; read all their verbose columns with a suspicious eye; and when they

sigh out, "poor dear King," be assured that they have their eye upon your purse. ——Having now, and I should hope effectually, exposed these consummate hypocrites, who calumniate the Prince by the means of canting and crying, we will now return to the subject, of which, at the outset of this article, I proposed to treat, namely, the circumstances under which, *at certain times passed*, the King had *exercised the Royal Authority*, and see what was said thereon by LORD GREY and the LORD CHANCELLOR, in the Debate of Friday last, the 25th instant. I shall not, indeed, have much to say upon it myself. The speeches contain in themselves quite enough to suggest observations and conclusions to the reader. I take the extract from the TIMES news-paper, just as I find it there. ——LORD GREY said: "With respect "to that part of the Bill, which pro- "vided for the *resumption of the Royal Au- "thority* upon his Majesty's recovery, he "would say that no one, not even any of "the Noble Lords on the other side of "the House, would more sincerely re- "joice at the arrival of that period: but "before he could approve of that resump- "tion, he must be convinced, that the re- "covery was *full and perfect*; he must "have other authority for that important "fact than the mere putting of *the Great "Seal to a commission in his Majesty's name.* "He could not receive such a document as "a decisive proof of his Majesty's re- "covery, when he considered *what had "taken place on two former occasions, when it "was notorious the Great Seal had been em- "ployed, as if by his Majesty's command, at "a time that he was under the care of a phy- "sician for a malady similar to that by which "he was now afflicted.* The Noble and "Learned Lord must excuse him when he "said, he must have better authority than "his declaration for his Majesty's re- "covery. That important fact required "to be substantiated in the most solemn "manner; and nothing short of an exa- "mination of the physicians by their lord- "ships could afford that proof of it which "would satisfy his mind."——This was *coming to the point.* It was, as far as I recollect, what nobody had said before; and it was, too, said in the presence of the LORD CHANCELLOR.——Here, then, we have a statement from LORD GREY, that, upon two former occasions, when it was notorious THE GREAT SEAL HAD BEEN EMPLOYED, AS IF BY HIS MAJESTY'S COMMAND, AT THAT TIME HE WAS UNDER THE CARE OF A PHYSICIAN FOR A MALADY SIMILAR TO THAT BY WHICH HE WAS NOW AFFLICTED.——Now, then, what said the Lord Chancellor in ANSWER to this? Here it is. I beg the reader not to miss a word of it.——"The "Lord Chancellor, rising under extreme "agitation, said, That the Committee "would excuse him for troubling them at "that period of the debate; but he could "not suffer the observations with which "the Noble Earl concluded his speech to "pass without taking the earliest oppor- "tunity of replying to them. In answer "to what had fallen from the Noble Earl, "he would now repeat what he had said "upon another consideration of the subject "before them; that he not only would not "decline, but that he challenged the strict- "est enquiry into his conduct. The noble "Earl might well have spared the observa- "tions that had fallen from him: but since "he chose to allude to acts which he (Lord "Eldon) had done in a conscientious dis- "charge of his duty, he would tell that noble "Lord, that he would rather have perished "on a scaffold, than have withheld himself "from any act of public duty he had per- "formed. In what he had done upon the "occasion alluded to, he acted under the "solemnity of an oath, which prescribed "that he was to act conscientiously, and "to the best of his judgment. He felt "himself superior to the uncalled-for im- "putation of the noble Lord. Until his "country told him he had done wrong, he "should feel satisfied with himself for his "conduct on that occasion. No man had "a right to charge him with criminality. "He had long served a gracious master "most faithfully: he had done so in con- "junction with some noble Lords over the "way, at the most critical moment that "this country ever experienced. It was "at a time when some of those noble "Lords were supporting him in the mea- "sures which he thought necessary for "putting down those societies which "aimed at the subversion of the Govern- "ment; and which measures other noble "Lords, who were now sitting side by "side with them, were obstructing by "every means in their power, and ridi- "culing under the name of the "gagging "bills." Strong as those measures were, "they could not have effectually coun- "teracted the pernicious and unconstitu- "tional proceedings of those clubs and "societies—from his conscience he be-

"lieved that nothing could have saved the "country at that momentous period, but "the almost universal love and reverence "of the people for the individual who "filled the Throne. With respect to the "transactions of 1802 and 1804, he would "again say, that he challenged the strict-"est enquiry into them. The opinions of "physicians, though entitled to great at-"tention, were not to absolutely bind "him. He was bound to act upon his "oath, and to the best of his judgment. "He had always done so, and he was "ready to abide the consequences. There "were no terrors for him in any enquiry "that might be instituted into his official "conduct. *Impavidum ferunt.* As to the "daily scandal that was poured out against "him, and which connected him with "measures in which he had no concern, "he would not condescend to reply to it. "He would not ask the noble Earl to "trust him. He would discharge his duty "to his Sovereign conscientiously; and sa-"tisfied that he had done so, he should "feel indifferent as to what might be said "of him. It had been put to him, whether "he would supersede a commission of lu-"nacy against the opinion of physicians. "He had often done so, and perhaps he "might have been wrong in so doing; "but he had acted upon his conscience, "as he should always do in such cases."——I do not know what "*Impavidum ferunt,*" mean; but, I suppose, that the ANSWER to Lord Grey was contained in those words; for as to the history of the "*gagging bills,*" it is not easy to see what that had to do with the matter, though a subject of very great importance, and one that I, for my part, like to see revived; and I feel grateful to the Lord Chancellor for reviving it at this time. But, it is certainly difficult to see how it was connected with what passed in 1804 respecting the putting of the *Great Seal* to things at that time.——Just as I arrived at the close of the last sentence, the news-papers, containing the report of the last night (Monday, 28th January) was put into my hands. Here, I see, the subject was revived; the charge of Lord Grey was first noticed by the LORD CHANCELLOR. Lord Grey replied, and so far from *retracting* any thing, went into a *detail* of what was done in 1804.——Now came forth Lords SIDMOUTH and LIVERPOOL, who said they were *equally responsible* with the Lord Chancellor for what was done in 1804.——The Lord CHANCELLOR replied to LORD GREY; and Lord Grey rejoined; and, at last, Lord KING grounded a motion for excluding the Lord Chancellor from the QUEEN'S COUNCIL upon the facts relating to his conduct in 1804.——Here is some very curious and interesting matter; and though it may be supposed to be widely circulated in the news-papers, yet, the extreme importance of it induces me to insert these speeches here, as far as they relate to this subject, which it is quite impossible should rest where it is.——This affair of 1804 is all quite new *to the people.* Not a word of it did they know, *or dream of.*——I begin with the Lord Chancellor's speech, which, as the reader will bear in mind, grew out of what passed on Friday, and which we have seen above.

The LORD CHANCELLOR said, that he understood the noble Earl (Grey) to have accused him of having performed certain acts, connected with the office he held, in his Majesty's name, while his Sovereign was in an incapable state. He would again repeat, that he challenged the most minute inquiry into those transactions. What he did on those occasions he did in concurrence and with the approbation of all his colleagues; and he would have acted as he did, though he had even differed from every man among them. He would even go farther; and he would say, that acting conscientiously, So help him God, he could not have acted otherwise than he did. What was the nature of the crime imputed to him? Why this, that he had acted in obedience to his Majesty's commands. He would ask the Noble Earl (Grey) what he would have thought of him, if he had refused to do so; and what kind of crime he would impute to those who disobeyed his Majesty's commands? With respect to the accusation which had been made over and over again, as to the certain prospect of his Majesty's speedy recovery, he would now repeat, what he had stated as often as the charge was preferred, that he never held out any such hopes to the House. He stated from himself, as from a person ignorant of the medical profession, his confident expectations of his Majesty's recovery within a reasonable time. This was a species of disorder as to which he had little confidence in the opinions of physicians. If all the physicians on earth were to tell him that his Majesty's recovery would be speedy, he would not believe them. Upon the same grounds, were they to declare that his Majesty's recovery would not be speedy,

he would be equally incredulous. The restoration of the Sovereign to the full exercise of his mental powers depended upon other causes than mere medical aid. In the language of the Scriptures, if it was the pleasure of God that "*there should be light*" in the Royal mind, "*let there be light.*" He would, however, undertake to assert, "that there was a most material amendment in his Majesty;" and having said this, he would say no more.

Earl Grey said.—The Noble Baron having specifically applied to him at the commencement of his speech, in consequence of what had fallen from him in a former debate, it became necessary for him to repeat what he had then said. It was not his disposition to prefer charges upon light grounds, or to retract them when made. In pursuing what he conceived to be his duty to his country, he would arraign the Noble and Learned Lord of a crime little short of treason. As the Noble Lord had put a question to him, he would answer it by another; and he would ask the Noble and Learned Lord, what ought to be the punishment of that man, who, when his Sovereign was in a state of proved incapacity, notoriously under medical care, and the necessary restraint which his particular malady required, should come down to that House, and declare there was no suspension of the Royal authority? What would he think of the person who, under these circumstances, should put the Great Seal to acts in the name, and as if by the express command, of the Sovereign? Let the Noble and Learned Lord answer these questions if he could. The Noble Baron had endeavoured to explain his assertion on a former occasion, that, looking to his Majesty's speedy recovery it was immaterial to what period the duration of the restrictions was limited. The Noble Baron now found it convenient to qualify that declaration. He wished to deal as severe as he could with the Learned Lord, but at the same time, with a strict regard to justice. Whatever, therefore, the Noble Lord's practice might be in another court, and whatever indifference he might there shew as to the judgment of medical persons, he would ask, whether he had not held out expectations to that House of his Majesty's speedy recovery, and stated, that those expectations were founded on the opinions of persons who were best qualified to judge?

The Lord Chancellor to order. The Noble Lord, he trusted, would excuse him for the interruption he was giving him; but in justice to himself he must declare, that he never had held out expectations of his Majesty's early or speedy recovery; but that, on the contrary, he avoided pledging himself to any specific declaration on that point.

Earl Grey resumed. He would again repeat and re-assert what he had stated. He would maintain that the Noble Lord had held out expectations of his Majesty's speedy recovery. He was in the judgment of the House, whether he had not. The Noble Lord even went so far as to state that those expectations were founded upon the opinions of those very physicians, whom he said this night he would not believe; and the result was, that the House adjourned for a fortnight upon the faith of that declaration. *(Hear, Hear!)* He came next to a part of the Noble and Learned Lord's speech, to which he should beg the particular attention of their Lordships; he meant that in which he had stated, that, to his own knowledge, a very considerable amendment had taken place in his Majesty's health. Upon this point he would take the liberty to ask the Noble Lord, whether in the course of a short conversation, he could have had an opportunity or the means to form any opinion as to the state of his Majesty's malady, which could be either satisfactory to his own mind, or ought to have any weight with their Lordships? He would ask him, whether he had founded his opinion in any degree upon the representations of the physicians, or was borne out by their authority in the statement their Lordships had just heard? Had the Noble Lord, in the course of his interview with his Majesty, touched upon any of those subjects upon which particularly the delusion to which he was subject was said to prevail? He was fully aware of the delicacy of touching upon this topic; but it was a duty he owed their lordships to endeavour to prevent them from being led to entertain false hopes respecting the state of his Majesty's health by partial or unfounded representations. There was nobody who had ever visited any of those places appropriated for the reception of persons labouring under mental infirmity, who did not well know, that in various instances the unhappy individuals preserved every appearance of intellectual sanity,

until questioned respecting, or reminded of, some topic, upon which the derangement of their faculties particularly prevailed. Several cases of that description had even lately been published, and some of them upon high authority, in which no trace of the latent disease could be discovered, until the topic upon which the malady turned happened to be touched on. His object in adverting to these circumstances was to shew to their Lordships the necessity of receiving such accounts as had been given by the Noble Lord with distrust, and of withholding credit from them till they should be presented to them supported by complete and satisfactory evidence. It was the duty of their Lordships to take care that the sceptre of the Sovereign, which was to be committed to a Regent, to be used in his name and on his behalf, should not be withdrawn until his Majesty's happy recovery should enable him to wield it himself, for the good of his people, and keep it from falling into other hands, by which it had, in other instances, been assumed and exercised. He trusted, therefore, that when they should come to that part of the Bill which was to provide for the resumption of the royal authority, their Lordships would take particular care upon this point, as they must feel it to be their indubitable duty to do. He hoped they would consider it right not to suffer any person to be included in the Council which would have to report upon his Majesty's recovery, who had in former instances suffered his Majesty's name to be used in public acts, at a time when, according to what had lately transpired, his Majesty was incapable of expressing his pleasure respecting them. At the same time that they must feel it their duty to provide for the full and perfect resumption of his authority by his Majesty, they were no less bound to take care that his recovery must be complete before such resumption. With respect to the conduct of the Noble and Learned Lord on those former occasions to which he had alluded, that Noble Lord had asserted his ability to defend himself; and though he should not invite the investigation, was yet not inclined to shrink from it. But this assertion was nothing but a vain boast on the part of the Noble Lord; for, unquestionably, if the matter were brought forward, the Noble Lord would not be able to shrink from it. Notwithstanding what had fallen from the Noble and Learned Lord, he adhered to his former statement; and felt it his duty here more explicitly to put their Lordships in possession of the cases to which he had before alluded. It was now in evidence before their Lordships, that, as well in 1801 as 1804, the King's name had been used to public acts, and the Royal authority exercised at a time when, according to the evidence, his Majesty was incapable of exercising his Royal functions. His Majesty's malady began about the 12th of February, 1801, and continued without remission till the beginning of March. Their Lordships would recollect, that councils had been held and members sworn during that interval. The foreign relations of the country, too, had undergone a material change in that period: Sweden, which had been our ally, acceded to the northern confederacy; and even considerable expeditions had been sent out. Subsequent to that date, too, about the 17th of March, another council was held and members sworn of it. Here he must beg the attention of their Lordships to the circumstance, that about the 14th or 15th of June following his Majesty had a relapse, which, though it did not last long, required the aid of medical attendance. This had taken place in 1801. In 1804 he had been a member of the other House, and from the anxiety felt by the Public upon the subject, considered it his duty to put a question to the Noble Viscount on the cross bench (Sidmouth,) then a member of the other House, respecting the state of his Majesty's health; and though his Noble Friend had at first endeavoured to evade the question, upon being pressed, he ended with saying, that there was no necessary suspension of the royal functions. To a similar question put in that House, the Noble Lord upon the woolsack had returned a similar declaration. (No! no!) Certainly the Noble Earl opposite (Lord Liverpool) had made such a declaration, and that had afterwards been confirmed by the Noble Lord on the Woolsack, in that House. Now, by referring to the evidence of Dr. Heberden, their Lordships would find, that at that very period his Majesty had been ill, and continued in that state from the 12th of Feb. 1804, to the 23d of April following, at which time it was considered, that his Majesty was well enough to resume his royal authority. Within that interval, viz. on the 9th of March, a commission had been issued under his Majesty's Great Seal, for giving the Royal assent to fifteen different bills which had

LORD KING next rose, and after charging the Lord Chancellor with having come down to that House, and affixed the Great Seal to 15 Acts in his Majesty's name, in the month of March, 1804, when it appeared upon the solemn testimony of Dr. Heberden, that his Majesty was insane, moved to expunge from the list of the Queen's Council, the name of John Lord Eldon.

This was opposed by Lord BUCKINGHAMSHIRE and Lord WESTMORELAND, and on a division the numbers were,

Non-Contents . 139 } Proxies included.
Contents . . . . 54 }
Majority . . . . . 85 ... against erasing Lord Eldon's name.

Thus stands the matter *at present.* Think of it well, reader, for *this* is the most material point of all. There is nothing belonging to the whole subject a thousandth part so important as this. We now get a sight of what was going on in 1801 and 1804.——I beseech the reader to think well of it.

Wm. COBBETT.

State Prison, Newgate, Tuesday, January 29, 1811.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

FRANCE.—*Report of Capt. Duperre, commanding the French Maritime Force at the Isle of France.*—10*th Sept.* 1810.

(Concluded from p. 224.)

At half-past five the engagement began. In a short time the cables of the Minerve and Ceylon were cut by the shot. These two vessels drifted and went on shore with their broadsides towards me. Their fire was consequently useless. The Bellone was the only vessel that presented her broadside to the enemy. This unexpected occurrence gave him reason to expect the most signal advantage. The three frigates had their broadsides towards us. One of them only had got aground forward, and could not bring all her guns to bear upon us. In this situation the engagement continued with indescribable ardour. The superiority of our fire was soon perceived. At eight o'clock the Nereide was silenced. Shortly after, the fire of the other frigates sensibly diminished, and announced, that they were under some disadvantage. Our fire, on the contrary, became more vigorous, and was nourished by the assistance in men, cordage, and ammunition, which the Captain of the Minerve continually sent on board the Bellone. —At half past ten I received a grape shot in the head, and was knocked off the deck into the waste. I was taken up in a state of stupefaction. Captain Bouvet of the Minerve, was apprized of what had taken place, and instantly went on board the Bellone.—At two o'clock an aid-de-camp brought intelligence that a man, who had escaped from the Nereide, stated that she had struck on the preceding evening. We waited for day-light to renew the engagement.—When the sun rose an English jack was still flying on board the Nereide; the Magicienne had her broadside towards us; the Syrius was a-head and a-ground, and the Iphigenia was on the other side of the Nereide, only able to take a very small share in the action. A few shots were fired at the Nereide; and soon after her flag was pulled down. It was necessary to wait until the Magicienne had surrendered to take possession of her. The boats would otherwise have been too much exposed to a cross fire.—The cannonade lasted until two o'clock, but on our side only. The Magicienne, from time to time, fired a few random shot, the last efforts, it would seem, of despair. Her boats had frequent communication with the other frigates, from which it was clear that the enemy intended to abandon her.—Lieutenant Roussin was sent to take possession of the Nereide; he found her in a situation which it is impossible to describe. She had 100 killed or wounded on her deck; Captain Willoughby was in the number of the latter.—In the evening the Magicienne was perceived to be on fire. We passed the night in observing the movements of the enemy, in taking precautions against being set on fire, in clearing the Nereide, and in getting rid of her dead.—On the 25th, in the morning, our fire was directed against the Sirius; she returned it with her bow guns, but her position rendered the contest too unequal to be supported long, they soon began to quit her, as they had the Magicienne the evening before, and she was perceived to be on fire in several places. At eleven o'clock the magazine blew up, and destroyed what there was of the Sirius.—On the 26th the Iphigenia was towed under the Isle of la Passe. The squadron was employed in getting afloat; and in repairing its damages. The Bellone prepared to have herself towed in pursuit of the Iphigenia; blockaded by the winds and our vessels, she remained at our mercy.—On the

27th, the French squadron which came out of Port Napoleon appeared.—On the 28th, at day-break, an officer went on board the Iphigenia, with a summons to her and the fort to surrender. A negotiation was also opened between the Captain and the Commander of the French squadron.—At eleven o'clock the French flag was hoisted on board the fort and the frigate. Captain Bouvet was sent to take possession of the latter, and the garrison was sent to the fort. All the prisoners were sent to Port Imperial.—These, General, are the particulars of the complete victory obtained under your eyes by the squadron I have the honour to command. Our loss consisted of 37 killed and 112 wounded, but most of them not dangerously. I have the honour, &c.

G. V. Duperre.

Spain and France.—*General Count Suchet's Report to the Prince of Neufchatel and Wagram, relating to the Siege and Capture of* Tortosa.—*Dated at Tortosa, 4th January* 1811.

Monseigneur.—In obedience to the orders of his Majesty, the 3d Corps of the army of Spain proceeded towards Tortosa, after the sieges of Lerida and Mequinenza. The first division blockaded the *téte-de-pont* on the right bank; the second advanced to the frontiers of Valencia, having detached a corps towards Terruel to keep Villa Campa in check, and to cover Saragossa; the third division was posted on the Lower Ebro, to secure our supplies, the conveyance of our artillery, and to observe the enemy's army in Catalonia.—General Roguiat, of the Engineers, opened a road passable by carriages from Caspe and Mequinenza, through thirty leagues of mountainous country, practicable before only to mules and foot passengers.—Gen. Valée, of the Artillery, after waiting a long time for the rise of the Ebro, succeeded, with infinite labour, in collecting, by land and water, his besieging artillery at Xerta. In order that no delay might occur when it was necessary for us to act, the troops employed in the blockade incessantly laboured at the works preliminary to the siege. Your Highness is acquainted from my former reports with what vigour they repulsed the sorties from the garrison in July and August.—On the 31st October, and 12th November, General Chlopicky defeated Villa Campa, in Arragon, taking six guns and a company of light artillery. On the 19th November, General Habert took the position of Falset from O'Donnell's troops, and made 300 of them prisoners. On the 26th of the same month, General Musnier defeated the Valencians at Vinaros, and took 2,500 prisoners.—So soon as the army of Catalonia, on its return from Barcelona, had approached the Ebro to co-operate in the support of the 3d corps, I marched towards Xerta, where my columns were formed on the 14th December in the evening. I ordered 12 battalions to pass on the 15th to the left bank. While one party carried the position of the Col-de-l'Alba, the other extended itself in a half-circle, touching the Ebro both above and below the town. The whole of the enemy were driven into it on that evening, and the place was completely invested. From that day nothing could enter or come out of it.—The artillery immediately established a flying bridge over the river, which is 360 yards wide in this place, for the purpose of opening a communication between the two banks. The engineer officers reconnoitered the approaches to the garrison; I fixed the camps, and made the necessary preparations to push with vigour and rapidity, the operations of a siege which had been so long delayed.—On the 18th, I ordered the Commander of the Engineers and the head of my Staff, so to arrange the whole line of our advanced posts, as to drive in the enemy's parties, and even their centinels, which was admirably executed. The 117th on the right, and Harispe's division on the left, had already occupied the reverse of the heights, before forts Tenezas and Orleans, and within 80 and 100 toises of them.—Under cover of these dispositions, on the 19th, in the evening, the trenches were begun on the height of Orleans; but the soil was so very hard, that it could not be raised without the assistance of explosion.—On the night of the 21st, under cover of a violent storm, and excessive darkness, 2,000 workmen opened the first parallel in front of the bastions of St. Peter and St. John. The left, at the distance of 80 toises, extended from the left bank of the river to the foot of the height of Orleans, to the length of 250 toises. At the same time, a trench was opened on the right bank, within 90 toises of the *téte-de-pont*, for the purpose of erecting batteries intended to flank the principal attack.—On the 22d, Frere's division of the army of Catalonia joined the besieging army. I posted it a league below the town on the Ebro, to ob-

serve the Tarragona and sea roads, detaching a battalion to watch the Col-d'Alba. —It was impossible to display greater talents, courage, and activity, than was shewn by the Engineers, both officers and men, during the prosecution of the works. Henry, chief of battalion, who commanded the attack in the centre, carried it on with remarkable activity. On the night of the 17th, even before the batteries were established, the covered way was crowned; an unexampled instance, I believe, in the history of sieges. Five officers of Engineers were killed and two wounded, either in the works, or in the sorties which the enemy frequently made to interrupt them.—They came on the night of the 17th, 23d, 24th, and 26th, to attack our camps, and works, in columns of 3 or 400 men. The grenadiers and troops that guarded the trenches repulsed them with the bayonet with great loss.—On the 28th, in the evening, after a vigorous discharge from all the batteries of the garrison, about 2,000 men rushed upon all our points of attack, penetrated them for a moment on the left, and burned some gabions of the lodgement on the covered way, while they out-flanked in force the right on the height of Orléans.—But General Habert, quitting his camp with General Bronikowsky and the companies of the elite of the 116th and 5th light, drove them within the walls; and General Abbé, who commanded in the trenches, with Colonel La Fosse, of the 44th, advanced against them over the trenches with crossed bayonets, overwhelmed and killed a great number of them, and took several prisoners. The ardour of the infantry could only be exceeded by the perseverance with which they worked.—The artillery, on their part, had surmounted excessive and continually increasing difficulties in conveying the besieging artillery to the left bank. The navigation of the river changed every day, and was extremely difficult. The erection of the batteries was briskly opposed by a tremendous fire from the garrison, which crushed every thing, particularly on the right bank. The battery, No. 1, within 50 toises of Fort Orleans, was erected in open day, and completely exposed, under cover of a vigorous and continual fire of musketry aimed at the enemy's embrasures.—General Valée, the officers and men, displayed an indefatigable zeal. The soldiers of the train acted as cannoniers; a Captain of the artillery, and a Lieutenant of the train, were wounded. On the 29th, at daybreak, forty-five guns, in ten batteries upon both sides of the river, opened a fire, which in two hours acquired a decided superiority, and soon silenced all that of the front attacked.—The bridge was cut on the same day, and on the next morning was entirely broken; in consequence of which the enemy was under the necessity of evacuating in the night the tête-de-pont, of which we took possession. On the 30th the castle was the only part of the garrison from which a fire was kept up, and on the 31st our fire became slack, as it was not answered. The parapets were levelled, the embrazures not in a state to receive guns, and two breaches were commenced near fort Orleans.—In the mean time General Roguiat pursued his brilliant career, completed the descent and passage of the ditch, and began to mine the scarp of the body of the place.—It was in this state of things, that on the morning of the 1st January a white flag was displayed from the castle, and immediately upon this signal, hostilities having every where ceased, the ramparts were covered with a crowd of soldiers and of inhabitants. Two officers with a flag of truce made their appearance, and were conducted to me: they communicated a letter from the Governor, who had authorised them to make proposals to me. The Adjutant Commandant, St. Cyr Nugués, the Chief of my staff, carried my answer to the town with the basis of a capitulation. He found in the Governor a weak man, surrounded by two or three Chiefs, who divided the authority between them, and who demanded that they should be sent to Tarragona upon their immediate surrender, or offered to surrender conditionally in 15 days if not relieved before the expiration of that time: following up my instructions, he rejected every thing different from what was contained in my answer, and desired them no longer to display the white flag if it was not merely and simply to capitulate. Upon his return the soldiers received the news with joy, and with loud cries demanded the assault; I promised it to them on the following day. The fire of bombs and howitzers recommenced in the night on the town and castle; the miners continued their labours. On the morning of the 2d a new battery in breach, raised with extraordinary rapidity in the covered-way against the counterscarp of the ditch, was battering at the distance of 15 toises; the breach was hourly enlarged.

Three white flags were displayed at once; I ordered the firing to be every where redoubled. At 2 o'clock every thing was ready for the assault; I ordered a brigade of General Harispe to be under arms in the great line of the trenches, and formed in column the select companies of the guards of the trenches, to mount the breach.—Flags of truce made their appearance a-new, but I forbad any one to be received, except for the purpose of delivering to our grenadiers, as the first preliminary, a gate of the town. They hesitated; I advanced, followed by some Generals and other Officers, and I ordered the draw-bridges to be let down. The soldiers obeyed me; I entered; I made them lay down their arms; I reproached the Officers and the Governor for their conduct the evening before. The forts, undetermined and surprised, adopted the part of submission. I ordered the grenadiers to enter, and at four in the afternoon a garrison of 8,000 men defiled as prisoners of war, deposited nine colours, of which one was presented by King George to the town of Tortosa, and immediately took the road to Saragossa, under a strong escort.—After 18 days of siege, 13 of trenches opened, and five of cannonade, we are thus masters of the fortress of Tortosa, which delivers into the power of the Emperor 177 pieces of artillery, 30,000 balls or bombs, 1,400,000 cartridges, 9,000 muskets, &c. I have the honour to transmit to your Highness the different inventories, with a view and plan of the town and of the attacks, the journal of the siege, and the documents furnished by the Chiefs, which make the force of the garrison, including the hospitals, amount to 9,000 men, of whom 392 are officers; in that number is a battalion of artillery of the marine, which was two years at Brest; and the officers of which have declared to me, that snatched by the fate of arms from the anarchy which desolates their country, they all form the wish of combating the English, whom they regard as its true authors.—Our loss during the siege amounted to 400 men, and that of the enemy to 1,200. Your Highness will consider it trifling when you learn that the fortress fired 25,000 rounds of cannon, and we 15,000.—I cannot close this relation, Monsiegneur, without repeating to your Highness how much I have had reason to be satisfied with the distinguished conduct of the Generals of engineers and artillery, Roguiat and Valée.

SPAIN AND FRANCE.—*Report of M. Roguiat, commanding the Engineers at the Siege of Tortosa.—4th Jan.* 1811.—*To the Prince of Wagram.*

I have the honour to transmit to your Highness the Journal of the Siege of Tortosa. Your Highness will see from it, that, in 13 days after opening the trenches we have reduced a very strong fortress, defended by a garrison of 9,000 men, and 177 pieces of cannon. The enemy defended himself to the last extremity; the covered way was crowned without the aid of artillery on the 7th night of the trenches being opened; the ditch was passed and the miners set to work on the 12th night: circumstances never before exemplified in any siege.—The engineers have served with enthusiasm. I have had five killed, and a greater number wounded, all excellent officers. The General in Chief, Count Suchet, solicits rewards for the officers and corps of engineers. I have to beg your Highness to give them your favourable attention, in order that his Majesty may deign to grant those rewards, which they have merited at the expence of their blood, and by their zeal for the Emperor.

SPAIN AND FRANCE.—*State of the French Armies in Spain; and Account of their proceedings.—Paris,* 19 *Jan.* 1811.

I.

SIEGE OF CADIZ.—The Duke of Belluno, desirous of having the whole of his flotilla united in the canal of the Trocadero, where would only be between 5 and 600 toises from the isthmus which joins Cadiz to the continent, had already caused the flotilla to be conveyed from San Lucar as far as Rota and Port St. Mary's. Several glorious actions had been sustained by this flotilla, but the most difficult remained to be undertaken. It was necessary to pass within 300 toises of the fort of Puntales, which is upon the isthmus of Cadiz, and surrounded by a numerous groupe of floating batteries and the enemy's gunboats. It was, therefore, to be feared that the French flotilla would suffer considerably in attempting to double Point Matagorda. The Duke of Belluno, therefore, resolved to convey it by land from the river San Pedro to the Trocadero. The flotilla was dragged across this space of 500 toises upon rollers, to the great satisfaction of the army. By the 11th of

December all the boats belonging to the flotilla were in the Trocadero. That instant our fire opened. Red-hot balls and shells were discharged against the town. We succeeded in throwing bomb-shells of twelve pounds to the distance of 2050 toises, and howitzer-shells of 8 pounds as far as 2150 toises. Considerable uproar prevails in Cadiz; they are in great agitation there; the gates are shut, and it is only with the greatest precautions that any communication is kept up with the suburbs. The scarcity in Cadiz is extreme, and the yellow fever makes great ravages.—Fortunately the French armies of Andalusia, Granada, and Murcia are in the best state of health. The sick who were sent to the hospitals, owing to the effects of the great heats, are recovered. The greatest tranquillity prevails in the district of the army of the south. Travelling goes on there as in France, without any kind of escort.—The army enjoys the greatest abundance of every thing.—ARMY OF GRANADA.—General Sebastiani has broken ground before Marbella. Since the success which he obtained over Blake, all the bands of Murcia are dispersed.

II.

CASTILE.—Order and tranquillity prevail more and more in the provinces of Madrid, Toledo, Avila, Segovia, &c. The moveable columns render the greatest services, and incessantly pursue the Guerillas, and bands of brigands, whose numbers are daily diminishing.—General Lahoussaye being charged to clear the provinces of Cuenca, entered that city on the 14th. The bands endeavoured to defend it, but they were defeated at the first charge, with the loss of 200 men killed, an equal number of prisoners, and one piece of cannon. The remainder dispersed, and made the best of their way for the province of Valencia.—General Lorge maintains order on the north side of the Sierra Morena. One hundred and fifty men belonging to Ganido's band had taken shelter in Villa Franca D'Avila, where they intended to pass the night, A detachment of the 12th light infantry surprised them before day-break on the 9th. Twenty of these wretches were killed, and 12 of their horses taken. The rest fled half-naked, and abandoning their arms and baggage.

III.

DISTRICT OF THE ARMY IN THE NORTH.—The Duke of Istria has arrived to take the command of the army of the north of Spain. This Marshal is extremely beloved in all these provinces, where he commanded in 1808.—ASTURIAS.—General Bonnet occupies the Asturias with his corps.—On the 29th of November, in the morning, the insurgents marched forward to attack the advanced guard of General Bonnet, commanded by General Valletaux. The reconnoitering parties fell in with the enemy on the roads of Miranda and Belmonte. General Valletaux immediately made his dispositions, placing the Commandant Andreossi in the center, with eight companies, and proceeding himself in person to Fresno with a battalion of the 118th. The enemy soon came in sight to the number of 6,000, covering all the summits of the mountain. A brisk fire of musketry commenced. The insurgents being superior in numbers, directed considerable masses towards the center, which they hoped to penetrate. They had even succeeded in gaining a few toises of ground, when the Commandant Leonand, with some reinforcements, reached the position of Valletaux, who availed himself of this event to detach two companies of the 118th to turn the enemy's left. This manœuvre struck them with such terror that they fell back; the center soon resumed its positions; a charge was beaten at all points; and the enemy's ranks being every where broke in upon, they were compelled to give way to the impetuosity of our heroes, who pursued them as far as Belmonte and Miranda, the roads leading to which places were covered with the slain.—This affair, in which 1,500 Frenchmen defeated 6,000 insurgents, does great honour to General Valletaux.—In the government of Valladolid, that of Burgos, and that of Biscay, there is no where any considerable body of insurgents. A few bands conceal themselves in the rocks, to seize upon solitary passengers. They are frequently dispersed by our patroles, and their number daily diminishes.

(To be continued.)

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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"The hope of the HYPOCRITES shall perish."

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

The Regency.——I repeat my motto; and the denunciation I have no fear of seeing completely verified. The hypocritical editor of the Courier and the crew of hypocrites who approve of his efforts, all this base, canting crew, now driven to their resource, *crocodile tears*, will not find, any longer, a cloak sufficiently thick to disguise them.——Gulls as the people of this country have long been, they are not any longer to be cheated by this hypocrite and his like. It is hypocrisy that has, for years, been the bane of England; but, I do trust, that it will now, by being unmasked, be deprived of its power to do us further mischief.——In my last, I exposed an attempt, on the part of the Editor of the Courier and his brother hypocrites, to make the people believe, that all those, who were for using *extreme caution* in again imposing upon the King the functions of royalty, meant to *dethrone* him. I exposed this attempt pretty well; and showed how base and wicked were the motives from which it had manifestly proceeded. I showed, that the assertions of the hypocrites were false; and that, as a last resource, they had resorted to cant and crying with a view to calumnious insinuations against the Prince of Wales, calculated to excite the foulest suspicions against him, and to render him odious in the eyes of the people. The jet of what they were, and still are, endeavouring to inculcate, is this: That the "*new men*," as they call them, have discovered a disposition, nay, and a *resolution*, to *dethrone* the King; because they have recommended *great caution* to be observed in calling upon him again to exercise the kingly office. This is the point, at which they are incessantly labouring; with efforts directed to this point, they fill column after column; and, it is easy to see, that they do, and *must*, include the Prince amongst the "*new men*."——That there is ground for *great caution* no one will, I think, deny, after what has recently *come to light*. Nevertheless, this same hypocritical writer and his brother hypocrites, who furnish matter for his paper, are still endeavouring to prevail upon the public to consider as an act of hostility to the King, every effort that is made to provide against a premature resumption of the royal authority on the part of the King.——I shall, in the present Number, notice, in a particular manner, and, I trust, fully expose, another of these attempts to cajole the people; and, when I have done that, I shall examine into the truth of these venal mens' assertions respecting the Charges of Lord Grey against the Lord Chancellor. They assert these charges to be *groundless*; and, it, therefore, becomes us to refer to *dates*, and to compare them, and the Evidence of the Physicians with the statements of Lord Grey. For, though the speech of his lordship was plain and full, as to all points, still it was impossible for any man (especially under a prohibition to take any speech in short hand) to give it perfectly correct even as to the substance; much less to give it in detail.——With the whole of the Evidence before me, and with the history of the times referred to, also before me, I shall, I trust, be able to give a more full and clear statement of the matter, than has yet reached the public eye.——But, I must first notice the article, above alluded to, in the Courier of the 30th of January; because in this article the reader will have a view of another of the tricks, which the hypocrites are playing off for the purpose of keeping up their deceptions a little longer. They are hard put to it. They know not what to be at; and, though as cunning as Old Satan himself, they do, I verily believe, begin to despair of gulling and cheating the public any longer. The dullest of the people now begin to see them in their true colours. The exposures have been so often repeated, that, at last, they begin to have effect.——The trick which I am now about to notice is an attempt at *alarm*; an attempt to cajole the people into a belief, that those who protest against *using the King's name* before he is restored to a *perfectly* sound mind, wish to set him *aside*; wish to do some violent act of injustice towards him.——"The attempts,"

says this venal hypocrite, who really appears to me to be pretty nearly a match for an old North-of-England political acquaintance of mine, whom I have, for many years, called *Hypocrisy Personified*, and who, to a Lazarus-like look given him by nature, has added all that art can afford, and who is, even in this age, certainly the most consummate hypocrite in existence. Talk of the *Saints* of the Long-Parliament! There was not one of them fit "to hold a candle to him."—Yet, this creature, the most perfect of his kind, and who has duped nearly as many people as were duped by Mahomet, or any other of the lucky impostors that have lived in the world; even this hypocrite is not far out-done by these venal men, these MEAN, MERCENARY and MALIGNANT men, upon the writings of one of whom I am now about to comment.——"The attempts," says he, "daily making "to prepare the public mind for setting "the King aside, altogether, cannot fail "of exciting alarm. The design was "scouted with indignation by both Houses "of Parliament, on the first day of its meet- "ing, but it has ever since been disclos- "ing itself, and certainly is acting upon. "We have already given very striking "proofs of this from the Journals. Men "startled at these things at first, but "silence and impunity make them bold. "*The Weekly Register*, and others of the "same character, deprecate the return of "the King to power *till he is quite well*, "by which they mean *something better* "*than at his age he is ever likely to be*, allow- "ing him to be as well in mind as ever. "Out of *mere kindness* to the King they "would not allow him to return to the fa- "tigues of business. One member of the "House of Commons asserts, that a man "subject to hurries never can be fit to "reign, and Sir F. Burdett last week "roundly affirmed, the King could never "be fit to govern at his age; with his "blindness, and liable as he is to derange- "ment. Thus *the design proceeds*,"——What *design*? What design have we? do we mean; or, what can we more than we say? We "deprecate the return of the King to power "till he is QUITE WELL." And what, then? To be sure we deprecate it; and are we not right in so doing? Ought he, in mere common mercy to himself, to be permitted to resume his authority *before he is quite well*? Are we not right to express our opinions, that he ought not to be called upon to resume his authority; to exercise the powers of *life and death*; to make *war* and *peace*: are we not right in deprecating the idea of his being called upon to resume such powers until he be *quite well*? Aye, and was I not right, when, about a fortnight ago, I took timely opportunity to suggest the propriety of some measure to prevent him from being so called upon, until there had been *some months*, or *weeks*, at least, of *probation*, after complete recovery? Was not this right? Will any man *now* deny, that the suggestion was proper? Indeed, it arose out of a perusal of the very evidence upon which Lord Grey has made his late statements, in the House of Lords, and upon which Lord King founded his motion for erasing the name of Lord Eldon from the list of the Queen's Council.——But, this venal man says, that, by the words *quite well*, we mean "something better than the "King, at his age, *is ever likely to be*." His *age*? Age does not naturally deprive men of the use of their senses. The age of the King is not very great. There is Mr. BARON MASERES at the age of *eighty*, writing with as much clearness and strength as he did at the age of *forty*. We say nothing about the *age* of the King. His is by no means an age to produce mental feebleness. But, we see, in the evidence upon oath, that he is in a state of *mental derangement*; that he has been in that state now *three times within eleven years*; and, we also read in that evidence, that he was in that state while his assent was given to many acts of parliament, some of them *granting away crown lands* and imposing *penalties of death*; this we see, and seeing this, are we to be accused of designs to set him aside; because we wish, that there should be clear proof produced of his being *quite well*, before he is again called upon to exercise the Royal Authority?——"Another most unconstitutional doc- "trine," continues this venal writer, "ad- "vanced in many quarters, but particu- "larly in the Common Council by Mr. "ALDERMAN WOOD, is, the *preference* given "to the Prince of Wales as our Chief "Magistrate in consequence of its being "known, that he will adopt measures *dif-* "*ferent from those of his father*, that he will "grant Catholic emancipation, conciliate "Ireland, &c. For these and similar "reasons they express a wish that his "Royal Highness *should wield the Sove-* "*reign authority instead of his Majesty*. To "proceed on such principles is to do nei-

"ther more nor less than to elect a King. "The Prince is to be chosen *in preference* "*to George the 3rd*, because he will do "*better things*. If such atrocious doc-"trines as these are to be listened to, there "is an end of our Constitution! It may be "discovered that Sir Francis Burdett would, "do better things still than the Prince of "Wales, and, upon the same principles, "propositions might be entertained of "vesting him with the sovereign autho-"rity. Such language tends to bring "upon us the evil of an elective mo-"narchy like that of Poland, which no "doubt would speedily involve us in a si-"milar destruction with that which has "annihilated Poland as a nation. All this "erroneous view of things arises from the "very false grounds upon which the re-"strictions on the Regency have been de-"bated by the Opposition, they wishing "to act as if they were appointing a King "instead of appointing a deputy for a "King during a temporary indisposition, "as if the Throne were vacant, not as it "really is, full. Such doctrines are *truly* "*alarming*. They tend strongly and ra-"pidly to *a Revolution*, to scenes of *confu-*"*sion* and *anarchy* long unknown in this "*happy land*."——All this is equally false with the former. Mr. Wood gave no *prefe-rence* to the SON before the FATHER. He imputed no *wrong* to the King; but he censured the measures of *his ministers*; and he expressed his hope that such men would be chosen to succeed them, as would adopt *better measures*. It is false, therefore, to say, that the Prince was set up in *preference* to the King. But, let the reader bear with me while I once more remark, that this is the constant practice of those hypocrites who call themselves "the *King's friends*." Every thing you say against the measures of the government, they immediately apply it to *the King*; and it cannot be forgotten, that they have *invariably* acted thus.——As to what this hypocrite says about the dangers of making this an *elective monarchy*, what a fine slap in the face he gives here to all those, and to himself amongst the rest, who have contended for restrictions, and have denied the *right* of the Prince to be sole Regent! This charge, if due to any body, belongs to them. If there really be any *danger* in the notion of an *elective* monarchy, on their heads be the consequences, and not on ours, who have, all along, contended, that the whole of the Royal powers and prerogatives, without any dividing, chipping away, or reserving, ought to have been, at once, and without any delay, given to the Prince, who is the undoubted heir to the throne and to every thing attached to it.——But, the truth is, that the hypocrites know not what to say; they are at the last gasp; even lying and crying begin to fail them; and it is little wonder, that they forget what they are about. The wonder, and, to the country, the shame, is, that they should not, before now, have been sunk quite into the earth; that they should still dare to shew their faces above ground; much less to send forth their verbose columns of cant, in various shapes, and under various names, as they have yet the assurance to do.——We now come to the other subject of which I proposed to treat; namely, *the state of the King in the years* 1801 *and* 1804, *at times when several very important acts were performed in his name*, and, apparently, with his *approbation and authority*.——The public need not be told what has recently passed upon this subject in the House of Lords; for, certainly, never was there any thing that attracted more general observation, or that excited a more general or higher interest. It has, since it took place, been the great topic of conversation with every body.——In my last, I inserted the speeches of Lords GREY and ELDON and the motion of Lord KING. These were all less full than was to be desired; but, I took the fullest reports I could find, and the substance was pretty nearly, in all probability, presented.——Nevertheless, it is possible to put the matter in a *plainer* light than it there appears; and, this it shall now be my endeavour to do.——But, I have first to observe, that in another part of *this Number*, I have inserted the *whole* of the Evidence of Drs. WILLIS and HEBERDEN, as given upon oath before the LORDS' COMMITTEE a few weeks ago. These two persons attended the King upon the former occasions of his mental derangement; and, I have given the *whole* of their evidence to obviate the possibility of being charged with *garbling*.——This Evidence should be *carefully read*, particularly that of Dr. HEBERDEN, upon which the charges of Lord GREY were founded.——I have also inserted, in this Number, a *Protest* of certain Lords, upon the subject of the motion for erasing LORD ELDON's name, in which Protest the charges against him are distinctly stated. This also should be read with care; and I have thought it right

not to lose a moment in giving it as wide a circulation as it is in my power to give it; because it appears to me, that the matter is of the greatest importance to us all; or, at least, to all those who wish to see the English constitution not totally annihilated.——From the same motive it is, that I am now induced to add some observations of my own, by which I hope to make the matter so plain as not to leave the smallest chance of being misunderstood.——There were *two occasions* mentioned by Lord Grey, and some confusion of dates and other circumstances has been made for want of a sort of history of each. The *first* was in 1801, at the time Mr. ADDINGTON (now LD. SIDMOUTH) became Prime Minister; the *second* was in 1804, he being still Prime Minister. The transactions, connected with the *former* we will treat of hereafter; for, if possible, they are even more important than those connected with the latter. But, *at present*, we will confine ourselves to the latter epoch; and, it will be useful, here, to give a list of the *ministry*, as it then stood, namely, in *February, March, and April*, 1804, when the King was afflicted, as will be seen by Dr. HEBERDEN's evidence, with the very same malady that he now is afflicted with.

Cabinet Ministers.

Duke of Portland	President of the Council.
Lord Eldon	Lord High Chancellor.
Lord Westmoreland	Lord Privy Seal.
Right Hon. Henry Addington (now Lord Sidmouth)	First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer. (Prime Minister.)
Earl St. Vincent	First Lord of the Admiralty.
Earl of Chatham	Master General of the Ordnance.
Right Hon. Charles Yorke	Sec. of State for the Home Department.
Lord Hawkesbury (now Earl of Liverpool)	Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.
Lord Hobart (now Earl of Buckinghamshire)	Secretary of State for the Department of War and the Colonies.
Lord Viscount Castlereagh	President for the Board of Controul for the Affairs of India.

Law Officers.

Mr. Spencer Perceval	Attorney General.
Sir Thomas Manners Sutton	Solicitor General.

Thus was the ministry composed.——Here we have them all before us.——This is of great use, because the people are apt to forget. They have confused ideas of *who* and *who* were together.——Well, now to the point. Dr. HEBERDEN, being upon his *oath* before the Lords' Committee, on the 18th of December last, gave the following evidence.——"Will "Dr. Heberden state to the Committee "what was the whole duration of his "Majesty's illness in 1804? I was first "called upon to attend his Majesty on the "12th of February 1804; and I believe "his Majesty presided at Council on the "23rd of April following; *I should con-* "*sider the interval between those periods as* "*constituting the duration of his disease at* "*that time.*——At what time did Dr. "Heberden's attendance on his Majesty "cease? After the period when his "Majesty was so far recovered as to be "able to transact business at any period "of any day: he still retained *such* "*marks of indisposition* about him, as made "it expedient that some one of his phy- "sicians should be about his person *for* "*some months afterwards.* In this situa- "tion I was in attendance upon his Ma- "jesty so late as to the *end of October.*—— "Between the 12th February and the "23d April did not the appearances of "disorder continue more or less? I be- "lieve that for *some days* previous to the "23d April they had so far ceased as to "make his Majesty's physicians conceive "him competent to exercise all the usual "functions of his high office."——Thus, then, quibble to eternity, if you will, one of these two things must be: either the King was in a state of *mental derangement* (for that is the term now given to the malady) from the 12th of February to within *some days* of the 23rd of April, or Dr. HEBERDEN has taken a false oath, which latter is not to be believed, especially as, in the reports of the Speeches of Lord Eldon, in answer to Lord Grey's charge, no insinuation of the kind was thrown out, and, as Dr. HEBERDEN gave his evidence *in the*

presence of Lord Eldon and Lord Sidmouth, and most of the rest of the ministry of 1804, who might, if they had chosen, have contradicted, or cross-examined, him.——The public must well remember, that, in 1804, Dr. SIMMONS of St. Luke's Hospital, and his *men*, attended the King; and Lord Grey asserted, and *challenged contradiction*, that these persons remained with him until *the 10th of June of that year!* Nobody accepted Lord Grey's challenge. Nobody attempted to *contradict* him. But, I will, if the reader chooses, leave this circumstance wholly out of consideration, and stick to the facts stated upon *oath* by Dr. HEBERDEN, according to whom the King's malady continued from the *12th of February* to within *some days* of the 23rd *of April*. ——Now, then, what can have been meant by the words "*some days?*" The Hypocrite, who writes in the COURIER, says it may mean *any time* any *length* of time; that it may mean "*a fortnight*, at "least" But, is this the interpretation that *sound sense* and a love of *truth* and *justice* will allow of?——No. it is clear, that Doctor Heberden meant a *few* days; some number within a *week* but, even in those days, his words by no means admit, that the King was perfectly recovered; and, after all, we find, that the Doctor, or another physician, had to remain *constantly* about him even to the month of *October* afterwards, on account of the *still remaining appearances of indisposition* ——Leaving out of the question, therefore, Earl Grey's uncontradicted assertion as to the attendance of Dr SYMONDS and *his men*, until the *10th of June*, Dr HEBERDEN's evidence is full as to the point, that the malady continued from the *12th of February to the* 23*rd of April*.——What, then, was *done* during this time, in the *name* of the *King*, and as by his *express authority?* Whether any Commissions may have been granted, any leases of Crown Lands let or renewed, any titles or honours bestowed, any sentences of death confirmed, during that time, are particulars that I have not, at hand, the means of ascertaining; but, I have the means of ascertaining in what cases the very highest functions of royalty, the giving assent to Acts of Parliament, the *making of laws*, affecting the property, liberty, and lives of fifteen millions of people, were exercised, and these I shall accurately state——Remember, that the space of time mentioned by Dr. HEBERDEN, was, from *the 12th of February to the* 23rd of April, 1804.——On the *9th of March* of that year, the *King's assent* was given by Commission under *his hand*, and signed with the Great Seal, to *seven* Public Acts of Parliament, being the Acts from Chapter 19 to Chapter 25 of the 44th year of GEORGE III.——On the 23*rd of March*, the King's assent was, by a like Commission, given to *six* Public Acts of Parliament, being the Acts from Chapter 26 to Chapter 31.——This was still very far from the 23*d of April*. It was more than *some days*. It was more than the *fortnight* which the hypocrite of the COURIER contends for. It was in fact, a full *Calendar month*.——The Acts thus assented to were some of them of a nature *peculiarly* important. Some of them contained *penalties* of death; others imposed taxes; others authorised the raising of soldiers; one was a continuation of the Bank Restriction; Chapter 25 *granted away from the Crown the fee for ever of certain manors, lands, and houses;* and Chapter 30 was a *bill of indemnity*, relative to acts done *without law*, in pursuance of certain Orders of Council.——All this was done in the *King's name*, and as by his *express authority*, at a time when, according to the evidence now given upon oath by a Physician who attended him, the King was in the same state of incapacity that he is now.——Nay, on the 26th of March, that is to say, twenty eight days before the 23d of April, Mr. ADDINGTON (now Lord Sidmouth) brought down to the House of Commons A MESSAGE *from the King!* It related to a measure of great importance, namely, the bringing of the Irish militia into England. It had the *Royal Signature* to it, and began in these words: "*His Majesty thinks "proper to acquaint the House of Commons, "&c. &c.*"——This, even *this*, was done on the 26*th of March*, that is, twenty eight days before the 23d of April.——And yet, with these facts before us; with all this before us, we are not to be allowed to express our opinion, that great caution ought to be used in the resumption of the royal authority by the King; we are not to be allowed to say, that care ought to be taken to *prove* that he is *quite well* first; we are not to do this, upon pain of being marked out by the impudent and venal editor of the COURIER, as men who wish to *dethrone* the King, to throw him into a corner, to pluck the Crown from his head and to bind it with thorns! But, these are the *last* struggles of knavery and hypocrisy combined; and they will not succeed. ——Thus stands the case up to the 23*rd of*

April. I beg the reader to bear the *dates* in his mind. Thus stands the case up to the 23rd of April; but, as the reader may attach great importance to the assertion of Lord Grey respecting the attendance of Dr. SYMONDS and *his men* till the 10*th of June*, it is proper to inform him, that, between the 23rd of April and the 10*th of June*, 24 Public Acts of Parliament received the *King's Assent* by Commission, as in the former cases. And, by the 30th of July, 36 more Public Acts; thus making the number 91 Acts, receiving the *King's Assent*, by Commission, after the 12th of February in that year; and, *July*, the reader will bear in mind, was still long before the month of *October*.——There are still some circumstances to notice, in order to make the history of these transactions complete. A *change of ministry* took place between the 23rd of April and the 10th of June.——Mr. Addington, Ld. St. Vincent, Mr. Yorke, and Ld. Hobart, went out of the cabinet; and Mr. Pitt, Ld. Melville, Ld. Harrowby, Ld. Camden, and Ld. Mulgrave, came into it. The others remained; and the Law-Officers also remained. This change was completed on the 18*th of May*: So that Lords Eldon, Castlereagh, Hawkesbury, Westmorland, and Chatham were in both cabinets.——Nothing more need be said. The thing is so plain; the chain of facts so complete; the statement so incontrovertible, that it sets all pettifogging at defiance. There are, however, two points, upon which I shall just say a word or two; namely, the *declaration* of Mr. ADDINGTON (now Ld. Sidmouth), during the King's malady in 1804; and the *individual responsibility* of Lord Eldon.——As to the former, it was called forth by a question, and afterwards a motion, of Sir ROBERT LAWLEY, in the House of Commons, on the 27*th of February*, 1804. Sir Robert Lawley asked the minister for an explicit statement as to the state of the King. To this Mr. Addington answered, that no such statement was necessary in the opinion of his Majesty's confidential servants. Whereupon Sir Robert Lawley moved an adjournment of the House. This produced a long debate, which was very interesting at that time, and certainly not less so now. In this debate Mr. Addington spoke no less than *five times*. He made explanation upon explanation; and, at last, it came to these words:——"The "hon. Gentleman has stated, that I have my own opinion in opposition to "that of his M[illegible]s Physicians. All "I can say on [illegible]t of the accusation 'against me is, that I have stated nothing 'as matter of speculation, or opinion, of 'my own, but *upon authority of the physicians*. I wish to be distinctly understood here to re-state, that there is not, *at this time*," [27th of February mind] "any *necessary suspension of such royal functions as it may be necessary for his Majesty to discharge at the present moment*."——He was pressed further by Mr. Grey, and he then said: "I meant *distinctly* to state, "that there is not at this time, any *neces*"*sary suspension* of the royal authority "for any act which may be *necessary to be* "*done*."——This was what Lord Grey alluded to the other night; and, if it had *any meaning at all*, it meant one of these three things: that it was *not necessary* that the King should be deranged in mind; or, that it was not, at that time, necessary for him to have the use of his senses; or, that his faculties were not so much impaired as to render him unfit for business.

The two former it cannot be supposed that any man could mean; and, therefore, we must take the latter; and, then, all we have to do, is, *to compare it with the Evidence of Dr. Heberden*.——I should now enter upon the subject of *individual* or *collective* responsibility; but as my space is so narrow, and as I see, that the subject will demand room, I must defer it till my next.

MR. FINNERTY.——This gentleman was, on Thursday, the 31st of January, brought up to receive judgment, in the Court of King's Bench, for a libel against CASTLEREAGH. He produced *affidavits*, respecting the conduct of his prosecutor, some of which he was, it appears, allowed to read, and some not.——He was sent to the King's Bench Prison till next Thursday, when he is to be brought up again. ——I have inserted the proceedings in another part of this Number, from the TIMES newspaper, to which I beg to refer the reader.—— The subject is one of the greatest consequence; it is worthy of all the attention that the public can bestow upon it; and, I am convinced, that in this way it will be viewed by every man in the kingdom, who has left in him one single spark of a love of justice or humanity.

WM. COBBETT.

State Prison, Newgate, Friday,
February 1, 1811.

Protest.—*Against the Rejection of Lord King's Motion for omitting the name of "John Lord Eldon," as one of her Majesty's Council.*

Dissentient,—First, Because it is of the highest importance, that in the appointment of her Majesty's Council, the public should have every security, which previous conduct can afford, that the persons composing the same will not act under any undue bias, but that whilst they follow the course prescribed to them by their duty for restoring his Majesty to the public exercise of his Royal Functions, whenever he shall be in a capacity to resume them, they will neither expose his Majesty to the danger of a too early pressure of business, nor concur in representing his Majesty as qualified to act in his high office, before his recovery shall be complete.—Secondly, Because it appears by the evidence of Dr. Heberden, taken on oath before a Committee of this House, "that he was first called upon to attend his Majesty, on the 12th of February 1804; that he believed his Majesty presided at Council on the 23d of April following; and that he should consider the interval between those periods as constituting the duration of his Majesty's disease at that time." Yet, nevertheless it appears from the Journals of this House that between the two days above-mentioned, John Lord Eldon, being then Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain, did, on the 5th of March, 1804, receive, and in his Majesty's name signify his Majesty's consent to a Bill, intituled, "An Act to enable his Majesty to grant the inheritance in fee-simple of certain manors, messuages, lands, and hereditaments, in the parishes of Byfleet, Weybridge, Wallin, Wallinleigh, and Chertsey, in the county of Surrey, to his Royal Highness Frederick Duke of York and Albany, for a valuable consideration;" and that he did also put the Great Seal to a Commission dated 9th March, by virtue of which 15 Bills received the Royal Assent; as well as to a Commission dated March 23d, under which 17 other Bills received the Royal Assent; although his Majesty was, at that time, as appears by the evidence above recited, afflicted by a malady of the same nature and character with that which has now occasioned a suspension of the Regal functions.—Thirdly, Because it further appears from the same evidence, "that after the period when his Majesty was so far recovered as to be able to transact business at any period of any day, he still retained such marks of indisposition about him as made it expedient that some one of his Physicians should be about his person for some months afterwards; and that Dr. Heberden was in attendance on his Majesty so late as the end of October;" and it was stated in debate, and not denied, that, during this latter period, and particularly on the 10th of June, 1804, when it was understood and believed both by this House and the public, that his Majesty was perfectly recovered, his Majesty not only continued in a state which required medical guidance, but that both Dr. Simmons and his assistants still were in attendance on, and possessed a controul over his Majesty; yet, that nevertheless, while his Majesty was still subject to such personal controul, the said John Lord Eldon, as Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain, did receive his Majesty's pleasure on divers important matters of his Majesty's Regal Government, and did, in virtue of his said office, perform various public acts requiring the sanction of the King's authority.—4thly, Because John Lord Eldon, having so conducted himself, is not, in our own judgment, a person to whom the sacred trust of acting as one of her Majesty's Council in the care of his Majesty's person, and in the discharge of the other most important duties, by this Act committed to the said Council, can with propriety or safety be committed.—Grey, Lauderdale, Vassal Holland, Erskine, Rosslyn, Derby, Ashburton, Ponsonby, Ponsonby, (of Imokilly.)

KING'S ILLNESS.

Evidence of Drs. Willis *and* Heberden, *as given in the Lords' Committee, appointed to examine the Physicians, who have attended his Majesty during his illness, touching the state of his Majesty's health. December 18th,* 1810.

Die Martis, 18 *Decembris* 1810.

Dr. Robert Darling Willis *called in and examined.*

YOU are desired to acquaint this Committee, whether the state of his Majesty's health is such as to render him incapable of coming in person to his Parliament, or of attending to any kind of public business?—His Majesty is incapable of coming to parliament, or of attending to any public business.

What are the hopes you entertain of his Majesty's recovery?—I entertain confident hopes of his Majesty's recovery; the protraction that has hitherto taken place, though it lessens considerably the expectation that the recovery will take place in a very short time, is not sufficient to diminish my confidence that his Majesty will ultimately recover.

Do you found the opinion given in your answer to the former question, upon the particular symptoms of his Majesty's disorder, or upon general experience in other cases of the same nature, or upon both?—I form my opinion upon both, upon my general experience in cases of mental disease, and upon the particular symptoms of his Majesty's complaint.

Whether in that particular species of the disorder his Majesty has been afflicted with, it has been found from experience that the greater number of persons so affected have been cured?—Confining myself strictly in my answer to that particular class of the disease under which his Majesty now labours, I should say that a very large proportion recover.

Can you form any judgment or probable conjecture of the duration of his Majesty's illness?—No, I cannot.

Whether so far as experience enables you to judge of his Majesty's disorder, you think it more probable his Majesty will or will not recover, so as to render him capable of attending to public business?—I presume that my answer to a former question is an answer to that. I consider recovery as including a full capability of transacting all business.

Whether you can state to this Committee any particular cause to which you ascribe his Majesty's present indisposition?—I presume the extreme distress for the illness of the Princess Amelia.

Whether any change has taken place in his Majesty's indisposition since your last examination before the Privy Council?—I can hardly state that any material alteration has taken place. It is extremely difficult in cases of this description to measure accurately the degrees of amendment.

Has Dr. Willis attended his Majesty in the former attacks of this disorder?—I attended his Majesty in the year 1801.

In case of a cessation of the disorder, would great interruptions, or such as would probably arise in the exercise of his high station, be likely to produce a return of the disorder?—I have no reason to think that it would, provided the recovery is complete. Relapses have not been produced after former illnesses in his Majesty's complaints.

When Dr. Willis agrees with the other physicians, who have been examined, in assigning the immediate occasion of his Majesty's present illness, does he mean to assign it as the primitive cause of the complaint, or only as having brought into action a disease to which his Majesty had been before subject?—Certainly as bringing into action a disease to which his Majesty has been before subject.

When Dr. Willis expresses this confident expectation of his Majesty's recovery, does he mean his final recovery, without the probability of a recurrence of the same indisposition?—Certainly not.

Should his Majesty recover, so as to fulfil all the expectation, which Dr. Willis means to express, is it in his opinion more or less probable that his Majesty would be subject to similar indispositions?—His Majesty having already laboured under four attacks, it is more probable he will continue liable to repeated attacks.

His Majesty's illness having been immediately preceded by and constantly accompanied with fever, arising from extraordinary susceptibility and nervous irritation, is not such a complaint more likely to be re-produced from external circumstances and causes, than any other indisposition of the same class?—It is, perhaps, a medical question of very little moment, whether his Majesty's complaint is attended with fever or not; in my opinion there is no fever present, the whole depending upon an extreme nervous irritability; but I am not aware that his Majesty will be more subject to relapse on that account, than he would be if it arose from any cause in the constitution itself; it appears always to require some external cause to excite it.

Whether, when the complaint is accompanied with that extreme nervous irritability described by Dr. Willis, it is not more subject to be acted upon and increased by external circumstances and causes, than a similar complaint not so accompanied?—I was not aware of any similar complaint that can take place without being accompanied with a similar nervous irritability.

How many relapses have taken place in his Majesty's present disorder since his Majesty was taken ill in October last?—There have been two relapses.

State the periods of those relapses ?—The 15th Nov. and the 5th Dec. were the periods at which a considerable degree of increase of the symptoms took place, which have been denominated relapses.

Dr. Willis has stated that his Majesty's disorder arose from extreme distress for the illness of the princess Amelia, the Committee wish to know if Dr. Willis considers these relapses to have arisen in the ordinary course of the disorder, or whether any extraneous causes have contributed to occasion those relapses ?—In that extreme state of nervous irritability very trifling causes are sufficient to produce an occasional increase of symptoms till the recovery has advanced beyond a certain period ; it may be difficult to say, therefore, whether this increase of symptoms may have arisen in the ordinary course of the disorder, or from trifling circumstances which may have produced them

Did not the first relapse occur about the period of the princess Amelia's funeral ?—On the following day, or the day after that.

When Dr. Willis speaks of relapses, does he mean relapses after a cessation of the disorder, or after a remission of the disorder ?—Certainly after a remission, his Majesty's disorder has never ceased.

Were there not exacerbations of his Majesty's disorder on the 15th November and the 5th December ?—Certainly, on the evening of both those days.

Does Dr. Willis consider the exacerbations which took place on each of those days to have been relapses properly so called, or such paroxysms as commonly occur in a disorder of this description ?—I consider them merely as paroxysms which belong to the disorder itself.

Are, or are not the remissions of his Majesty's disorder impeded, and the paroxysms renewed or increased, by his consideration of, and reflection upon his own case, under all its circumstances ?—I am not aware of any particular effect that has taken place from such considerations.

Whether in the course of Dr. Willis's experience in disorders of this kind, he has had occasion to observe that the age of the patient is a consideration of weight in forming expectations of recovery ?—Where the traces of age can be discovered in the symptoms of the disorder, it is certainly a matter of great consideration ; but in his Majesty's situation I have not discovered any traces of age in the symptoms ; I therefore infer that his Majesty's age is not a matter of moment.

On a comparison of the symptoms of his Majesty's present disorder with those of his disorder in the year 1801, is Dr. Willis of opinion that the paroxysms of the present case are more or less severe either in degree or duration than those of the former ?—The paroxysms in this disorder have been more frequent but not more severe than in 1801, nor of longer duration.

Have the remissions in the present disorder been of longer or shorter duration than those of the disorder of 1801 ?—Hitherto they have been shorter.

Whether the remissions have been more or less complete in his Majesty's present disorder than in 1801 ?—I think less complete.

Whether the disorder, under which his Majesty now labours, is of the same class as that in 1801 ?—It is of the same class.

Whether from the facts which Dr. Willis has collected from the physicians, and other medical attendants on his Majesty, he deems this disorder to be of the same class as his Majesty's other attacks, in which Dr. Willis did not attend his Majesty ?—I believe all his Majesty's attacks have ben similar.

How far in these disorders the experience of former attacks in the case of the same patient affords an indication of the probable time of the cure, supposing that a cure shall be ultimately effected ?—It becomes probable where the symptoms of one attack resemble the symptoms of a preceding one, that the progress to amendment, will be similar also.

Whether the progress toward recovery has hitherto been the same in this, as in former attacks ?—It has rather been more prolonged than in 1801, but it is further advanced than in the first attack in 1788 : I cannot speak as to the attack in 1804.

Whether the difference is such as to afford Dr. Willis any ground for judging that this recovery will or will not be delayed longer than in the former attacks ?—The difference is not sufficient to enable me to form any judgment on the subject.

Whether referring to his answer given to a former question, Dr. Willis can state what degree of protraction in recovery would be sufficient to diminish his expectation of ultimate recovery ?—My opinion would be rather guided by the symptoms which should attend that protraction than the protraction itself.

When the approaches towards recovery are more likely to manifest themselves by

a gradual diminution of the paroxysms, and increase of the remissions, or by a sudden and total cessation of the complaint?—Probably by the gradual diminution of the paroxysms, and the lengthening of the remissions.

At what time did Dr. Willis first see his Majesty in this disorder?—On the 6th November.

Was that in a period of paroxysm or of remission?—In a period of complete delirium, under the first paroxysm that had taken place.

Was that paroxysm severe?—Extremely severe; his Majesty's life was in great peril.

Have the two succeeding paroxysms been less severe?—Considerably less.

How far in the instances with which Dr. Willis is acquainted of persons suffering under repeated attacks of this disorder, the frequency of such attacks has increased or diminished, as the patient has advanced in age?—I cannot answer as to the frequency.

How far has the violence of the attacks increased or diminished under the circumstance stated in the former question?—The violence has increased.

Is it, in Dr. Willis's opinion, a circumstance favourable, or otherwise, to the probability of his Majesty's recovery, that there should have been such an assignable cause for his Majesty's disorder, as that which he has stated?—It is certainly a very favourable circumstance.

In such a disorder as that with which his Majesty is affected, are there not usually certain gradations or stages tending to a hopeless state on the one hand, and to a recovery on the other?—Certainly.

Is the stage at which his Majesty's disorder has arrived, one that warrants the expectation of progressive amendment?—It certainly warrants the expectation of progressive amendment, because it is the stage through which each of his Majesty's disorders has passed.

According to the usual gradations of disorders of this description, is it or is it not the opinion of Dr. Willis that the next material advance towards recovery would be a state of convalescence, or a state nearly approaching to it?—Probably a state nearly approaching to convalescence.

Upon comparing the present stage of his Majesty's illness with its corresponding stage in 1801, does Dr. Willis, or does he not, entertain an equally favourable expectation of his Majesty's recovery?—Comparing the two stages together, I have no reason to have a less favourable opinion than I had in 1801.

Upon making the same comparison, does Dr. Willis entertain an expectation of his Majesty's recovery from his present illness, within the same period of time as in 1801?—Perhaps not exactly. The present stage is more remote from the commencement than the similar stage which took place in 1801.

After what period of time, supposing no material abatement of his Majesty's disorder shall have taken place, would Dr. Willis cease to entertain confident hopes of his Majesty's recovery?—I must still think that my opinion would be more guided by the symptoms that were then present than by the period of time.

Dr. Willis is desired to answer the question, supposing the symptoms continued nearly as at present?—I should certainly begin to have a very unfavourable opinion of his Majesty's recovery, if the usual period at which recovery has taken place in the former attacks had passed by.

What do you conceive to have been the usual period, dating from the commencement of the complaint?—The periods have differed: in 1788-9 it was nearly six months; the other periods were shorter; I have spoken of the longest.

To what class of disorder is his Majesty's present indisposition referable?—According to an arrangement in my own mind, I should consider it as a derangement of mind closely allied to delirium, and occasionally falling into it.

Does the species of disorder, which Dr. Willis has just described, differ from what is usually termed insanity?—There is a wide difference betwixt them.

Will you describe generally in what that difference consists?—It consists principally in the different state of the mind, and the different state of the constitution also. In delirium the mind is actively occupied upon past impressions, without any reference to present objects. A person under delirium resembles one talking in his sleep; he is totally insensible to all surrounding objects. The bodily health is at the same time considerably affected; great restlessness and want of sleep. In insanity the mind is acting upon some assumed idea, to the truth of which it will pertinaciously adhere, contrary to the strongest evidence of its falsity. The individual is aware to all surrounding ob-

jects, the general health may be little or not at all impaired. Taking these two points, as extreme points, derangement will lie somewhere betwixt them, partaking more or less of one or the other. The derangement, which is the object of this inquiry, I consider partaking of delirium, but never partaking of insanity.

From which of the different species of mental disorder that Dr. Willis has described is recovery most probable?—From that species of derangement which partakes most of delirium, provided the patient survives the bodily disease.

Dr. Willis having made this division in his own mind, the Committee wish to understand, whether he considers that these three species all differ from each other in kind or in degree?—The three are perfectly distinct in themselves; they may occasionally run one into the other. Derangement, for example, may become complete delirium. Delirium may pass through derangement in its progress to recovery, though not necessarily.

According to this distribution of the subject, by what term does Dr. Willis describe that general class of disorder of which these are species?—I never have sufficiently considered this subject with a view to classification, and am not prepared to give a decisive answer to the question.

Do not all these three species fall under the general and popular designation of insanity?—I believe in the general acceptation of the term, delirium would be exempt. Perhaps the other may not have been sufficiently distinguished.

Could Dr. Willis give any precise definition of delirium?—Your lordships will see the extreme difficulty of giving a definition unpremeditated. I cannot venture to do it.

Is there any distinction between delirium generally, dependent upon fever, when it has arisen to a great height, and delirium not dependent upon such a degree of fever?—As far as the symptoms can be perceived they are precisely the same.

Having due regard to all the circumstances to which your attention has been called in the course of this day's examination, and especially to all such circumstances (as far as you are acquainted with them) which relate to his Majesty's time of life, and the state of his bodily health, his present and former disorders, which have been mentioned in this examination, the nature and number of those disorders, the symptoms, paroxysms, and remissions which have occurred in the course of them respectively, and the comparative progress made in them respectively towards recovery; you are desired to state, whether a due regard to any or all of such circumstances does or does not diminish the confidence, which you expressed in the beginning of your examination, that his Majesty will ultimately recover with a full capability of transacting all business?—My confidence that his Majesty will ultimately recover so as to transact all public business is not diminished; but this opinion must be subject to the uncertainty which attends all medical prognostics.

Dr. William Heberden
called in and examined.

You are desired to acquaint this Committee, whether the state of his Majesty's health is such as to render him incapable of coming in person to his parliament, or of attending to any kind of public business?—I think his Majesty's present state renders him incapable of coming in person to his parliament, or of attending to public business.

What are the hopes you entertain of his Majesty's recovery?—I entertain the greatest expectation of his Majesty's recovery.

Do you found the opinion given in your answer to the former question, upon the particular symptoms of his Majesty's disorder, or upon general experience in other cases of the same nature, or upon both?—I found my opinion upon the progress his Majesty has already made towards recovery, upon the present unimpaired state of his Majesty's faculties, and upon the experience afforded by his Majesty's previous attacks of a similar kind.

Whether in that particular species of the disorder his Majesty has been afflicted with, it has been found from experience that the greater number of persons so affected have been cured?—I believe they have.

Can you form any judgment or probable conjecture of the duration of his Majesty's illness?—I can form no judgment with regard to any precise period for the termination of his Majesty's indisposition. The experience of his former attacks affords a presumption that the period may not be very distant.

Whether, as far as experience enables

you to judge of his Majesty's disorder, you think it more probable his Majesty will or will not recover, so as to render him capable of attending to public business?—I think it in the highest degree probable that his Majesty will recover, and be full as capable of attending to public business as he was before his present attack.

Whether you can state to this Committee any particular cause to which you ascribe his Majesty's present indisposition? —I have no hesitation in attributing his Majesty's present malady to his anxiety on account of the late princess Amelia.

Whether any change has taken place in his Majesty's indisposition since your last examination before the privy council? —Since I was examined before the privy council, his Majesty has been worse for a few days, and has subsequently to that been again better. I consider his present state not at all worse than it was at that time.

Did Dr. Heberden attend his Majesty on the occasion of any of his former disorders?—Yes.

Are the symptoms of his Majesty's present disorder of a similar nature with those of his former disorders?—They are of a similar nature to his illness in 1804, on which occasion only I had the honour of attending his Majesty.

Are the paroxysms of his Majesty's present disorder more or less severe, either in degree or duration, than those of his disorder in 1804?—The accessions and remissions in his Majesty's present disorder have been more separate from each other than they appeared to be in his former disorder in 1804, but I am not aware that the violence of the symptoms during the accessions has been greater in this than in his former illness.

When did Dr. Heberden first attend his Majesty in this disorder?—On the 27th of October last.

What do you consider as the date of the first paroxysm of disorder?—The 25th October.

How long did that paroxysm continue? —Fifteen days.

Was it more or less severe than the succeeding paroxysms?—It was more severe.

Did you consider the symptoms of that paroxysm as being severe? They appeared so severe as to give his Majesty's physicians apprehension for his life.

Did you describe them to any persons as being peculiarly mild?—Certainly not.

Was the first remission more or less complete than the succeeding remissions have been?—It was not less complete, nor can I certainly say that it was more complete.

Has the duration of the successive paroxysms and remissions increased or diminished since the commencement of the disorder?—The duration of the paroxysms has become less; the duration of the remissions has become greater.

Has this progress been uniform since the beginning?—I stated in a former answer to the Committee, that the first paroxysm continued 15 days; the subsequent remission continued only five days; the second paroxysm continued ten days; the second remission continued ten days; the third paroxysm continued five days; the third remission still continues, I consider the present remission to bear date from the night of December 10th.

How far in these disorders the experience of former attacks, in the case of the same patient, affords an indication of the probable time of the cure, supposing that a cure shall ultimately be effected?—It must depend upon the frequency of the repetition, and upon the accuracy of their correspondence with each other. In the present case it is very far from being a sure ground of judgment, but it appears to me to be the best we have.

Dr. Heberden has stated that he considers the first paroxysm to have commenced on the 25th of October, and to have lasted to the 9th of November; the Committee wish to ask Dr. Heberden, whether this paroxysm, during which his Majesty's life was supposed to be in danger, was not of very different degrees of violence at different periods of its duration?—Certainly. At its commencement it gave his Majesty's physicians reason to hope, that it never might arrive at so formidable a height as we afterwards witnessed.

Does Dr. Heberden recollect on what day the violence of this paroxysm began?—Its violence can hardly be dated from any distinct period. On the 8th of November it seemed to have attained its utmost height.

Has Dr. Heberden any recollection, that it was communicated to any persons resorting to Windsor on the 29th October or 1st November, that his Majesty's life was in danger?—I apprehend there could have been no such communication made, because at that time, there was nothing to justify such an opinion.

Does or does not Dr. Heberden recollect that the representation made to persons resorting to Windsor on the 29th October, and 1st November, was, that the disorder was of a milder character, though they could not state to what extent it might go?—At that time I was the only one of his Majesty's physicians present who had seen him under a similar disorder before, and his present attack did appear to me then to be less violent than what I had witnessed in the year 1804. Added to which, his Majesty's increased age, and his defect of sight, we thought might be favourable in keeping the disorder altogether of a milder character. This opinion was stated to his Majesty's ministers when they resorted to Windsor.

Did Dr. Heberden state to any persons during any part of the first paroxysm of his Majesty's disorder, that its symptoms were peculiarly mild?—At the first commencement of his Majesty's present disorder, the symptoms appeared milder than in the year 1804, and this opinion I did communicate.

Whether Dr. Heberden does or does not recollect when two other physicians were called in, that they repeatedly stated that the symptoms of his Majesty's disorder were of a milder character?—I cannot distinctly state that they did make such communication; but in the very early part of the present illness we have all hoped that it might not arrive at that degree which had been experienced in his Majesty's former attacks of the same kind, and which has since been observed in his present illness.

Has Dr. Heberden at any time during the continuance of his Majesty's first paroxysm, heard any of his Majesty's physicians state to any person that the then existing symptoms of the disorder were peculiarly mild?—The mildness of the symptoms in his Majesty's present disorder was always considered with reference to his Majesty's former attacks, and it was in comparison with them only that the symptoms were at first considered to be mild, and no communication expressive of an opinion beyond this, was, as far as I am aware, made at any time.

The Committee would be glad to know distinctly whether Dr. Heberden ever heard the phrase stated in the preceding question, used by any of the physicians?—I do not recollect ever to have heard it used.

Have the remissions which Dr. Heberden has observed in his Majesty's present disorder been more or less complete than those which he had occasion to observe in his attendance on his Majesty in 1804?—The remissions in his Majesty's present disorder have appeared to be of longer continuance, but at no time so complete as they had been in his former illness, at an equal distance of time from its commencement.

Will Dr. Heberden state to the Committee what was the whole duration of his Majesty's illness in 1804?—I was first called upon to attend his Majesty on the 12th of February 1804; and I believe his Majesty presided at Council on the 23rd of April following; I should consider the interval between those periods as constituting the duration of his disease at that time.

At what time did Dr. Heberden's attendance on his Majesty cease?—After the period when his Majesty was so far recovered as to be able to transact business at any period of any day: he still retained such marks of indisposition about him, as made it expedient that some one of his physicians should be about his person for some months afterwards. In this situation I was in attendance upon his Majesty so late as to the end of October.

Between the 12th of February and the 23rd of April did not the appearances of disorder continue more or less?—I believe that for some days previous to the 23rd of April they had so far ceased as to make his Majesty's physicians conceive him competent to exercise all the usual functions of his high office.

19th December 1810.

DR. WILLIAM HEBERDEN.

Again called in and examined.

Whether, having due regard to all the circumstances to which your attention has been called during your present examination, you entertain the same hopes of his Majesty's ultimate recovery as you did before your examination?—I do entertain the same hopes as I did at the beginning of my examination.

MR. FINNERTY.

Court of King's Bench, 31 Jan. 1811.—Report of the Proceedings in the Case of Mr. Finnerty.

Mr. Bevan prayed the judgment of the Court against the defendant, who had suffered it to go against him by default.—

The indictment, which was read by the proper officer, was for a libel on the Right Honourable Robert Stewart, commonly called Lord Castlereagh, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, which appeared in the Morning Chronicle of the last year. The indictment set out the whole of a long letter to the Editor of that paper, signed by the defendant, in which the libel was contained. It appeared, that the defendant had accompanied the expedition to Walcheren for the purpose of writing a narrative of its proceedings, when a general order was issued to Lord Chatham and Sir Richard Strachan, to enquire of all the vessels which composed the expedition, whether a gentleman of the name of Finnerty was on board, and if he was found so, to convey him to his Lordship or Sir Richard, with a view to his being sent home. The defendant was accordingly conveyed to Sir Richard Strachan, by whom he acknowledged himself to have been treated with the greatest kindness, and was sent home, as speedily as was practicable, on board a revenue cutter. The letter in the Morning Chronicle, charged as the present libel, consisted of a narrative at length of these facts, and an attribution of the whole measure to Lord Castlereagh, who must have been actuated in the business, the letter observed, either from a desire to suppress the truths which the defendant's intended History of the Expedition would have contained, or from a desire to blacken the defendant's character by so obnoxious a piece of persecution. The indictment charged the defendant with insinuating, that this measure was only one instance of a course of oppression, which the defendant had received from the personal malice of Lord Castlereagh, and that his Lordship had been guilty of great villainy of and concerning the administration of Ireland.—Mr. FINNERTY wished to ask Lord Ellenborough one question.—Lord ELLENBOROUGH.—"Have you no Counsel?"—Mr. FINNERTY.—"I have retained no Counsel; but I wish to ask, if Mr. Clifford should address himself for me towards the technical part of my case, whether I shall thereby be precluded from addressing the Court myself in mitigation of punishment?"—Lord ELLENBOROUGH. "Yes, you will: the rules of the Court are, that a defendant may either speak by his counsel or by himself, not by both."—Mr. FINNERTY.—"Then, my lord, I have no counsel, and must manage the case as well as I am able."—Mr. GARROW had no affidavit to produce on the part of the Crown:—But Mr. FINNERTY put in a very long affidavit, in which he stated that the Court having, in an application by him to postpone the trial of his cause on account of the absence of material witnesses thrown out their opinion as to the calumnious nature of the libel, he had thought it most respectful to the Court to suffer judgment to go against him by default reserving to himself the testimony of such of his witnesses whose regard to justice would induce them to make affidavits for him, and the present opportunity of justifying the whole imputed libel, which he did most unequivocally. The affidavit proceeded to state, that he had, at the same time when he wrote the letter, no intention to libel any body; and that he had, before its publication, consulted an eminent barrister as to the libellous tendency of it, who was of opinion that it was not libellous; that the defendant was no conspirator in Ireland; that he was invited to accompany the expedition by Sir Home Popham, for the sole purpose of narrating the proceedings of the expedition; and the affidavit quoted a letter from Sir Home to that effect:—the deponent solemnly declared he had no other view in accompanying the expedition; that he rejected the proposal of Lord Chatham and Sir Richard Strachan to publish nothing but what had undergone their revision; that he had incurred considerable expences in his voyage; and that the prejudices which had been excited against him by the order for his quitting the expedition, had deprived him of 500*l.* which he calculated he should have gained by his intended publication; that he had intended to bring an action against Lord Castlereagh for a libel, but was advised against it by his Counsel; that he did not accompany the expedition clandestinely; that the main object of Lord Castlereagh was to harrass the deponent; and that a noble Lord nearly connected with Lord Castlereagh, had been heard to declare in a public coffee-room, "I wish some man would shoot that fellow (meaning the deponent) out of the way." The affidavit was then proceeding to enter into the circumstances of the trial of Mr. Orr in Ireland for administering a seditious oath, in which trial, the letter in the Morning Chronicle stated the verdict of guilty to have been obtained from the Jury by promises, by threats, and by in-

toxicating them with liquor; and was about to quote two affidavits made by as many of the jurors to this effect, when the Court objected to their perusal, as irrelevant.—Mr. FINNERTY observed that it was stated as a fact in the imputed libel, that these affidavits were made; and he thought proper to verify that statement. The affidavits were not long.—Lord ELLENBOROUGH consented to hear them, long or short.—The defendant's affidavit travelling still farther from the record, however as it proceeded,—Lord ELLENBOROUGH at last objected to trying the Government of Ireland, under pretence of passing sentence upon the defendant, and refused to hear any more affidavits quoted upon the subject of Lord Castlereagh's conduct in Ireland.—Mr. FINNERTY said, that such a liberty had been granted in the case of Governor Picton; the Government of Trinidad was fully investigated upon the trial of that man for torture; the defendant's (Mr. Finnerty's) crime was merely that of reprobating a man who patronized torture. The letter in the Morning Chronicle made a general charge of cruelty against Lord Castlereagh; and the defendant was now proving particular instances of it. —Lord ELLENBOROUGH. "And so we are to go through the whole life of my Lord Castlereagh."—Mr. FINNERTY said, that he had taken particular pains to square his conduct by the proceedings on the case of Governor Picton to which he alluded; where the defendant having suffered judgment to go by default, had proceeded in his justification.—Lord ELLENBOROUGH.—"Mitigation."—Mr. FINNERTY.—"In his mitigation, by producing the affidavit of Colonel Draper, which went to rebut Colonel Fullarton's charges by a recrimination of forgery."—Mr. Justice BAILEY.—"Upon a general charge, you cannot go into particulars."—Mr. FINNERTY was about to reply, when Lord ELLENBOROUGH observed, that the Court *would not be replied upon.* Counsel at the bar would not reply to the decision of the Court; and though greater indulgence was allowed to defendants who appeared personally, there must be a limit even to that.—Mr. GARROW now felt himself called upon to interfere. He regretted the absence from indisposition of the Attorney General, who would have conducted this prosecution so much more ably; and he had been desired by that Advocate to give the defendant every reasonable liberty.—Mr. GARROW thought, however, that the Court were placed in a situation from which one day or another the public justice might suffer. The defendant disclaimed Counsel, and therefore every allowance was made to him; but if such an affidavit as the present had been put in by any Gentleman at the bar, the Learned Counsel did not hesitate to say, that it would not have been suffered to remain on the files of the Court. Was the defendant, then, upon the ground of appearing without Counsel, to accumulate libel not only upon the prosecutor, but upon every person whom his fancy might suggest to him? This mischief, their Lordships would observe, was not cured by merely desiring the officer to pass by the improper passages of the affidavit—the whole affidavit was on the file; and it was thus in the power of the defendant, or of any body else, to give the whole as a document upon the Record of the King's Bench Court. Thus it might be published with impunity. The defendant's affidavit was a more aggravated injury than that of which Lord Castlereagh complained.—Mr. FINNERTY complained of the Learned Counsel's want of liberality and truth, in imputing to him a wish to propagate new libels. As for that contained in the paper, there was not a line in it which was not true, and which he was not prepared to prove. He had received injuries from Lord Castlereagh, which would have goaded any other man into madness, or sunk him into the grave.—Lord ELLENBOROUGH.—"The object of your Affidavit is to shew the irritation under which you were when you wrote this letter: now, this Affidavit goes very far beyond this; and you had better prepare another, and a more temperate one."—Mr. FINNERTY asked, how he could avoid the statement of all the facts which appeared in his Affidavit?—Lord ELLENBOROUGH.—"It is not for the Court to advise parties. There is excellent advice to be obtained at the bar, notwithstanding you have been advised by one eminent Barrister that this paper is no libel. Prepare a new Affidavit, and do be upon your guard. The Court have no pleasure in sending you back: it is for your own good. When shall you be ready?"—Mr. FINNERTY thanked the Court for their suggestion, which he would adopt, and hoped to be ready with a new Affidavit by Monday or Tuesday next.—Lord ELLENBOROUGH.—"Draw an Affidavit, that, instead of doing you harm, shall do you good. The Court don't want to have you hurt."—The defendant was remanded till Thursday next.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

PORTUGAL.—*Extract of an Official Communication from his Excellency Lord Wellington, addressed to his Excellency D. Miguel Periera Forjaz.—Head-quarters, Cartaxo, Jan. 5, 1811.*

The enemy's reinforcements destined for his army in this country, and which, as I informed your Excellency by my preceding dispatch of the 29th of last month, were then on their march through the Valley of Mondego, reached the River Alva, and the position of Marcella, on the 24th of the said month, they crossed that river the following day on one of its fordable parts, and continued their march to form a junction with the army. Colonel Wilson has fallen back to Espinhal, and crossed the River Mondego, as soon as he heard that the said troops were approaching, lest he should be involved in an unequal contest, being at the same time attacked front and rear. He recrossed that river, however, and harrassed and pursued the rear of the enemy's troops during their march of the 25th and 26th, from Alva to Espinhal, took some prisoners and cut off some of the enemy's small detachments, which fell into the hands of the militia. He learned from the prisoners he took that the enemy's force consisted of 11 battalions belonging to the 9th corps of his army, and which turns out to be the same that assembled in Nantes in the course of last summer.—The division which march to Pinhel, and whose advanced guard had reached Francozo, when I addressed to your Excellency my last communication, still remained in Pinhel at the time when I heard last from gen. Silveira, whose head-quarters were then in Torrinha. This division is either the second of the 9th corps, or the division of troops which marched to Cardiges, and returned from thence in the month of November, under the orders of gen. Gardanne. No other alteration has taken place in the position occupied by the enemy's army since the date of my last letter to your excellency. The detachment which marched to Castello Branco, immediately came back from that place, and was sent thither either to escort a courier, or to procure information.

SPAIN AND FRANCE.—*State of the French Armies in Spain; and Account of their proceedings.—Paris, 10 Jan. 1811.* *(Continued from p. 256.)*

IV.

ARMY OF CATALONIA.—On the 11th December, General Baraguay d'Hilliers detached from Gerona, under the orders of General Clement, a column of 1,200 men, to advance upon Olot, by way of Feliu de Pallerols. Adjutant Commandant Vigier moved forward with an equal number upon St. Laurent de la Muga and Massanet. The insurgents were routed and expelled from Olot.—On the 14th December, different columns were sent into the mountains to disperse the bands, and apprehend their chiefs.—On the 13th, two ships of the line, a frigate, and about four or five more English vessels, appeared off Palamos, and landed 900 Englishmen with four field-pieces, to the westward of the port. In the mean time, a frigate, a corvette, and a brig, made for the other side, and landed 200 men, in order to take possession of the port. These 1,100 English thought themselves sure of success; but the Chief of Battalion Emyon, of the third corps, who had posted his battalion on the heights, seized the favourable moment to fall upon the enemy, broke their line, drove them back upon the old walls of the town, entered the place pell-mell with them, and pursued them to their very boats. Of the 1,100 English that disembarked, 800 were killed or taken; and it is not quite certain that so many as 300 escaped. The next day the waves threw on shore a number of English dead bodies. Five Officers, including Captain James, belonging to one of the frigates, several midshipmen, and 150 soldiers, have been marched prisoners for Perpignan. We had 8 men killed, and 15 wounded. The Chief of Battalion Emyon has extremely distinguished himself in this petty combat, in which he displayed equal prudence and valour.—The English vessels no sooner learnt the disastrous issue of their expedition, than they set sail and disappeared. It were to be wished that the English naval forces, who, upon this occasion thought proper to quit their vessels and fight on land, were frequently seized with such fits of folly.

(To be continued.)

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

THE REGENCY.——This subject is now drawing towards a close; but, like most other pieces of the kind, it grows more and more interesting, or, at least, more and more curious. The *people*, in general, appear to be resolved to be merely *spectators;* but, at any rate, let us hope, that they will well observe, and *bear in mind* what passes. The scenes now exhibiting are wholly without an equal. They have the decided merit of originality; though, it must be confessed, that they are not calculated to excite surprise in the reflecting mind, seeing that they are the natural produce of the *system* that has existed for the last 26 years.——I shall, in this article, begin again with some observations upon the writings of the venal man of the COURIER, who, in the passage that I am about to quote, has actually verified the soundness of the opinion expressed by me, in my Register of Wednesday last, at page 229, respecting *praises* of the King, brought forward *in support of an argument* against his son, and, indeed, against the rights and liberties of the people.——I there observed, that it was base in the extreme, and that it was always so, to introduce, in the way of argument, praises of those *whom no man dared attack;* and, on the praises of whom no man *dared put a negative.*——And what *answer* does the venal man give to this? How does he attempt to refute me?——You shall hear: ——"RESTRICTIONS ON CALUMNY.—The "*Weekly Register*, of Wednesday, contains "a passage *plainly avowing* how much *it* "*would contradict all the praises of the King,* "*and hold him up to execration upon a review* "*of his conduct, if it dared, if it was not re-* "*strained by the fear of the law.* This pas- "sage is written too no doubt by the "Editor of the Weekly Register, who two "years ago publicly and personally at a "County Meeting at Winchester, praised "the King to the skies on account of his "amiable qualities, whether viewed as a "man or as a king. Most honest and "consistent Editor of the Weekly Regis- "ter!"——Now, what an *answer* is this! Thus, you see, that I was either to *admit* his argument, founded on praises of the King; I was to admit it, expressly or tacitly; or, I was to be charged with a *wish* to hold the King up to public execration; and that I was only restrained from so doing by a dread of the law. This is the way, in which this venal man *answers* an argument. His language, and that of the whole of the hypocritical tribe, to which he belongs, is, in fact, this: "We "rest our conclusions upon the assertion "of the virtues of the King; we say, that "this or that ought to be done, or not to "be done, because the King has such and "such virtues; if you *contradict* us, you "are *calumniators of the King;* and, if you "*refuse to assent* to our assertions upon "which our conclusions are grounded by "*waving the discussion,* you prove, that "you would hold the King up to *public* "*execration* if you *dared.*" This is, in fact, their language; so that there is no escaping them. They have their net so set for you, that to escape it is absolutely impossible. You must either yield to their argument; you must admit their conclusions; or, according to them, you are, either in act or wish, *a calumniator of the King.*——As to the words imputed to me, as having been spoken at Winchester, they are by no means a correct representation of what I then said; but, what if they were? How does it shew any *inconsistency* in me? It was not to the *praise* that I objected; but to the *use* that was made of it. I objected to its being brought forward in the way of argument; to its being made a *ground* in a controversy; because, as I said before, no one who was on the other side in the controversy, would, if he could, *dare,* contradict it; and, for this reason, to bring it forward, in such a way, was, I said, extremely base; an opinion, of the correctness of which, if there could have been any doubt, this venal man has now, by his own act completely confirmed.——But, the great objection that I have to the using of the King's name in this way, is, that it is part of a system of making the King *a screen for his ministers.* The doc-

trine of the Constitution is, that the King can do *no wrong;* and, if he is to be *blamed* for nothing, is it not base to put forward assertions as to *his good qualities* in defence of any measures that have been adopted? Is not this, in fact, making *him* responsible, instead of his ministers, as far as it is possible for a public writer to make him responsible? However, this is the course, that the whole of that venal and corrupt and hypocritical crew, who call themselves "King's friends" have pursued for many years past; and in spite of all the exposures of them, this is the course, that they will still pursue. But, the imposture has, daily, less and less success. The powers of cant daily diminish; and, when one considers how *long* the nation has been humbugg'd; when one considers what a regular system of cheatery these venal men have pursued; when one considers what complete masters of their art these our English hypocrites are; when one considers that hypocrisy has been studied and taught by them with as much labour and pain as Newton pursued his discoveries; when one considers how numerous are the teachers and practisers of this art; when one considers all these things, one can hardly expect the cloak to be completely pulled off in a day, however resolute the hand that attempts it. But, imposture has, as I said before, less success than it had. Scarcely a day passes without stripping it of some part of its garments; and, *events, events,* those powerful co-operators of *truth,* are steadily at work to destroy this bane of the country. There are no tricks that will finally keep up the imposture. They will serve for a while; they may *defer* the complete destruction of it; but destroyed it must and will be; and we shall, at no great distance hence, hear thousands of people, who are at this moment the dupes of the venal men, expressing their surprise that they ever could have been so duped, and venting their just resentment against the cheats. They will then be just as much distinguished by their resentments as they now are by their credulity; they will flock round the venal imposture like the dupes in the play, each one heaving his blow.——This is an object of interesting observation with the philosophical mind. The man of sense will not be *disturbed* by the tricks of these venal men and the cullibility of their readers. He will coolly look on, and see the thing *work;* being quite sure, that, in the *end,* truth and justice will prevail, and that he shall see hypocrisy receive its reward. All that such a man has to do, is, to lend a helping hand in the way of exposure, whenever occasion serves, and according to the best of his means; and, without feeling any great degree of *anxiety,* wait the natural effect of time. But, he ought to *miss* no such occasion; miss no occasion of *sowing the seeds* of truth; having done that, he may be *sure* the harvest will come; and, he has only to guard against the indulgence of *impatience.* He must not stop to see the actual effects of one truth, before he inculcates another. He must, like the provident and steady cultivator, prepare for a second sowing the moment the first is in the ground. His calculations of produce ought to embrace *years.* Truths, like trees, are of various *speed* in their progress; and, it not unfrequently happens, that the slower the progress, the more durable and more valuable the result.——I never liked your *despairing* gentry; your gentry that throw up in *disgust;* which, to say nothing else of it, is sure to bring somewhat of ridicule upon those who fall into such a course of proceeding; for, the world wags on without them, and, if they cannot change the world, why, they must still take it as it is.——The way to succeed in *any thing* where success merits praise, is, to *keep steadily on* as long as it is possible; and, if the endeavours, thus made, have *truth* on their side, it is very seldom that they will fail of success. So with respect to the imposture of these venal writers, what has been for years and years growing together is not to be destroyed in a moment. But, dropping, incessant dropping, will wear away the marble; and, if one once makes a fair opening into this hollow, rotten, vile imposture, away it goes into a million pieces. Within the last six months; since I have been in this jail, see what has been done! See what a change! See the many many things, which the people behold in their true light, and with regard to which they were before wholly in the dark, or rather, under the grossest deception. Only reflect for a moment; look for six months and see the progress that *truth* has made; and then despair if you can.——My attention is now called from these venal men and their hypocritical cant by a measure, which has excited more surprise in the public, I find, than it has in me; I mean, *His Royal Highness the Prince having chosen Mr. Perceval* and his colleagues for his ministers.

More than *four* persons; or, four, at least, could now produce letters from me, foretelling, nearly *a month ago*, that such would be the case.——And, says the reader, how did you, shut up in a jail, come to *know* it? Why, a jail only shuts up the *body*. It leaves the mind at liberty; it leaves reason at large; and, reason told me, that in this way the struggle would end.——Upon what grounds my opinion was founded I will by-and-by state; but, we will first hear what has been said of this measure by the prints of the contending parties. This is a most curious affair altogether. It will make a great figure in the history of these times. It behoves us, therefore, to put upon record what the leading advocates of the two parties say upon the subject.——Yesterday (Monday the 4th of February) was the day, when the public were, through the press, to have the matter *broken to them*. Till Saturday the public were full in the expectation of a change of ministry; a total change. After what had passed; after the manner in which the Prince had received the proposition of Mr. Perceval; after his declining to see him; after the Protest of his Brothers; after the speeches of Mr. Sheridan; after the Answer of the Prince to the Deputation from the two Houses; after all this, and especially after the charges of Lord Grey against Lord Eldon, the public could not believe it possible, that the present men would be retained by the Prince. Alas! those who thought thus, knew little of the matter. They did not reflect at all upon the motives of action in such a case. They did not see into the nature of the Prince's situation. They knew that it required only a *word* to dismiss the ministers, and another word to choose others; but, they did not consider any further; they did not take into their consideration the *difficulties* that would attend the pronouncing of these two *words*, or, rather, that would instantly grow out of the pronouncing of them.——Therefore, the news, when it came out, produced universal astonishment.——The MORNING CHRONICLE, which may be regarded as speaking *officially*, the sentiments and uttering the assertions, of the OUT-party, who expected to come in, endeavours to put a good face upon the matter. It represents the Prince as having taken this unexpected step from motives of *filial affection*, and the persons kept out as having *highly approved of his conduct*.——But, we must read this most curious article, before we make any further remarks upon it. The reader must, and will, regard it as the *Official Declaration* of the OUTS, especially of those persons, who were embodying themselves under Lords GRENVILLE and GREY, who have been aptly enough termen the *Twins* of the Political Zodiac. I beg the reader to mark well the contents of this article, which is matter for *history*; and the substance of which must have a prominent place in the historian's account of this matchless intrigue.——

"The reports made to the Prince of Wales "of the progressive amendment in the "King's health, and the hope that the "Physicians give of his re-establishment, "have made a deep impression on the breast "of his Royal Highness, whose feelings "of affection and reverence for his Father "and Sovereign are necessarily combined "with the sense of obligation which he "owes to the public. He had thought it "his duty, in the contemplation of having the affairs of the Realm committed to his charge for a length of time, and in a way which might have enabled him to exercise his judgment in the administration of the Royal Authority for the honour of his Majesty's Crown, and the best interests of the people, to lay his commands on Lord Grenville and Lord Grey, to make an arrangement for a Council that should possess his entire confidence; and it is known that these Noble Lords undertook the task; fully sensible of the irksome and arduous labour they had to fulfil, but feeling that it was only left for them to meet the awful and accumulated difficulties of the crisis, with a confident expectation that their exertions, under the restraints which had been imposed on the Regent, would be duly appreciated by the country; and at the same time with an earnest hope, that the prospect of a speedy return of his Majesty to the personal exercise of his Royal functions would make their services unnecessary.—It had accordingly been their uniform advice to his Royal Highness (and in which he most cordially concurred) that when the time should come for his being called on to take upon himself the duties of the Regal Office, in the name of the King, he should examine the Physicians to satisfy his own mind, and be governed accordingly, in the full conviction that there might be more detriment to the public interests in a temporary change of system, than even in the continuance

"for a short time of an erroneous system. "This examination has actually taken "place at Carleton House. The Physi-"cians have been severally and succes-"sively examined by the Prince's Chan-"cellor, in the presence of his Royal "Highness; and we understand, that the "result of that enquiry is, that though "they cannot speak with any greater "degree of certainty than at their exami-"nations before the two Houses, as to the precise time when it may be expected that his Majesty could safely re-"turn to the exercise of his Royal func-"tions, whether it is probable that he "should be able to return at the end of "two months or of three months, yet they "all concur in expressing their confident "belief in his ultimate recovery.—In con-"sequence of this opinion, we under-"stand, the Prince sent a message to Lord "Grenville and Lord Grey, at a late hour "on Friday night, announcing to them "his determination not to make any change "of Ministers at this time. The message "was conveyed by Mr. Adam and Lord "Hutchinson, and was expressed in the "most handsome terms of approbation of "their conduct, and of thanks for the "readiness with which they had yielded "to his request to form an arrangement, "if circumstances should make it proper "for him to interpose his own judgment, "as to the fit and wise system of mea-"sures to be pursued on the present "alarming condition of our affairs; and "concluding with a declaration of his "unabated confidence in their wisdom "and ability, to conduct the Administra-"tion upon principles the most advanta-"geous to the Crown and People. This "intimation will be received with real "satisfaction by the friends of those "Noble Lords, who must all feel with "them that nothing but a sense of impe-"rious duty could have induced them to "enter into office in the dilemma created "by a temporary defect in the Royal "Authority. Three months, the most im-"portant perhaps that have ever occur-"red in our history, have already passed "under a total suspension of the functions "of Government—and another month "must necessarily have been added to "the delay, if the Prince had yielded "to the patriotic sentiment of his mind, "and recurred all at once to the principles "upon which he thinks the Administra-"tion would be most beneficially con-"ducted. So much time would have been "required for the re-election of those who "must have vacated their seats, and for "the re-establishment of the routine of "office—a delay which certainly might "be productive of more serious calamity "than what can be conceived probable "from the perseverance in the system, "until the hopes held out by the phy-"sicians shall be realized; or until time "shall have destroyed these hopes. It is "a moment too, when public business of "the most urgent nature calls for instant "prosecution—and we need not add that "it is a moment when, whatever may "have been the rashness or the folly of "embarking in the career of the present "system, it is too late to interrupt its "march, or even to avert its issue—and "above all, we are sure the whole nation "will concur in respecting and applauding "the filial and affectionate motives of "reverence to his Royal Father, which "have influenced his Royal Highness to "take this step—The noble lords, we un-"derstand, received the intimation in a "way corresponding with their high cha-"racter and their just sense of the public "interests. They had the honour of a "long audience of the Prince at Carleton "House yesterday, when he was gra-"ciously pleased personally to renew the "assurances of his perfect esteem and "confidence—We have uniformly stated "to our readers, that if circumstances "should force his Royal Highness to call "upon the Noble Lords to take upon "them the administration, they would "not shrink from the duty, however "arduous—and that they would be pre-"pared with an arrangement that would "give equal satisfaction to his Royal "Highness, and the people of the United "Kingdom. All the stories in the Minis-"terial papers of cabals and differences "about the adjustment of places are totally "false. There was no contention what-"ever: indeed the minds of men must be "singularly composed, who, at such a "period, should be ready to jostle for si-"tuations. In fact, however, it was an "arrangement to be made of one united "compact body of men, all holding the "same principles, and all animated by the "same views; there was no contrariety of "sentiment whatever; and an Adminis-"tration of more internal strength, by the "ties of mutual friendship—of more pub-"lic influence by talents, integrity, and "stake in the country, never has been sub-"mitted to any Prince. We say so much

"from what we hear of the public func-"tionaries; for we believe that the ar-"rangement did not go lower, and that it "was never formally presented to the "Prince for his approbation.—The pro-"ceedings which remain to be pursued on "the Regency Bill are few. The Reso-"lution for putting the Great Seal to the "Bill, though unwarranted by any pre-"cedent, or by any analogy in the books, "will pass the two Houses this day; and "the Regent may be sworn in before the "Privy Council to-morrow. It will be "then for Mr. Perceval and his friends to "submit to his Royal Highness their fur-"ther plan of proceedings; but whether "they will propose to him a short pro-"rogation, or only an adjournment for a "day or two, we shall not, from obvious "motives of delicacy, presume to antici-"pate.

"It is certain that up to four o'clock in "the afternoon of Saturday ministers had "made preparations for their retreat, and "with some of those preparations the pub-"lic will in due time be made acquainted. "Whether they will still retire, notwith-"standing the determination of his Royal "Highness to keep them, if they think "proper, we shall probably learn in the "course of this day or to morrow.—"——Reader, was there ever so miserable an attempt as this to disguise a defeat? The tale is perfectly piteous. It is lamentable. One almost feels compassion for the persons who could condescend to dictate or to pen it.——Let us, however, as being a tale of woe, as being the defence of the unfortunate, hear it with patience, and so far treat it with respect as to bestow on it a few short observations, though, in reality, it stands in need of none.——We are first told, that the Twin Lords received the commands of the Prince to form a ministry for him, and that they had done so; but, that, at the same time, they *earnestly hoped*, that the King's *speedy* recovery would prevent the necessity of their coming into office.——Well, now suppose this last assertion to be true, in the face of all the earnest endeavours that have been used to inculcate the notion (and a very proper notion,) that, even in case of a recovery, the King ought not to be called upon to resume the royal authority for some time; in the face of the charges against Lord Eldon; in the face of all that we have seen, supposing it to be true, that these two Lords *earnestly hoped*, that the King might be brought out again to business *speedily*; suppose this; still, it seems, they had *got their new ministry ready*, and had been commanded to get one ready, and, we shall see, by-and-by, how this squares with the rest of the tale. ——An examination of the Physicians, by the advice of these Lords, took place. The result was, that there was no *certainty* when the recovery would take place; it might be *two months*, or *three months*, or longer; and, *this being the case*, the Prince *resolved to keep in the present ministry*, which was very wise, and was highly approved of by these Lords, because it would have taken a month to settle the new ministry, and it was better to let a bad system go on uninterrupted than suspend it for a short time, and because the keeping in of the King's servants was a mark of filial affection in the Prince towards his father which all the nation must approve of.——Aye, this is a very pretty story; but, the worst of it is, it will not bear the test of dates; for, as to the result of the examination of the Physicians at Carleton House, as here stated, it is *precisely the same as that of the Examination of them by the Lords' Committee*, which took place six weeks ago. How, then, could *this examination* have produced any *change* in the intention of the Prince, as to the forming of a ministry? The Examination before the Lords' Committee, as will be seen in the Report (See Part 1, of Vol. 18, of the Parl. Debates, p. 202) amounts to precisely the same as the examination is said to have done at Carleton House. In both, the opinions of *all* the Physicians went to *ultimate recovery*; and, as to the *time*, they are no more precise in the latter case than they were in the former.——Now, then, let it be observed, that the Resolutions relative to the plan of a Regency were not presented to the Prince till long *after* the Examination before the Lords' Committee, which took place on the 17th of December; and, of course, the Prince could not give his commands about a new ministry, untill he had accepted of the Office of Regent; so that, it follows, of course, that, when he gave his commands to form a ministry for *him*, he had *just the same prospect before him as to his father's recovery that he had on Friday last*. ——This at once knocks up all the miserable pretence about a change of views in the Prince proceeding from the examination of the Physicians at Carleton House. The examination upon oath before the Lords' Committee represents the King as *getting better*, as *improving*, all the Phy-

cians say, and swear, that they look confidently to *ultimate recovery*, but that the *time* required for it may be longer or shorter. And, is not the same result said to have appeared at Carleton House? Is there any thing *new* that has come out of that examination? And, who, then, can be so very stupid as to believe, that the change in the Prince's intention as to his ministers has grown out of the examination at Carleton House?—These same facts, and precisely the same reasoning, apply to what is said by the Morning Chronicle with regard to the motive of "*filial affection* " in the Prince towards his father." If this motive has *now* induced him to keep in the present men, how came it to have no weight with him a fortnight or a month ago? The motive is childish. It might do well enough in common life, where a man has nothing but his family's interest to set against any supposed predilection of his father; but, in the case of the Prince it is something a great deal worse than childish to suppose that it could have any operative effect; for, if he did, as we are here told he did, look upon Lords Grenville and Grey as the fittest persons to advise him in this "*awful crisis* of the " country," what are *the people* to think of his setting those Lords aside, and keeping in the present men, because the putting of them out would be likely to give offence to his father; especially after he himself, has, in so solemn a manner, declared, that all the powers and prerogatives of the crown are vested there for the *benefit of the people*, and in that light *only* are sacred? Oh, no! This will never do; and, therefore, this notion of the motive of "*filial affection*," must be regarded as a mere invention for the purpose of accounting for the change in the Prince's choice in a way the least humiliating to those, whom he has, at last, rejected, and whose chagrin it is the object of the Morning Chronicle to disguise, not considering, perhaps, that, in ascribing such motives of action to the Prince, inferences very injurious to him, as regards *the people*, are clearly conveyed.——But, if we were to admit, for argument sake, that such motives have produced this change in his choice, how unaccountable does his conduct then appear, seeing that the same motives ought to have operated, if at all, at *every stage* of the proceedings? If he is *now* induced to keep in the present men because the putting of them out would be offensive to his father, would give pain to his father, why did not this motive weigh with him *before*, and prevent him from giving his commands to the Twin Lords to form a ministry for him? The hopes and expectations of recovery were *the same* a month ago that they are now. They were *sworn* to before the commands to form a ministry could possibly have been given by the Prince. But, at any rate, what no one will attempt to deny is this: that, from first to last, *all* the Physicians, in *all* their examinations, have distinctly declared their confident opinion, that the King will ULTIMATELY recover. Now, this being the case, what becomes of the motive ascribed to the Prince by the Morning Chronicle? What becomes of this motive, which the Chronicle says will be applauded by the whole country? At every stage, *all* the Physicians declared, in a manner the most decided, that they relied on *ultimate* recovery; therefore, as the Prince must be well aware, that the King's feelings would be hurt, if hurt at all, by the dismission of his servants, and that this pain would take place *whenever the recovery came*, is it not most pitiful to pretend that the change of intention has arisen from the motive of "*filial affection?*" Just as if that motive would not have restrained him from giving *his commands* to form a new ministry, if it has now restrained him from putting out the King's servants. What had *time* to do with the matter? What was the consequence whether he gave his father pain at the end of two months or at the end of six months? The nature and the quantity of the pain would have been exactly the same. What! will the Morning Chronicle accompany with *praises* of the Prince an assertion, that he would run the risk of giving, nay, that he would actually give, his father that pain at the end of *a year* which he would not give him at the end of *a month?*——No: this is too palpable. This pretence; this attempt to break the fall of the rejected party is too grossly absurd to be entertained for a moment.——With regard to the *real motives*, by which the Prince was, in all probability, actuated in the change of his intention, we will, by-and-by, offer an observation or two; but, we have not yet done with the Morning Chronicle.——The Prince, we are told, notified this change of intention to the two noble Lords, "in the "*handsomest manner.*" Oh, aye! I'll warrant him. He has not lived *forty eight* years in the court of George the Third without knowing how to do such a thing

handsomely. Earl GREY (then Lord Howick,) when he announced his own dismission to the House of Commons, also spoke of the *graciousness* of the King to him personally. Aye; but the *dismission* took place. Words cost nothing. It is from *acts* that we ought to judge.——But, we are told by this writer, that the Prince has assured the two noble Lords, that he will, if the King's illness should be of long duration, avail himself of their advice; that is to say, that he will have them for his ministers, and, of course will turn off his father's servants.——As to their *ever* being the ministers of the Prince we will inquire into the probability by-and-by; but, as to his having assured them, that he will have them, in case of a *lengthened duration* of his father's illness, the supposition, especially when taken into view along with the other statements in this article, is an outrage to common sense. What! "*filial* "*affection* for his father" restrains him from turning out his servants at *this moment;* but, it does not restrain him from telling the world, and, of course, that same father, that he will do it, if he has a prospect of possessing the *power* of so doing for any *length of time!* And this, if the declaration were made, the father must know the moment he is restored to the use of his reason, and, perhaps, before he is so perfectly restored to it as not to be in imminent danger of a relapse. The father, that father towards whom the Prince, as we are here told, has so much of "*filial affection,*" is, upon his recovery to find, what? Not that his son has turned off his servants. No: he is to be spared that pain. He is not to find that. But, according to this writer, he is to find, that his son has declared, that he would have turned out these servants if he had had the power for any length of time; and, he is to find too, that his son would have taken in those whom his father lately turned out, because *their principles* are best calculated to rescue the country from the perils with which it is surrounded; aye, he is to find, clearly recorded by inference in a declaration of his son, that it would be good for the country if he had not recovered.——Was there ever any thing more monstrous than this? Was there ever any thing more revolting to all just sense of feeling? Is it possible to place His Royal Highness in a worse light than he has here been placed by this writer? And *for what?* What have these pretended motives been conjured up for? For what but to *palliate the humiliation of the party rejected.* The *real motives,* of which we will speak by-and-by, would not answer this purpose. Others, therefore, were to be discovered; and I am persuaded, the reader will agree, that, in the selection, it was almost impossible to shew less regard for *the character of the Prince.*——Now, before we come to our observations upon the *real cause* of this alteration in the Prince's intention as to a change of the ministry, let us put upon record the answer which the COURIER gives to the article above quoted from the MORNING CHRONICLE, which article it very properly stiles the *Manifesto* of those, who have had the delicious cup of place and power and profit and patronage dashed from their lips. This article of the COURIER is a *stinger.* The writer speaks in the voice of triumph; he laughs and scoffs at his opponent, and well he may. The victory is so clearly on his side. It is so complete; that if he did not exult, he would exhibit an instance of magnanimity by no means to be expected from him.——"We stated on Thursday that the dismis-"sion of the present Ministers was intend-"ed as soon as the Regency Bill had re-"ceived the Royal Assent.—Something "like an official notification to that effect "was conveyed to them, and they had "made the necessary preparation in their "respective offices. "The Prince had "" laid his commands upon Lords Gren-"" ville and Grey to make an arrange-"" ment for a Council that should possess "" his entire confidence, and these Noble "" Lords undertook the task." This has "been officially stated to day. In conse-"quence of his Royal Highness's com-"mands an arrangement was formed. "Lord Grenville was to be the Prime Mi-"nister, Earl Grey holding the same situ-"ation he did before. Lord Grenville, "however, is said to have at first express-"ed his doubts whether so immediate a "change of Ministers would be advisable. "But the Foxites, always rapacious and "thirsting for place, maintained a con-"trary opinion—they were for immediate "dismissal, and Lord Grenville's doubts "were removed. But the Regent, escap-"ing on a sudden from that baneful advice "that would have made him dismiss his "father's Ministers, merely because they "were his father's, and select others who "were known not to be in posession of his "father's confidence, has adopted a deter-"mination that will entitle him to the

"thanks of the whole country. He has "resolved not to make any change of Ministers at this time. This resolution was "formed after an examination of his Majesty's Physicians by his Royal Highness's Chancellor, Mr. Adam, in the "presence of his Royal Highness, at "Carlton House, on Friday last The "public have seen the attempts made of "late to throw discredit upon the Bulletins, "and to insinuate that his Majesty was not "so well as they represented him to be "His Royal Highness has ascertained the "contrary to be the fact, and the Physicians all concurred in their examination "before him, in expressing their confident "belief that his Majesty's health will be "completely restored, and in all probability at no distant period. This unanimous declaration of the Physicians convinced his Royal Highness of the detriment that must accrue to the public interests from calling men to his Councils "who were known to possess principles so "diametrically opposite to those of the "present Ministers, and who would in all "likelihood adopt a total change of system Soon after the examination, there "fore, of the Physicians, and at a late "hour on Friday night, his Royal Highness sent Mr Adam to Lord Grenville, "and Lord Hutchinson to Earl Grey, "with a message (most unexpected, no "doubt, by them), announcing it to be his "Royal Highness's determination not to "make any change in the Administration "His Royal Highness expressed his thanks "for the readiness with which they had "acceded to his request to arrange a new "Ministry, "if circumstances should make "it proper for him to interpose his own 'judgment, as to the fit and wise system 'of measures to be pursued on the present alarming condition of our affairs, 'and concluding with a declaration of 'his unabated confidence in their wisdom and ability, to conduct the Administration upon principles the most "advantageous to the Crown and People." This intimation of his Royal "Highness's determination to persevere "in the present system will be received with real satisfaction, not as the 'Morning Chronicle says, by the friends "of the Noble Lords, or the Noble Lords "themselves, but certainly by the whole "country." But it is not a little curious "and ludicrous to hear the supporters of "those personages now applaud the Prince "for rejecting the advice they gave, and for declining to proceed in that career which they had marked out for him. "So much time," they say, "would have been required for the re-election of those who must have vacated their seats, and for the re-establishment of the routine of office; a delay which certainly might be productive of more serious calamity than what can be conceived probable from the perseverance in the system, until the hopes held out by the physicians shall be realized; or until time shall have destroyed these hopes"—Is this a new discovery? Has not this been obvious from the commencement of the business? If delay would have been so calamitous to the public service, why did not they state it to his Royal Highness? Why did not they declare that the public business demanded instant prosecution, which a change of ministers must necessarily prevent? Why did they place it upon record as they have done, that desire of power and place was more powerful in their minds than the good of the public service, which they now avow, now when their assistance is not wanted, would have been exposed to serious injury by the dismissal of the present ministers? These are questions which we leave for them to answer in that leisure and retirement to which, happily for the nation, 'they are doomed to remain—But they 'affect to be quite pleased with the 'Prince for his message;* they are not 'disappointed, not angry, no, not in the 'least. Like Sir Fretful Plagiary, each 'exclaims, "I'd have you to know, Sir, '"I'm vastly satisfied, not at all angry, '"quite happy and contented." The 'Prince, who was the theme of their panegyric when he was going to take them 'in, is equally the theme of their panegyric now that he is determined to keep 'them out. They are "fit for either field." They blow hot and cold at 'once. "And above all they add "we are sure the whole nation will concur '"in respecting and applauding the filial '"and affectionate motives of reverence to his Royal Father, which have influenced his Royal Highness to take "this step." We are sure of this also, "and that while the country will loudly "and universally applaud this determination of his Royal Highness, it will view "with abhorrence and indignation the "conduct of those who would have had "him follow a different line of conduct.—

"What answer the noble personages re-
"turned to the Prince's Message we know "not.——The Morning Chronicle has "thrown a veil over it, only assuring us "briefly that they received the "intima-"tion in a way corresponding with their "high character and their just sense of "the public interests." Both Lord "Grenville and Earl Grey had long au-"diences of his Royal Highness yester-"day.—But if the Prince is convinced of "the danger and injury that would arise "from a change of ministers, why cannot "the party suppose that his Majesty's "ministers are equally sensible of it "themselves? The Regent of course "would have had the power to deprive "them of office, and to call others to his "Councils, but their retirement would not "have been their own act. This was ex-"plicitly stated when their dismissal was "determined upon and made public. *A fortiori*, they will not think it their duty "to resign, now that the Regent has noti-"fied his sense of the danger that would "accrue from a change of men and mea-"sures.—This resolution of the Regent to "walk in the steps of his father has "brightened the prospect before us. It "has placed his character, both public and "private, in the most amiable point of "view. He feels that it is only by keep-"ing the principles of his Father steadily "in view that he can preserve the nation "in its present situation of unequalled "pride and glory and power, commanding "the world.—The Regent will be sworn "in before the Privy Council to-morrow, "and it is probable that both Houses will "adjourn to Monday next, when his "Royal Highness will go down in state, "and open the Session. In the *acclama-"tions that will be bestowed upon him* in his "procession to the House, he will find the "recompence and *the approbation of the "conduct he has determined to adopt.*"—In the hey-day of his triumph, one must excuse a little bombast, and, therefore, the idea of the country being now placed in a situation "to *command the world*" may be passed over. But, what he says in some other parts is delicious. It must be to the balked party as pleasant as hot lead poured down their backs. Yes, yes, "The Prince has age and *experience*;" the Prince is "capable of forming a right "judgment; and the Prince, having had time and opportunity to examine into the matter, finds, that to pursue the system of his revered father, to tread in his step, and, of course, to have *the same ministers*, is the only way to insure the safety and happiness of the nation! This is excellent. This is right on to the point; and it is what I defy the Morning Chronicle to controvert. We shall now hear from this venal man of the COURIER no more insinuations against the Prince of Wales; no more threats to revive "*unpleasant* "discussions as to his pecuniary affairs;" no more assertions of his "pecuniary em-"barrassments having been the greatest "cause of his *unpopularity.*" We shall now hear nothing more of this sort from him. Nor do I think, that we shall again hear him calling the other Princes "GREAT BABIES." He will find all of a sudden, that they have acted a very wise part, especially if it be true, as we are told in the news-papers, that some of them were the bearers of the glad tidings to Lord Eldon and Mr. Perceval. He will now discover, that they are fit for *something more* than "dancing at a "Duchess's ball;" a discovery, which the unfortunate OUTS have, with lips half bitten through, already made.——The MORNING POST, too, lifts its hoof at the fallen party, now that it sees them down. It has been pricking up its long ears for some days past; it has been braying out some very significant compliments to the Prince; and, now back goes its hoof in a jerk at those very men, whom, only ten days ago, it denominated "*highly respect-"able individuals,*" as distinguished from "*Sir Francis Burdett and his crew.*"——It is worth while to hear a little of what this man now says, being, however, very cautious how we believe him.——The *Manifesto*, of which he speaks, is the article above quoted from the Morning Chronicle.——"The Manifesto to which we allude "(for it clearly is a Manifesto, authorised "by a part, at least, of the Opposition), "gives us to understand, in the first place, "that the determination to retain the pre-"sent Ministers was grounded upon the "opinion given by the Physicians, upon "their examination by the Prince's Chan-"cellor, of his Majesty's ultimate com-"plete recovery. Now, we undertake to "assert, without fear of contradiction, "that this examination took place *very "early in the last week*; and we are dis-"tinctly informed by the Organ of Op-"position, that it was not until Friday "night that the resolution was taken, to "make no change in the Administra-"tion. We therefore believe it to be a

"misrepresentation as important as it "is complete, to say that the resolution "followed the report of the Physicians;—important, as well because it "is calculated to support the assertion "that there were *no difficulties* in the arrangement of the projected Government, "as because it implies that it was at the "advice of the Noble Lords who, as we "were given to understand, were commanded to prepare the new lists, that "the change of Ministry was rendered "dependent upon the state of his Majesty's health. We assert, without any "fear of contradiction, that at the very "moment in which the determination "was communicated to the Noble Lords, "they were engaged *in discussing their projects of a new Administration;* the "communication, (if we are not more "grossly misinformed than, as we suspect, "the Morning Chronicle will tell us that "we are) so far from being the result of "any advice or opinion submitted to the "Royal Personage by the Noble Lords, "was a complete surprise upon the whole "party, who rather expected a message "to *hasten their deliberations,* than one "which put a stop to them altogether. "——These facts would perhaps be of "little importance, if they did not entirely overturn a delusion, which it is, "evidently enough, the purpose of the "Manifesto to encourage, namely, that "every preparation for forming a new "Administration originated with the "Great Person himself; that it was with "exceeding reluctance that the Noblemen "and Gentlemen who were intended to "compose it, consented to take upon themselves so heavy a *burden;* and that to be "*relieved* from it was to them a *cause of unspeakable joy!* This representation is "equally untrue and mischievous; that "it is untrue, the language of every person concerned, throughout the whole "of Saturday and Sunday, before, in short, "the Manifesto was issued to convince "them that they were the *luckiest of human beings,* will sufficiently testify; its "mischief appears in the disloyal and "dishonest attempt *to fix upon his Royal Highness the desire of changing the Government,* and upon those whose wishes were "to be gratified by the change, nothing but "*an humble obedience to his Royal Command!*"——This is all fair. To an attempt to make the public believe, that the OUTS did *not wish* to come into power, it is impossible to affix any epithet too contemptuous. What! after all that we have seen; after what has been before our eyes for the last three years; after the language of the men themselves and of their partizans for the last three months only; nay but the last week, are we to be told, that they were solicitous to *avoid* place and power? This really is too impudent. If, however, this be their talk, they stand a good chance of being gratified to their heart's content; for, unless all my reasoning upon the subject be grossly erroneous, never will any set of men, with Lords GRENVILLE and GREY, or either of them at their head, be ministers again in this country. Their exclusion from political power appears to me to be irrevocably passed; and for my thinking so I will now state the reasons.——From what has been said above, there cannot, I think, remain, in the mind of any man of common sense, the smallest doubt, that the motives which have been alledged by the Morning Chronicle for the Prince's having changed his intention, have no foundation in truth.——The real motives, in my opinion, were very different; and, it will be found, I think, upon examination, that, placed as the Prince was *at last,* it was impossible for him to do otherwise than he has done, unless he had resolved upon a total, a radical, change of system, at once, a prominent feature in which system would have been that reform of the Commons' House of Parliament, which has so long been the chief object with so large a part of the people.——The Morning Chronicle tells us, that the two Lords had formed a famously good ministry: "*an Administration of more internal strength, by the ties of mutual friendship, of more public influence, by talents, integrity, and stake in the country,* than ever has been submitted to any Prince; one united, compact body of men, all holding the same principles, and all animated by the same views."——This is a very fine description. Here are *friendship,* INFLUENCE, *talents, integrity,* and STAKE, (that is to say *money,*) and *principles;* but *what* principles is not stated; nor is there a word said about what this fine ministry would have done for *the people.*——Whether there had been any *differences* as to who should compose the ministry is more than I can say; but, if I may judge from the past, a ministry elected by Lords Grenville and Grey would have excluded almost the whole of those, to whom the Prince was most attached; and, if he was thus to be treated, it is very

clear, that it was, as far as personal feeling went, better for him to keep the present men, who, I believe, had always treated *him and his particular friends* much better than they were treated by the *late ministry*. ——I shall be told, that these are considerations that ought not to have much weight in so momentous a case. Very true. They ought not; but, it is quite impossible to divest ourselves of all feeling; and, though I am disposed not to ascribe any very great weight to these considerations, still they must have *some* weight given to them. ——There were two sets of ministers talked of. One, with Lord HOLLAND at its head, and the other with Lords Grenville and Grey, for these two are always put together. From the former, the people would have expected *something:* from the latter, *nothing*. It was supposed, with what correctness I know not, that his Royal Highness, the Prince, leant towards the former; but, it was, at the same time, very evident, especially after the Restrictions were carried, that he could not, without a dissolution of Parliament, *go on* with a ministry so composed.——It is likely that the bent of his mind was towards Lord HOLLAND, and men of that description; and, at any rate, it must be supposed, when we look back to 1806, that he would not, if he had had his free choice, have delivered up himself and his particular friends into the hands of Lords Grenville and Grey.——The probabilities are, therefore, that he had not, from the beginning, any liking to a ministry of their forming; and, if he did give his commands to them to form a ministry, the progress might more and more tend to convince him that he should do better with the present men than with them. ——This, however, I give to the reader as mere conjecture; but, I think, it is evident, that, situated as he was at last, he could not have *gone on* with a ministry of their making-up; that he could not, by any means, in the present state of the parliament, have carried the government on for a week with such a ministry.——If the Regency had been given to him *without restrictions* (which restrictions, be it observed, Lord Grenville *supported*,) such a ministry might have gone on as well, or, rather as ill, as the ministry of 1806, composed of the same persons. But, when the power of making peers; the power of granting pensions; the power of granting office for life or in reversion; when the controul over the Crown Lands; when the immense patronage of the Household; when the privy purse; when all these were taken from him, how was he to *go on* with *a dead majority against him in both Houses of Parliament?* It is nonsense to talk about his choice or his wishes or his affections or his commands to form a ministry; I ask, how he was to *go on?* There was only *one* way of even attempting to go on under such circumstances, and that was, first proposing *a reform of parliament*, and then, whether that proposition were rejected or not, *dissolving* the parliament, or in the words of the King's speech of 1807, "*appealing to the sense* "*of the people.*" This was the *only* course left to be pursued. This course was not to be expected from Lords Grenville and Grey. To follow it he must have chosen other men, if such men had been to be found. His only choice lay, therefore, between *the present system* whole and unmixed, and untouched, and *parliamentary reform*. There was no middle course for him to pursue. In short, to represent the things by persons, his choice lay between Mr. PERCEVAL and SIR FRANCIS BURDETT, and I am sure the OUTS, who so manfully "*rallied round*" the former against the latter, cannot, when they have taken time to reflect (and time enough they will have for reflection) do otherwise than commend the choice that has been made. When Mr. MADOX made his motion, his ever-memorable motion about the seat-selling, the OUTS "rallied round" Mr. Perceval; they defended, they justified him; they, therefore, ought to be amongst the last men in this whole world to find fault of the present choice of his Royal Highness; and, as to *the people*, if they find one *free* man in all England to join them in finding fault of Mr. Perceval's being preferred to *them*, I will acknowledge that I know nothing at all of the disposition of my countrymen.——Now, as to their *future* prospects; I mean the future prospects of those who would have composed a ministry with Lords Grenville and Grey at the head of it.——We are told by the Morning Chronicle, that the Prince has intimated to them, that, when he is at liberty to pursue his own plans, he will avail himself of their talents.——We have before remarked upon the injury that this assertion (if believed) is calculated to do to the character of the Prince: it only remains for us to remark upon the folly of indulging any hope in the prospect that it holds out.——

If the King recover *speedily*, there is, at once, an end to the hopes of those who entertain this expectation of *future* favour. He will either recover speedily, or he will not; if the latter, then, let it be observed, that Mr. Perceval is still Minister, that it is *he* who hos all the *current* patronage, and, which is a great deal more, he is *sure* to be *King's* Minister again; he is, in fact, Minister in *reversion*, if the King recover during Mr. Perceval's life; he has, from this peculiarity of circumstances, a footing far more solid than any Minister ever had before.——This will give him great weight amongst those with whom he has to do, and whose support it is most material for him to have. Being now the Prince's adviser, he will be the person to be consulted as to the granting of *pensions*, *places for life*, and the like; and, then, the restrictions will, in fact, in this respect, be of no consequence; for, whatever the Prince may be advised to grant, will, of course, be *confirmed*, in case of the resumption of the royal authority by the King Are the OUTS not aware of all this? Do they not perceive, how much *easier* and *pleasanter* the Prince will get on with Mr. Perceval, than he could have got on with them?——There is now nothing that His Royal Highness may wish to do for any one attached to his person (so that the party to be served meddle not with *politics*) which will not readily and cheerfully be done. Nay, I should not wonder much if MR. TIERNEY and another or two were admitted into the buildings at Whitehall; but, as for the ministry makers, the men of "*stake*," never will they again put their noses into those buildings.——But, "at the *end of the year* the *restrictions* "*expire*." Yes; so they do; but, a year is *a long while;* many things happen in a year; and, if all other matters hold together till next February, Mr. Perceval must be a very lame man indeed if he be not much more powerful than he now is, and if the Prince have not much *stronger* reasons for keeping him in than he had for choosing him.——In short, with the *Grenvillites* and the *Greyites* the game is up; completely up. They thought, and I told them they were deceived, that they could go on without *an appeal to the people*. They have *already* found themselves deceived. Hitherto in England there have been a *court* party and a *country* party; the *King's* party and the *people's* party; but, here we had a party, who would acknowledge neither. A party composed of men of "*stake*." Well, let them keep their "*stake;*" but, let them not hope, that *the people* care a straw about their *stake*.——One comfort will be, that all their apprehensions will now be removed about *the King being brought out again before he be perfectly recovered.* We shall *now* hear no expressions of alarm upon this score. All parties will *now* be perfectly agreed as to this important point. The Prince's choice, like the Knight Errant's balsam, heals all wounds, past, present, and to come.——Indeed, the thing is so complete, the discomfiture of the men of *stake* is so decisive, that I am thoroughly persuaded they never can "*rally*" again. I made a promise almost as strong as an oath, some years ago, that I never would go into the gallery of the House of Commons, again; but, if I were not, like the Bank, under the influence of a *restraining* law, I certainly should be tempted to break my promise. I should like, of all things in the world, to see some men now with my own eyes, and hear them with my own ears.——The fall of the men of *stake* has proceeded solely from their contempt of the people generally, and particularly from the contumely, with which they have treated the applications for *reform;* and, *now*, all those who have any sense must perceive, that this is the *only* ground left whereon to stand in opposition to any ministry carrying on the government upon the present system. There used to be a talk about the *Prince*, and what the *Prince* would do, *when he came to the throne*, which, by the bye, was very unconstitutional talk; but, now they see what he will do, what he can do, and I have clearly shown, I think, that, unless he had had men ready to propose and stand firmly to a proposition for parliamentary reform, the Prince could do nothing but what he has done, unless he had refused the Regency altogether.——I do not lump together the whole of those persons who composed the *late ministry*; nor do I wish, by any means, to impute any base motives to Lord Grenville or Lord Grey; but, in the latter, there is so much disregard of the people, that he never can be a popular minister, and haughtiness towards the people is, too, the more resented on account of his former professions. Lord Grenville is a sensible man, and he has nothing of the mean intriguer about him. But, there is that in his whole family, in all their connections and situations, which forbid the people to look towards them for a reform of parliament, without which no

other measure will ever again make any minister popular, be he who or what h may. Indeed (and it cannot be too often repeated) this is now the *only* ground of opposition to any ministry; and these who will not join their voices in culling for this great measure, will excite neither interest nor attention. What is the use of cavilling and carping at this or that little thing? What is th use of a contest, which all the world knows will lead to no practical effect, and which has, indeed, no practical effect in view? Even great things, such as the fate of Sir John Moore's army and the affair of Walcheren, excite no interest, because the people do not see, that they would be bettered by any change of councils that the struggle may produce. It would be just the same in case of a failure in Portugal. Some *borough*, under the controul of him who found an interest in getting it, might send up a petition; but, in this whole kingdom, not a *free* man would move pen or tongue to put out the minis try upon any such ground. But, once let the question of *reform* be espoused by any considerable number of the members of parliament; once let that question be agitated in a way that would show the parties to be *in earnest*, and you would see that the people of England are still alive to the interests and honour of their country. It is quite useless for the men of "*stake*" to fold up their arms and be sulky. There they may remain folded up till they grow to stone. If they care nothing for the people, the people care as little for them The people have a *stake* as well as they; and, if this be denied, why, then, those who possess no stake, have no stake to *lose*.

W^M. COBBETT.

State Prison, Newgate, Tuesday, February 5, 1811.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

SPAIN AND FRANCE.—*State of the French Armies in Spain; and Account of their proceedings.—Paris, 19 Jan.* 1811.

(Concluded from p. 288.)

The Duke of Tarento, on his march from Barcelona in the direction of Tarragona, intercepted a very considerable convoy which the insurgents were conveying to the latter place.—On the 14th December he effected his junction with the army of Arragon, at Mora on the Ebro.

V.

ARMY OF ARRAGON.—General Suchet, commander of the army of Arragon, found it impossible, from the month of September, to commence the siege of Tortosa. He was continually prevented by the water in the Ebro being too low to admit of the conveyance of his battering ordnance. The Duke of Tarento having moved to Mora to support the siege, General Suchet invested the place on the 13th December.—On the 17th the garrison made a sally, which was repulsed by the 116th and 117th regiments. Our sharp-shooters penetrated to the foot of the walls. The entrenched camp and all the redoubts were carried.—On the 1st of January, after thirteen days of open trenches, Tortosa and its forts surrendered at discretion. The garrison, consisting of 9,500 men, including 400 officers, 12 stand of colours, 192 pieces of artillery, 2 millions of cartridges, 10,000 muskets, 200,000 weight of powder, 500,000 weight of lead, and a great quantity of provisions, have fallen into our hands. The important capture of Tortosa renders us completely masters of the course of the Ebro, and entirely cuts off Valencia from Catalonia. The Duke of Tarento immediately marched upon Tarragona, the only strong place remaining to the insurgents in all that part of Spain. General Suchet writes, that the inhabitants of Arragon evince the best disposition; and that this province, after being one of the most agitated, is now one of the most tranquil in Spain; that the revolutionary furor has entirely ceased, and given place, as usual, to sentiments diametrically opposite. The inhabitants of the south, of the centre, and the north of Spain, are equally tired out as those of Arragon, and feel the same hatred towards those who have sacrificed their country, and the same desire for the restoration of tranquillity. English influence is destroyed, and all the symptoms indicate that the fever is at an end. The inhabitants loudly call for being united to the Empire.

EXTRACT

From the Moniteur, relating to the English Prisoners, wrecked in the ship Elizabeth in the road of Dunkirk.—Paris, Jan. 19, 1811.

On the 28th of December the English ship Elizabeth was wrecked in the road of Dunkirk; notwithstanding the humanity of the inhabitants, and every possible as-

sistance which was afforded by the marine, but 22 persons were saved. An English journal (the Alfred) of the 4th of the present month, in making mention of the event, has added what follows:—"When "it was known in Dunkirk that the Elizabeth had been wrecked, the English prisoners, a very considerable number of "whom are confined in that city, asked "permission to assist their countrymen; "we are sorry to say that the request was "refused, and even such of the inhabitants as were not devoid of humanity "were prevented from lending any aid to "the sufferers."—However accustomed we may be to the calumnies of the English journals, this, which not only censures the Administration for a want of zeal, but moreover reflects on the courage of the inhabitants of a city conspicuous for the integrity of its seafaring people, naturally excites as much surprise as indignation. It is sufficient, in order to refute this falsehood, to publish the following letter, addressed by the Captain of the Elizabeth to his Excellency the Minister of the Marine and Colonies;—"Dunkirk, Jan. 3.—

"Monseigneur,—The merchant vessel "the Elizabeth, of which I had the command, was of 650 tons burthen, and "sailed from London the 26th of October, "1810. Though not belonging to the "East India Company, she was bound for "Madras and Bengal.—I anchored at "Cork, in Ireland, from which place we "sailed on the 19th of December. After "having sustained much damage from a "gale of wind, we got on ground amidst "the sand-banks in the road of Dunkirk, "and our vessel went to pieces in view of "that city on the 28th of last December. "There were on board 380 persons, of "whom 30 were passengers, 250 lascars "(Indian sailors), and 100 seamen; out of "this number there were but 22 saved including myself. We were made prisoners of war.—[The following is a list "of our names:]—Although having suffered shipwreck, and having been saved "from its perils by our own unaided efforts, (it not being possible for the "praise-worthy efforts of the marine to "afford us any assistance from the shore), "we are satisfied to consider ourselves as "prisoners of war, but our unhappy situation, and the circumstances which have "led to it, induce a hope that your excellency will permit of our being exchanged for an equal number of French "prisoners at the disposal of the British "Government.—Deeply impressed with "gratitude towards the brave inhabitants "of Dunkirk and the members of its naval "administration, who most generously "supplied us with every comfort after "our sufferings, we particularly request "that in case of compliance, we may be "exchanged for seamen of that place, if "there be any such in England, I should "consider myself eminently fortunate in "being the instrument of their liberation. "It is the only way by which I may be "able to testify my warm gratitude to the "people of Dunkirk, without whose prompt "and generous assistance we should all "have perished.—Your Excellency will permit me to submit to your notice such means as appear to me best calculated to forward the exchange. Standing rather high in the estimation of the admiralty, I have no doubt of success in a proceeding dictated by sentiments of gratitude. I require, in the "first place, permission to proceed to "London, in order to negociate the exchange. I pledge my word of honour "for my return, and offer moreover a personal or pecuniary security.—Secondly, "to bring to Dunkirk or any other place "your Excellency may please to appoint "twenty-two French prisoners of war, "born at Dunkirk, and of equal rank with "such of my crew as have been saved.— "Thirdly, to conduct these latter to England. A detail of the generous assistance afforded us by the people of Dunkirk will, I have no doubt, make a due "impression on the Admiralty; and on "that I ground my sanguine hopes of the "success of my undertaking.

(Signed) "R. W. Eastwick."

EXTRACT

From the Moniteur *of the 14th Jan.* 1811. *Commenting on the Statements in England, relative to the War in Portugal.*

"We read the following article in The Times, which we lay before our readers, in order that they may see the light in which the affairs of Spain and Portugal are viewed by the two parties in England. But we premise, however, that the statement in question abounds in false assertions and misrepresentations."

[The Moniteur then inserts the Letter in The Times of December 27, signed "A Veteran," upon which it makes the subjoined comments.]

Upon the passage in the Letter, stating that "Massena passed the Mondego with 60,000 men."

The Moniteur says:

"We shall not make a single observation upon the number of combatants on either side. In general, the English are ill-informed."

Letter in The Times.—"His (Massena's) loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners, was computed at 7 or 8,000 men."

The Moniteur.—"This is false, in the proportion of four-fifths."

Letter in The Times.—"Had England learned that her General had made a desart of Portugal, as he was authorised to do by the rigorous laws of war, he would not have escaped the bitterest reproaches; and that conduct towards allies would have been treated as barbarous cruelty. He would have been told that he was nothing but an imitator of the Vandalism of the French."

The Moniteur.—"It is amusing to compare the Proclamation of Lord Wellington, and the language which the English held four months ago, with that which they use to day. Four months ago, Lord Wellington burnt all, ravaged all, in order to create a desart, and to prevent the enemy from advancing. In reality he has committed dreadful ravages, without example in the history of Europe, which are a fresh proof of the unfeeling and ferocious character that belongs to the English nation. The English now seeing that, in spite of the obstacles which are opposed to it, the French army has traversed eighty leagues of territory in a few days, and has since lived in abundance for four months, they cannot conceive how this can possibly be, and wish it to be believed, that Lord Wellington has protected the inhabitants, and husbanded the country."

Letter in the Times.—"The ravages which took place, and which the Moniteur had the effrontery to describe as greater than those of the French ——"

The Moniteur.—"This is very well for the English; but will not suit the inhabitants of the Continent, who have every where had experience of the French army."

Letter in the Times.—"These ravages were carried into effect by the inhabitants alone."

The Moniteur.—"If the inhabitants themselves had destroyed, they would have destroyed effectually; especially, they would not have left magazines of grain, wine, rice, which have placed the French army in a state of the greatest abundance. On the contrary, the inhabitants have concealed all they could, as is natural; and the magazines which have been withdrawn from the English, have fallen into the hands of the French."

Letter in the Times.—"If Lord Wellington had had 40,000 British with him at Talavera, and the Spaniards had been willing to have executed his orders, he would have driven the French to the left bank of the Ebro."

The Moniteur—"If Lord Wellington had had 40,000 men at Talavera, in the ignorance in which he was of the real state of affairs, he would have lost his 40,000 men; for he would have marched upon Madrid, and the 2d, 6th, and 5th corps of the French army would have cut him off from the Tagus. This boast of the English is inconceivable. Whilst they have the advantage of being masters of the sea—of having armies so numerous and insurgents under their orders—they are reduced to remain entrenched and perched upon heights, and before their vessels. This is very different from managing a war of marches and manœuvres: for this the English are in want of an army capable of manœuvring, and an able General. They have neither one nor the other."

PORTUGAL.—*Extracts of Dispatches from Lord Viscount Talavera, dated Cartaxo, 5th Jan. 1811, published by the Government in London, 29th Jan. 1811.*

My Lord.—The reinforcements to the enemy's army in this country, which I informed your Lordship, in my dispatch of the 29th December, were on their march in the valley of the Mondego, arrived upon the Alva at Murcella on the 24th, which river they crossed by a ford on the following day, and continued their march to join the army.—Colonel Wilson, who hae retired from Espinhal and crossed the Mondego upon hearing of the advance of these troops, lest he should be involved in an unequal contest in front and rear at the same time, repassed the Mondego on the 25th, and annoyed the enemy's rear on his march of the 25th and 26th from the Alva towards Espinhal. He took some prisoners, and cut off some of their small detachments, which fell into the hands of the Ordenanza.—The division which had marched to Pinhel, and the advanced guard of which had been at Trancoso when I last addressed your Lordship, was still at

Pinhel on the 26th December, when I last heard from General Silveira, whose head-quarters were at Torrinha.—I have letters from Cadiz of the 23d and 29th December, stating that Marshal Soult had marched from the army engaged in the operation against that place with 4,000 or 5,000 men, on the 20th and 21st of Dec.—Generals Mendizabal and Ballasteros are still at Llerena and the neighbourhood of Monasterio, and Girard's division of Mortier's corps at Guadalcanal.—No material alteration has been made in the position of the enemy's army since I addressed your Lordship last. The detachment which marched to Castello Branco returned immediately, and was sent either for the purpose of escorting a messenger or to obtain intelligence. I have the honc to be, &c.

Cartaxo, Jan. 12.

My Lord—Since I addressed your Lordship on the 5th instant, I have learnt that the detachment of the enemy's troops which joined the army in the end of last month, consisted of 11 battalions of the 9th corps, and of a body of troops which, under the command of General Gardanne, had before attempted to penetrate through Beira Baza. The whole are stated to be 8,000 men, by some of the Officers who saw them, but I should think they must be more.—The other division of the 9th corps had not passed the frontier when I last received accounts of them; but I learn from an intercepted letter from General Drouet to General Claparede, that this division has been ordered to take a position at Guarda. Their advanced guard broke up from the neighbourhood of Trancoso on the night of the 3d instant.—There has been no alteration in the position of the enemy's army since I last addressed you, excepting that General Drouet's head-quarters have been fixed at Leyria with the troops which joined with him.—The enemy continue to construct boats in the Zezere, and have shewn much jealousy of the measures adopted by our troops on the left of the Tagus, to command by their fire the communication between the Zezere and the Tagus.—I have now to inform you, that Marshal Mortier arrived at Ronquillo, with a division of the corps under his command, on the 3d instant. He has since continued to advance into Estramadura, having formed a junction with the division which had been at Guadalcanal, under the command of General Girard; and I am concerned to add, that I have just learnt that he obtained possession of Merida, and of the bridge over the Guadiana at that place, on the evening of the 8th inst., the Spanish troops having retired.—They have left General Ballasteros' division on their left flank, between Xeres de los Cavalleros and Olivenza, with his communication open with Badajoz; and it is reported that Mortier's corps is followed by other troops. I have the honour to be, &c.

MEXICO.—*Civil War.—Letter from the Viceroy to the Governor in Spain.—Nov.* 7, 1810.

Excellent Sir—At nine o'clock this morning I attacked the army of the insurgents in a position so advantageous that without a knowledge of their want of military skill it would have been temerity to make the attack. In little more than an hour they were routed with the loss of all their artillery (among which were the two pieces of cannon which our troops left in the Monte de les Cruces), all their ammunition, consisting of 120 chests of powder, their train forming 11 waggons, a quantity of musketry, ammunition, a number of dead, and some prisoners. The loss on our part was only one killed and two wounded. I shall transmit the details to your Excellency as soon as possible. Had not the ground presented obstacles to the passage of two columns of cavalry destined to cut off the retreat of the enemy, my troops would have taken the leaders, Hidalgo, Allande, Aldama, and Abaslo, who escaped with much difficulty by the Sierra, with very few of their followers. I encamped on the ground on which I fought the battle, near the town of St. Geronimo Aculo, two leagues and a half from Arcoyozarco, on the road to Toluca, whither I proceeded, and relieved from prison Senores Garcia, Conde, Rul, and Merino. God guard your Excellency many years.

(To be continued.)

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

THE REGENCY.——The last scene of this curious political drama has been performed, and every man of sense is now able to decide upon the *character* and *conduct* of the different actors. There nevertheless requires some observations, in addition to those offered in my last Number, as to the *catastrophe* of the piece; not because the thing itself is of a puzzling nature; but because so many and such strenuous attempts are made, by the writers of the two conflicting parties, to *disguise the truth*. It is the interest of the two parties to ascribe the Prince's choice of the present ministers to motives precisely opposite; but it is the interest of neither to ascribe them to the *true* motive. The two parties are quite in earnest as to the desire of annoying each other; but they are both alike anxious not to expose themselves to the contempt of the people. They would fain tear each other to pieces; each would fain annihilate the other; but, both prefer even defeat and disgrace from the hands of each other, to any confession that would tend to shew, that a want of the people's confidence has had any weight in the event. All considerations as to the people, both are anxious to keep out of sight; but, there is no reason why the *public* should keep them out of sight; on the contrary, this conduct of the writers of the two parties is, of itself, a sufficient reason for stripping the matter of all the disguise that has been attempted to be thrown over it, and to place it upon record in a way that shall prevent the possibility of misunderstanding it.——In my last Number, I left it pretty plain, I think, that the MORNING CHRONICLE had assigned wrong motives to the Prince (whom we must now call THE REGENT) for the change in his intention as to the choice of his ministers. It was there clearly shewn, that to ascribe his conduct to the re-examination of the Physicians at Carleton House, or to a feeling of filial affection for his father, at the same time that he was said to have declared his resolution to change the ministry if he held the Regency for any length of time; it was clearly shewn, I think, that this account of the matter, while it was barely *possible* to be true, was *improbable* in the extreme, and if true, greatly injurious to the understanding and the character of the Regent; that it placed him in the most disadvantageous and even odious light, exhibiting a fickleness of mind; a want of all feeling for the people, a want of constancy towards his known friends and adherents, and, though the contrary was affected, a want of even outward respect for the public character of his father, seeing, that, while it stated him to have declined changing the ministry lest it should *give pain* to his father, it made him declare, that *such a change was necessary for the good of the country*, and that he was only prevented from immediately making it lest it should *give pain* to his father, aye, lest a change *for the good of the country* should *give pain* to his father upon his recovery, and of course, by that declaration inferring, that his father's recovery would *not be for the good of the country*.——It was, I think, very clearly shewn, that the true motive had been disguised by the MORNING CHRONICLE for the purpose of saving its friends from ridicule, on account of their defeat.——Nor is there any more truth and sincerity in the motive assigned by the writers of the other party, who tell us, that the determination not to change the ministry was produced by *a Letter from the Queen* to his Royal Highness. There is something so childish in such a notion; it is so inconsistent with all ideas of wisdom and manliness; it has so much of the nursery and the leading-strings in it, that, when one thinks of it in connection with the *age* of the Prince, one can scarcely forbear bursting out into laughter. But, when one considers it as applying to a measure affecting the happiness of fifteen millions of people, affecting the safety of a kingdom, it really fills one with indignation that any man should openly assert such a motive to have been the ground of action.——The writer, who ascribes the Regent's change of intention to *a Letter from his Mother*, does not, let it be observed, attempt to *deny*, that he had

actually given his commands to Lords Grenville and Grey to form a new ministry; on the contrary, he fully admits it, and gives us a most ludicrous description of the confusion which the announcing of the change of intention produced amongst them, who, he says, had already begun to address each other in the titles of their intended offices. This writer, then, clearly admits, that the Regent, had, after abundance of time to consider of the matter, actually given orders for the changing, totally changing, the ministry; and he asserts, that, after all this, the Regent suddenly, and completely changed his intention upon receiving *a letter from his mother*, which letter, and that alone, induced him to reject the men he had at first chosen, and to take the men whom he had resolved to discard. ——Now, in what a light is this to place his Royal Highness? The two sides have their different ways of exhibiting him; but neither seems disposed to spare his character. Both seem alike regardless of him, so that they annoy one another.—— It is to be supposed, that, if the Prince Regent went so far as to give his orders for the forming of a new ministry, (and it is admitted that he did); it is to be supposed, that before he did this, before he actually took so important a step, he had brought his mind to a thorough conviction, that a change of ministry was called for *by the good of the country;* that it was *necessary to the public welfare;* that it was a measure which the people's benefit and perhaps the safety of the country demanded. This must be supposed; and, in what a light, then, would the Prince be placed, if we were to admit the assertion of this venal writer, that, after this conviction was formed in the mind of the Prince, he was induced to abandon the measure, to abandon a measure which he was convinced was necessary to the good of the country, merely because he received *a letter from his mother*, desiring him to abandon it, lest it should give pain to his father?——How is it possible to devise any thing more injurious to the Prince's character than this? How is it possible to suggest any thing more likely (if it could be believed) to lessen him in the opinions of all men of sense and of public spirit? If this were universally believed, what reliance would any one ever place upon his firmness in future? If the people could be persuaded, that he had, from such a motive, abandoned a measure which he thought wise and necessary to their good, would they not have good reason to fear, that he *never* would be proof against assaults of the same, or a similar, kind, coming from that quarter, or from other quarters? Without supposing it probable, or even possible, that the Queen should ever entertain any mischievous *intention;* an intention, or wish, hostile to the public welfare, we may very easily suppose her to have erroneous views of public affairs; we may easily suppose her not to be a proper judge of a measure like that under consideration; and, in this particular case, we may easily suppose her to attach, and excuse her for attaching, even more weight than ought to be attached to the feelings of the King when compared with the vital interests of the nation. But, that circumstance, so far from arguing in favour of listening to her advice upon such an occasion, naturally argues the other way, and ought to excite a greater degree of caution. In short, view the matter in which way we will, the imputation of having abandoned the intended change from such a motive is extremely injurious to the character of His Royal Highness, and as such, the belief of the statement will be rejected by the public, unless much better evidence of its truth, than we have yet had, be produced.——The *real* cause of the change in the Prince's intention was, the inability to *go on* with the proposed ministry; or, at least, of this I am quite sure, it would have been impossible to go on with them. A ministry without Lord Grenville, a ministry that would have, at once, dashed at *Parliamentary Reform,* would have gone on; because the people would have been so decidedly for them, that there would have been every thing to expect from a dissolution of parliament. But, what would a dissolution of parliament with the rest ictions in being, have done for the *late ministry?*——The original coalition between the Foxites and Lord Grenville was before, and now again has been, the cause of the fall of the party; especially as Lord Grenville was, and was now to be again, at the *head* of affairs.——The junction was *unnatural.* It was as absurd as it would be to couple the shepherd's dog with the wolf. It was in vain to attempt to make the individuals harmonize; and, if that had been possible; if that had been actually effected, it was little short of insanity, to hope that *the people* would not view the harmony with a *suspicious* eye. It was useless to tell the people of the *strength* of the ministry; of

the combination of *talents* and of *stake;* for, their answer was, "aye, but what "will this Ministry *do for us?*"——Lord Grenville had been a party, and not only a party but an active, and even a prominent, party, to the *whole* of Mr. PITT's measures; and, indeed, he had been, to all appearance, one of the principal advisers of all those measures, which had given the most offence to the people, and the remembrance of which was most deeply engraven on their hearts, some of which measures, indeed, were actually brought forward by himself, and to this day, bear his name as part of their title in common conversation.——Against all these measures the FOXITES had sworn eternal hostility; not an hostility founded on *degree;* or an hostility as to the more or the less; but an hostility against the *principle* of the measures, which they held to be outrageous and abominable at all times and under all circumstances.——Was it any wonder, then, that a ministry so composed should not have had the confidence of the people? The Foxites had gained the good will of the people by this their hostility to those measures. Whatever they had of popular estimation was founded upon their opposition to Mr. PITT and his measures, and upon the confident hope that the people cherished, that, whenever the Foxites came into power, they would *undo those measures as far as it was possible,* and, that they would act upon those *opposite principles,* to which they had been *so long and solemnly pledging themselves* —— An union with Lord Grenville, therefore, was ominous in its very sound. It promised nothing that the people wanted; but, on the contrary, was a death-blow to their hopes.——There were some, however, who still hoped, that it was impossible, that the Foxites should not have taken care to insure the predominance of *their* principles, and that, of course, Lord Grenville had (in which there would have been nothing dishonourable) made up his mind to abandon the system of Mr. PITT, which had brought so much misery upon the country. But, alas! this hope soon vanished. The *predominance of Lord Grenville* appeared in every thing; in every act of the administration; and in every word of the whole party. To praise "the "*great statesman now no more*" seemed to have been a positive stipulation on the part of the Foxites, who, to the inexpressible shame, mortification, and finally, rage of all those who had formerly been attached to them, seemed to vie with each other in seizing upon occasions, and making occasions, for uttering those offensive and insulting praises.——Nor was the effect of this compromise confined to *words.* It was seen in acts of all sorts, as well of omission as commission. *No changes* were to be made in any of the offices, except those which immediately appertained to the ministry. The offices being all filled by the PITTITES, the persons filling them were the *friends of Lord Grenville,* not a few of whom had, indeed, been promoted under his patronage. He and Mr. PITT and Lord MELVILLE had, in fact, appointed the far greater part of the persons in office; and, as if there had been a design effectually to exclude the Foxites, Mr. ADDINGTON and his set of statesmen were included in the coalition; and, of course, those whom *he* also had appointed were to be kept in their places.——Thus, there was no change, worth speaking of, in this respect. People still saw the same faces at all the offices; the same influence was felt; and the same spirit animated the whole body. Whether in the Army, the Navy, the Law, the Taxing offices, the Church, the Magistracy; in all departments, in every corner, the same influence, the same spirit, the same system, still prevailed.——When the Foxites wished to remove this or that person, to make this or that change, they found that the person was a friend of either Lord GRENVILLE or Mr. ADDINGTON, or, that he was a friend of "*the great statesman now no more;*" and, as to changing measures, it was impossible to propose such change, without *finding fault* with the existing measures, without conveying, by inference, at least, a censure on those measures; that could not be done without a tacit censure on Lord Grenville or Mr. Addington, or on "*the "great statesman now no more;*" and, to censure Lord Grenville, either expressly or tacitly, was not to be expected from men, who had placed him at their *head.* ——Yet, all this might have been borne by the people, who might have assented to this species of *forbearance;* but, when they saw forty thousand pounds of the public money voted away by the Foxites to pay the debts of Mr. PITT, upon the grounds, *expressly stated by them,* of HIS SERVICES TO THE COUNTRY; when they saw these same Foxites, who had gained the people's favour solely by opposition to, and reprobation of, the measures and the whole system of PITT;

when the people saw those Foxites, not a man of whom had not a thousand times repeated the assertion, that Pitt was the greatest enemy that England ever saw, and who had, indeed, seen the fulfilment of all their predictions as to the effects of his measures; when the people saw these same Foxites voting away forty thousand pounds of their money to pay the debts of this man, and voting him also a funeral at the public expence, and upon the grounds, *expressly stated by them*, that HIS SERVICES TO THE COUNTRY demanded this tribute to his memory; when the people saw this, away went, at once, and for ever, all their confidence in the Foxites, all their friendship and all their respect. ——This was amongst the first acts of the new-ministry, and, of all their acts, it certainly was that which produced the greatest and most durable impression against them. It was so mortifying, it was such a cutting insult, it was such a cruel stab, a heart's-core stab, to their former friends and supporters, not a few of whom had such everlasting reason to remember "the public *services*" of Mr. Pitt, and the whole of whom had become attached to the Foxites, *because they constantly exposed and execrated his measures*.——In proportion as the Foxites sunk in the people's estimation they became more vulnerable, and the whole ministry became more easily assailed by the then opposition, who are now in power; but, the Foxites suffered in two ways; for, every thing that sunk them in the eyes of the people, sunk them also in the ministerial scale, made them of less consequence there, and, of course, added to the relative weight of Lord Grenville, who, indeed, in a very short time, obtained a complete predominance and, the ministry became, as to all its measures, as to every thing affecting the nation, only another set of Pittites, every principle, every part and particle of the Pitt system being not only adhered to, but adhered to upon the *express grounds* of being that system. And, it was curious enough to hear both sides of the House contending, in many cases, not so much whether the thing in question was good or bad, as whether it had been sanctioned by the example or the principles of "the *great statesman* now "no more," and both sides claiming *the honour of being his close imitators*.——What a scene was this for those to witness, who had, for so many years, been supporters of the Foxites! It was impossible, that they should not be shocked at it. It was quite impossible to retain or regain their confidence after this; and, accordingly, a more hearty abhorrence of public men certainly was never excited than that excited by the Foxites upon this occasion. At first men were silent; the shame which always arises, in a greater or less degree, from misplaced confidence, restrained for a while the utterance of their indignation; but, this restraint did not last long; and, when it did find a vent, indignation more strong never was expressed in this world. ——Here, too, Lord Grenville had the advantage; for, as the people had no reason to expect any thing in the way of change of system from him, *he* had not deceived them. *He* had never made them any promises; *he* had never professed any of those principles, by the profession of which the Foxites had gained the people's confidence. He was well know to belong to the PITT school; so far from ever having disclaimed it, he had taken all occasions of avowing its principles. *He*, therefore, lost nothing, while he gained, in the ministry, all the predominance that the sinking of the Foxites was calculated to give him; and thus, with them, the candle was burning at both ends: they were daily losing with the people, and daily losing with him; and, at every successive fall they fell further and further at a time; till, at the end of a year, scarcely a man of them durst open his lips, except for the purpose of supporting some measure or some principle which the whole of them had formerly condemned.——In this state was the late ministry, when it was broken up and dispersed with as little trouble and with as little impression upon the public as would arise from any man's discharging a dozen or two journeymen, and taking on others in their stead.——They were supplanted by men, whom they affected to despise; men whom they had laughed at; men who, indeed, had had so much dread of them, that they had, only fifteen months before, scampered away out of office at their approach. But, these men had the sagacity to perceive, that their opponents were sunk in public estimation; that the Foxites had been *tried* and found wanting; and that, as to *the people*, all the parties were now alike. They saw, that a total indifference as to public men had taken possession of the people's minds; and, which was of more importance than all other considerations put together, they had seen their opponents *do those things which would, in future, disarm them*. They saw,

in short, their opponents fairly *launched into the system*; they had, at their fingers' ends, the example of their opponents for all that they themselves could wish to do: and, to crown all, they had lord Grenville, at the *head* of these opponents, a sure guarantee that no hostility against them would, upon any occasion, be pushed *to extremity*; a sure guarantee, that *the system* would not be assailed, and that, to secure themselves against all assaults, they had nothing to do but tread in the steps of "the *great statesman* now no more."——These were the grounds upon which the present men went in supplanting the last; and experience has fully verified all their expectations.——While Lord Grenville is in the *opposition* what have they to *fear*; at least while he is the acknowledged *head* of the opposition; and of course, while the whole party have an eye to him in all their words and actions? While this is the case, the ministers do not, I warrant it, feel any apprehensions of a rude attack. They may have to encounter now and then a question of a diplomatic, or commercial kind, or relating to general policy, or to the wisdom or folly of an Expedition; but, in THE SYSTEM they are safe. There may be some very able manœuvring upon the plain; some fine regular combats, in which the ministers may be pushed to the glacis, with the loss perhaps, of their outworks; but, in the SYSTEM, in the body of the place, covered by the name of "the *great statesman* now no more," they are safe; for that is a rampart that Lord Grenville will never consent to scale or to batter. The opposition, under Lord Grenville do, and always must, fight in *muffles*, while their opponents come at them with good bony fists. It has always been regarded as a great thing to have a *friend* in the enemy's camp; what must it be, then, to have for that friend the enemy's *Commander in Chief*? How fearful must the odds, then, be? Yet, it is with an odds of this kind against them, that the Foxites have been carrying on the political warfare ever since January 1806. No wonder that they have had such an abundance of "*negative success*."——I do not impute to Lord Grenville any *double-dealing*. On the contrary, he appears to me to have acted, all along, a very open part. He will join in endeavours to put out the ministry and get into their places, if he can do it with certain means; if he can do it without going beyond certain lengths; if he can do it without violating any of the principles of the PITT SYSTEM; if he can do it, and be at the head himself. and make all those under him laud the Gods for having given birth to William Pitt, he will do it, but he will not do it upon any other conditions. There is nothing at all unfair in this; it is natural in him to exact the conditions on which he intends to co-operate; the only thing to be astonished at is, the folly (to say nothing worse of it) of the Foxites in supposing that they will ever obtain power by yielding to such conditions.——I know well, that Mr. Fox had no stomach to the ministry that was formed in 1806. He was decidedly against its being composed as it was. He wished to be left out of it personally, and would have given it support where he could. He was, after a great deal of persuasion, prevailed upon to take office; but, I take upon me to assert, that he did it with *extreme reluctance*. This I *know* to be true. He must have foreseen the consequences. They soon began to make their appearance; and, there can be no doubt, that they hastened his death; which, for his own sake, should have happened one year sooner than it did.——Such is the true history of the *late ministry*; and, after this retrospect, is it possible for any one to suppose, that the Prince Regent could, if he wished it, have *gone on* with a ministry *composed in the same way*, starting with a majority against them in both Houses, and having such small means of influence as the Restrictions had left in the hands of the Prince? I repeat my opinion, that the Regent had no great liking to a ministry with Lord Grenville at its head, notwithstanding what has been said to the contrary. There were many reasons for his not liking such a ministry; and, it cannot be supposed; it is to contradict the voice of human nature to suppose, that he could like to take as his prime minister, the man who had been the principal cause of imposing the *restrictions* upon him. It was Lord Grenville and his immediate connections who *decided the question* in both Houses. If they had joined in the vote for Address and not *Bill*, it would have been carried, and the Prince would have been Regent without any Restrictions *two months ago*. Lord Grenville laid most manfully on upon the ministers; but it was with respect to points of comparatively trifling importance. He laid on upon them with great force with regard to *inferior* points; the greater part of his *speeches* were very much against them;

but, upon all the material points, he gave them his *vote*. He might have prevented the Restrictions; he and his immediate connections turned the scale. It was owing *to them*, therefore, that the Restrictions were imposed; and, indeed, that the Houses proceeded by *Bill* instead of *Address*.——I shall be told, perhaps, and so, I dare say, the Prince was, that this line of conduct was necessary to preserve the *consistency* of Lord Grenville, who had taken the same line in the time of the "*great statesman* now no more." To which, had I been in the Prince's place, I should have answered: "Very "well; that may be very right in Lord "Grenville; but, let him, then, keep his "consistency to himself, and let me exer-"cise what little power he has left me "under the advice of another."——But, was the consistency of Lord Grenville so great, so mighty an object, that the *consistency of the Prince* was to be wholly overlooked? It should be recollected, that, in 1788, the Prince expressed certain opinions and principles, as well as Lord Grenville; the Prince then declared most decidedly against such restrictions, *as hostile to every principle of the constitution*; and, having again now *repeated* the substance of that declaration, in his Answer to the Deputation from the two Houses, would it have been very *consistent in him to take Lord Grenville as his prime minister?* But, I dare say, that there are people, who think nothing at all of this, compared with the precious consistency of Lord Grenville.——The Prince has taken Mr. Perceval, I shall be told, who proposed those restrictions against which His Royal Highness had protested. But, there is a great deal of difference in the two cases. He, in all probability, *liked* the one much about as much as the other; but, the conduct of the two, though tending to the same point with regard to him, must be viewed in a very different light. Mr. Perceval was the *minister of the King*, Lord Grenville was not: Mr. Perceval was acting, in appearance at least, in pursuance of his duty or attachment, towards *another*; Lord Grenville was the champion of his *own consistency*.——Besides, there is a wide difference between the *making* of a minister, and the taking of a minister ready made to his hands. If Lord Grenville had become minister, it would have been the Prince's *own act*, and he would have been looked upon as, in reputation at least, responsible for the measures and principles of the administration. He now merely suffers his father's ministers to go on as they were going on before, and as they would have gone on, if nothing had happened to his father.——Here are reasons more than sufficient to account for the Prince's preferring Mr. Perceval to Lord Grenville; but, if there were not, others would not be wanting; for, I insist, that it would have been impossible for the Prince to have carried on the Government with Lord Grenville at the head of it. The ministry would have been made up of men, who would have had *no part* of the community cordially with them. All the old true Anti-Jacobin tribe, all the contractors, all the tax-gatherers, the restrained Bank people, the Eastern Empire people, the country Bankers, the Lloyd's and the Exchange people, a great majority of the Clergy and of the Justices of the peace, and nine-tenths of the good old women of both sexes; all these are for the present ministers. If a Parliamentary Reforming ministry had been chosen, they would have had all the active and independent part of the people of England and of the whole kingdom. But, a ministry with Lord Grenville at its head, would have had nothing for them but their "*stake*," as Mr. PERRY calls it; nothing but their estates and their tenants; and that is not sufficient, think of it what they will.——So that, as I said in my last, leaving all *likings* and *dislikings* out of the question, the Prince had no other choice, than that which lay between the *parliamentary reformers* and the *present men*. Had I been in his place I should have chosen the *former*: but, men differ in their tastes; and, at any rate, let not the most of those who composed the late ministry blame the Prince for taking MR. PERCEVAL, whom *they* supported and "*rallied round*" upon every occasion, when it was interesting to the people that they should be his assailants. They have now their reward for that: and, much good may it do them. They called the petitions of the people "*popular cla-*"*mour*," they call the parliamentary reformers, "*a low degraded crew*:" they have recently flung SIR SAMUEL ROMILLY overboard for denying to Mr. PITT the character of "a *great statesman*," and now they are *flung overboard themselves*, with the mortification of seeing not a single hand stretched out to save them, and of hearing millions of voices exclaim, down! down! down to the lowest deep, *never* to rise

again!——They were prepared, I believe, to fling overboard some others besides Sir SAMUEL ROMILLY. Every one who had taken the side of Sir Francis Burdett. When Lord ARCHIBALD HAMILTON brought forward his motion about Lord CASTLEREAGH, last session, how did they then act? Even then they "rallied round." And is there, can there be any man beast enough to regret, that the Prince has rejected them? I trust not; and am quite sure, that all those who *can* make a retreat from them, will do it. They may attempt other *coalitions*; but, they will not succeed. There is *now* no ground left for an opposition to stand upon, but *Parliamentary Reform*; and, those who will not stand forward boldly for that great measure, may as well hold their tongues.

Mr. FINNERTY.——In another part of this Number, I have inserted a report of the proceedings of yesterday, in the Court of King's Bench, relative to this gentleman. I have no room for any remarks here; but I cannot refrain from recommending the Report (which I have taken from the TIMES, that being the fullest I could find) to the attention of my readers. It is a very interesting case of the kind, and *any* case of this kind must be very unimportant indeed, that is not of more importance to us than any war that the country ever was engaged in. We are too apt to pass over these things lightly. We suffer our minds to be amused with what is going on in *Sicily* and *Portugal*; and quite overlook what is passing under our noses. The discomfiture of the embryo ministry has engrossed public attention for many days past; but, I will venture to say, that it is not of a thousandth part so much importance to the country as this case of Mr. Finnerty is ——It is the business of every man, and particularly of every man who thinks of putting pen to paper, to read and well consider and take warning by and bear in mind and remember as long as he has breath in his body and make his children understand and remember this case.

W^M. COBBETT.

State Prison, Newgate, Friday, February 8, 1811.

☞ PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES.——I notified before, that the Debates of this Session, and in future, would be published in PARTS. The FIRST PART of the Debates of this Session is *now ready for delivery*, at the Publishers', containing the Debates and Proceedings from the 1st of November last, to the 20th of December.

STATE TRIALS.——The *Ninth Volume* of this Work is also now ready for delivery. It comprises the period from the 24th year to the 26th year of Charles the Second, and contains many very important articles which will be found in no other Collection of this kind.

MR. FINNERTY.

Proceedings and Sentence in the Case of Mr. Peter Finnerty, for a Libel on Lord Castlereagh.—In the Court of King's Bench, 8th Feb. 1811.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL prayed the Judgment of the Court against Mr. PETER FINNERTY, for a libel on Lord CASTLEREAGH.

Mr. FINNERTY having appeared in Court, presented his affidavits.

Mr. FINNERTY.—I have endeavoured to shape this amended affidavit so as to meet your Lordship's wishes. Perhaps, however, notwithstanding my care and my strict adherence to the precedent on which I have framed it, some errors may have crept in, which I hope may be imputed to my inexperience. Shall I point out, to save your Lordship's time, the place to which it was read before the Court interrupted it?

Lord ELLENBOROUGH.—No, I desired you to bring a new and inoffensive affidavit; I hope you have taken my well-meant advice.

Mr. FINNERTY.—I have to remark on something which fell from the Counsel on the last occasion.

COURT.—Not now; let the affidavit be read first.

The affidavit was here read. It detailed, in the first place, the reasons why the defendant was not in Court before, when judgment was prayed against him; it next proceeded to state why he had suffered judgment to go by default; he now, however, stated his belief of every circumstance with which he had charged Lord Castlereagh, and at this period offered the truth in justification.

Lord ELLENBOROUGH.—I objected to this before: I warned you to amend it by to-day; you have come here, however, without appearing to have profited by our ad-

vice or our indulgence. I hope, Sir, you come in the proper spirit to mitigate a crime of which you have confessed the commission.

Mr. FINNERTY.—I have, I hope, come here to-day with a suitable spirit. I have come here, however, under no consciousness of guilt, and I will avow none. That part of the affidavit which you have now interrupted, you suffered to be proceeded with on a former day. The part to which the Court objected has been expunged: I have expunged above two thirds of the affidavit, but have suffered that to which no objection was made to remain.

Lord ELLENBOROUGH.—Then, hand it back to him. We reject it, Sir; you got very indulgent advice from us, and you have rejected it; you must take the consequence.

Mr. FINNERTY.—My Lord, you made no objection to this on a former day, and that misled me. I am willing, however, to have it framed unexceptionably by any referee your Lordship chooses.

COURT.—No, Sir, the Court will not hear of a referee.

Mr. FINNERTY.—Will you, then, allow me till to-morrow to have it re-cast, according to your Lordship's wishes?

The COURT.—No, we are not to wait here till you condescend to conform to the law. You were before told by me that this affidavit was improper, yet you have persisted. If you have any unexceptionable affidavits which can do you good, we will hear them.

Mr. FINNERTY.—Am I, then, for one error, to be excluded from the benefit of my most important affidavit? I have shaped it by Draper's case, and I desire it may be read.

The COURT.—Sir, your pertinacity shall not influence us. There may be a thousand distinctions between Draper's case and this.

Mr. FINNERTY.—Well, then, be it so, though I have affidavits here which would astonish the country; since I am excluded from presenting them, it is my misfortune. Here is one unexceptionable.

The affidavit of David Power, Esq. a volunteer in the army at Walcheren, was here read, stating the imminent peril in which Mr. Finnerty stood from Lord Castlereagh's order.

The affidavit of Doctor Lipscombe was also read, stating that he had attended Mr. Finnerty in November last, and that he was then in extreme danger of derangement and death, owing to anxiety of mind; and that he was not yet quite recovered.

Mr. FINNERTY.—When I last appeared here, the first interruption I experienced was from the informality of Doctor O'Connor's affidavit; providentially I have received a more correct one since from Bandon—I now offer it.

The COURT.—Who is this O'Connor?

Mr. FINNERTY.—He is a Gentleman who was transported on the mere unsupported warrant of Lord Castlereagh.

The COURT.—Reject this.

Mr. FINNERTY.—If you believe Lord Castlereagh guilty, of course it may be rejected. If you do not believe him guilty, I pledge myself here to produce, if I am allowed, above fifty affidavits, confirming on his part horrors so unparalleled, that not a man who hears me but will invoke the Throne of Justice for vengeance on his head. I offer this affidavit on the principle which Lord Mansfield—

The COURT.—We will not hear it.

Mr. FINNERTY.—Here, then, is the affidavit of Mr. Clare.

The COURT.—Who is Clare?

Mr. FINNERTY.—The affidavits will tell that. The description will take up as much time as the reading. It has been sworn before the Judges of the King's Bench in Ireland.

Mr. Clare's affidavits stated, that in the year 1798, various kinds of torture, such as whippings, picketings, half-hangings, &c. &c. were practised in Dublin, close to the Castle Gate. He swore also that Lord Castlereagh must have heard the cries.

The COURT.—Can it be endured that such affidavits as this are to be put in when we have expressed our determination on the subject, and given our advice?

Mr. GARROW.—Certainly, my Lord, it ought not to be tolerated. You have given this man an entire week, and he has chosen to remain obstinate.

Mr. FINNERTY.—I offer the affidavit to be read: it will substantiate every thing I have stated in the original libel.

The COURT.—Sir, have you any inoffensive affidavit?

Mr. FINNERTY.—My Lords, according to the doctrine which was laid down by this Court, that truth was no justification, I pleaded guilty on my trial: I did so because I understood that on being brought up for judgment, I might produce the truth in mitigation. This was no idle fancy of my own; it was built upon your

precedents. Since the law was against me, I have deferred to it; but nothing on earth shall induce me to make any submission to Lord Castlereagh. No, my Lords, your language to Gale Jones on his trial was, that he had no proof of what he had stated. That shall not apply to me. I here tender you the plain, unquestionable evidence of Lord Castlereagh's guilt. I have written not a syllable which I cannot prove. I now offer to do so; and in the face of this Court and of the country, to exhibit him, beyond all doubt, the basest individual who ever prostituted the high office reposed in him.

The COURT.—We cannot hear this. You may now utter fresh libels against Lord Castlereagh, which he can have no opportunity of rebutting.

Mr. FINNERTY.—Yes, my Lord, he will have an opportunity. I offer *my* affidavits. Let him, as Colonel Draper did, put in counter-affidavits, if he can, and thus rebut my evidence. If he cannot do this, he must stand arraigned and convicted before the country. I ask your Lordships to give him the opportunity; or if you do not, I ask you, in the name of all that is sacred, how can you reconcile it to yourselves to send me to a prison for uttering the truth? Will you hear my affidavits?

The COURT.—No; not if they are the same as these which you have offered. They cannot plead in mitigation.

Mr. FINNERTY.—According to this, I am curious to hear what your Lordship means by mitigation. I again offer my affidavits.

The COURT—I said before, not to the purport of those you have offered.

Mr. FINNERTY.—I shall, then, state the purport of a few; and then your Lordship can receive or reject them as they proceed. I have here an affidavit of, under his government, a father and son tortured side by side. Will you read that?

The COURT.—No.

Mr. FINNERTY.—Here is another from Mr. Hughes, whom Lord Castlereagh saw after the torture had been inflicted: his back was raw with the scourge, and his shirt one mass of blood loosely flung around him.

The COURT.—Why, this is contumacy to the Court!

Mr. FINNERTY.—I wish to offer none. I stand here, not to repel your judgment, but to vindicate my character. Reputation is dearer to me than life; and in comparison with the loss of that, any punishment within power's limits to inflict has little terrors for me. I have offered now to prove the truth of all my statements. According to the law, I may be called a libeller; but if I had not offered my affidavits, I might be called a liar also. Since the Court does not choose to hear the truth of this averment, I proceed to another.

Mr. DIXON's affidavit stated that he was a Yeoman in 1798; that he saw three peasants whipped and tortured without trial.——

The COURT.—What does this prove?

Mr. FINNERTY.—It goes on to state that these cruelties were committed with Castlereagh's sanction and privity.

The COURT.—You have been often told these things were irrelevant. Do not compel us to send you back to prison till next Term, in order that you may come here to receive our judgment in a becoming manner.

Mr. FINNERTY.—I have been at very great trouble and expence to procure those affidavits. I went to Ireland for the purpose, and I now offer them again, with the observation, that they do not contain one hundredth part of the atrocities which I could prove against this man. I have, however, sufficient for my purpose. Here they are, sworn before the judges of Ireland by honest men. I press them upon the Court neither with presumption nor pertinacity, and I quote the case of Colonel Draper to support me. Not one word has been said to overthrow that case. Colonel Draper was allowed to prove every word, and he was held to bail. Colonel Draper offered false affidavits, yet they were heard; he offered irrelevant affidavits, yet they were not interrupted. I here offer true and relevant affidavits, and I demand equal justice. I refer your lordships to no statute which you may construe at your discretion. I produce to you no dicta of those who have preceded you, and by whom you are not bound; but I quote to you your own wise, modern, uncontradicted act, in a case which occurred not two years since. If any thing were wanting to prove the vile malignity with which my enemy has persecuted me, I have merely to mention, that on the very day when this Court were protracting my appearance on account of ill-health, the Attorney of my prosecutor was seeking me out, loading me with the foulest, falsest obloquy, and endeavouring to drag me from my bed of sick-

ness to my dungeon. Since my affidavits cannot be read, let this fact prove the persecution I have suffered.

The Court.—Since you have no proper affidavits to produce, you may now speak on any topics you think relevant.

Mr. Finnerty.—No; let the Attorney-General begin: I choose to have the privilege of replying to him.

The Attorney-General.—No; in the case of the King against Budd, it was ruled that where no affidavits were produced either on the part of the prosecution or defence, the defendant was first to speak in mitigation and the prosecutor to answer him.

Mr. Finnerty.—Certainly, Lord Kenyon ruled it so; but I should suppose that your Lordships will prefer the precedent which you have yourselves established. I allude to the case of Draper, where Mr. Garrow and Mr. Nolan, I believe, spoke first for the prosecution, and then Mr. Serjeant Best rose for the defence, in reply, when the business ended by Draper's being held to bail. I shall rest on Draper's case until it be controverted.

Mr. Garrow.—As there is nothing for the prosecutor to speak upon but the information, of course it must follow that the defendant should first speak, or else what can the prosecutor have to reply to?

The Court.—As to Draper's case, some irregularity may have crept in, perhaps from the indifference of the Counsel, or some other cause; but we cannot suffer that irregularity to contravene established usage.

Mr. Clifford.—My Lord, the rule, as quoted by the Attorney-General, only applies to cases where affidavits were produced. Here two, those of Power and Lipscombe, have been read.

The Court.—No, none on the part of the prosecution. Mr. Finnerty, now proceed.

Mr. Finnerty.—I am well aware, my Lords, of the many disadvantages under which I stand this day; but of none am I more sensible of than having unhappily squared my conduct by a decision, which until now acted on, has been so suddenly rejected. I have also the misfortune to have that sworn testimony which I have offered, refused; and to hear charges made against me, which it is not allowed to me to rebut. I cannot, indeed, devise what the Attorney General may offer for his client. Perhaps, fertile in expedients, he may declare his innocence. In this he will but follow the example of the noble Lord himself, who openly declared in his place in parliament, that there was no torture inflicted in Ireland. Such an effect had this hardy and unblushing declaration, that I well remember, when Mr. Dallas was defending the tortures of Picton in Trinidad, on the precedent of those inflicted in Ireland, the Judge stopped him by the assertion, that there was no punishment inflicted in that country but by Court-martial. It is not for me, however, to anticipate what may be his defence: sufficient will it be for me if I repel his accusation. What are the crimes of which I am accused? I am accused of being oppressed, and not submitting—of being slandered, and opposing him who traduced me—of acting on the first law, which God and nature have implanted in the heart of man, that of self-preservation! Is this to be deemed a crime? Good God, are we come to such a crisis, that in this land of freedom, the tyrant may torture us, and we are not to turn—the slanderer may assail us, and we are not to oppose—the persecutor may pursue us, and we are not to resist him! Are we, when oppressed, and spurned, and trampled on, to be denied the last refuge of misery—complaint? I ask this day no indulgence—I supplicate no mercy. Give me an impartial hearing, a patient attention, pure and unmixed justice. Justice, my Lords, is consistent and compatible with freedom: mild, tolerant and unbiassed, she seeks but the clear and candid truth to produce a decision consonant to her character. Give me to-day that justice, and I shall have little apprehension. You see me here oppressed, but innocent—respectful, but undaunted—reverential to this Court, but not regardless of my character—and supported, under all my difficulties, by the conviction, that a British Hall of Justice is the last place where apprehension should enter. It may be asked me, why, if I am innocent, did I withdraw my plea? I will tell your lordships: Very early in this prosecution I heard the Bench declare, that any evidence of the truth which I should offer could not extenuate my guilt. That, they said, was law. Here then, I was, an innocent man, without the right to prove my innocence. What was I to do? Surely, not to oppose the authority of this Court, and trust to the simple statement of an unlettered individual like myself, to combat it with a jury. No, I had no such presumption. Innocent,

then, as I was, I allowed judgment to go by default, in, it seems, the vain hope, that that truth which could not ward off a verdict might still mitigate a punishment. I supplicate no mercy—I confess no guilt. I know Lord Castlereagh too well, and respect myself too much, to supplicate his clemency. If I had traduced him, I should apologise; and even still in the prison to which I shall be sent, if it can be proved to me that I have uttered one syllable of falsehood, I shall make atonement; for I dislike no human being so much as to disregard the truth. But I have little idea of ever being undeceived. Here are before me the horrid testimonies of his atrocities—here are the speaking proofs which sullied him in Ireland—here are the records, which, if read this day, would present such cruelties as never before branded the barbarism of the most uncivilised nations.

The Court here interfered, and told the defendant he was proceeding irregularly.

Mr. FINNERTY.—I do not come here uninformed on this subject. I have examined and digested it. I have traced it from its vicious author, who hoped, vainly hoped, by its invention to shield his memory from the obloquy it merited. The result of my research has been, that the law of libel is the will of the judge. If the Attorney-General presented a book for prosecution, and the Bench once said it was a libel, under the present law the Jury must find it so. No matter whether the person libelled be innocent or guilty, he who accuses him must be convicted. In the words of Sir Thomas Mallett, "libelling against a common strumpet is as great an offence as against an honest woman, and perhaps more dangerous to the breach of the peace; for as the woman said, she should never grieve to be told of her red nose if she had not one in reality." Lord Castlereagh has pretended a most violent regard for his character. But how ludicrous is this delicacy! See, if he had proceeded against me by information, he might have sworn my statement was false; if he had proceeded by action, I might have sworn it was true: but no, he chooses to proceed criminally, where neither can take place; and this he calls a vindication of his character! Tell me, my Lords, does such a course proceed from solicitude or resentment?

Sir SIMON LE BLANC.—You are travelling quite out of the road.

Mr. FINNERTY.—I am not deviating from the law.

Lord ELLENBOROUGH.—Sir, unless you take the warning which has been so repeatedly given you, the Court must let its justice overcome its compassion.

Mr. FINNERTY.—If you think this prosecution has been instituted to clear Lord Castlereagh, of course you will allow me to clear myself by proving his guilt.

Lord ELLENBOROUGH.—No: the prosecution has been brought to satisfy the justice of the country by the prevention of libels.

Mr. FINNERTY.—Lord Castlereagh is anxious for his character, and so am I for mine. Is he to escape, and am I to be libelled with impunity? I know well some have been even rewarded for it: but the calumnies of bad men "pass by me as the idle wind which I regard not."—I have never spoke against the truth, but I have opposed oppression;—there is my crime. I have advocated reform—the principle which gave Chatham immortality, and his son power: which has given Whitbread, Sheridan, and Burdett the confidence of the nation—which makes that nation look up to the Prince for measures, in which I trust and hope he may not disappoint them. I have advocated innocence, and in so doing I have transgressed a law which no human being can ascertain. No man can charge me with a sinister view in doing so. I trust I shall hear no accusation of "base lucre" made against me, as it was against another individual in this Court; a strange accusation to come from him, forsooth, who never opens his mouth without a fee. I know a prejudice is excited against those who attack men in power: but do not they sometimes deserve it? Do you not remember how James, Coke, and that wicked Bacon, then Attorney-General, conspired against an innocent individual? Do you not remember the monster Jefferies? But, thank God, the record of his punishment has accompanied the record of his guilt; let it be a sacred admonition to all who are weak or wicked enough to prefer the transient favour of a Court to the pure and beauteous permanency of virtue! Yet what was Jefferies to—But, my Lords, I check myself. Lord Kenyon says, a libeller has no right to complain when libelled; as sound doctrine as ever he promulgated. You will not deny it, my Lords: if so, then you will not punish me, for you cannot punish the censor of him who has wasted the treasure

of the people, and the blood of his species. When this man was sending out the greatest expedition which ever sailed from England, how was he employed?—Why, in watching me. Better would it have been if he had been sending bark to the fine soldiery he sent to perish, and whom I saw dying for the want of it. But why did I go to Walcheren? Simply at the request of Sir Home Popham; whose letter I have in my hand, requesting me to give a narrative of the expedition. Castlereagh prevented me; and, besides my personal injuries, occasioned me a pecuniary loss of near 600*l.* The Attorney-General chose to say I was unfit. "*Unfit!*" this phrase is something in the style of Sterne's *inuendo;* any man may fill it up as he pleases. Why was I unfit? I defy the Attorney-General to answer me in any other way, than that he wanted to prejudice the public mind against me.

The COURT.—Why, you are hardly uttering a syllable which is not libelous. We shall certainly remand you.

Mr. FINNERTY.—I was in this Court when Gilbert Wakefield was heard, without interruption, for three hours; but if you do not choose to hear me, of course I must desist.

The COURT.—We wish to hear you, if you are not indecorous.

Mr. FINNERTY.—Well, then, since this topic is displeasing, I shall have recourse to another which may prove more palatable. I have sworn in my affidavits that every thing with which I have charged Castlereagh in Ireland is true.

The COURT.—That is not in evidence.

Mr. FINNERTY.—See to what a state your Lordships have reduced me. You first say, when I offer you evidence, you will not receive it; and then, when I refer to a point, you turn round and tell me, it is not in evidence! Shall I be at liberty to proceed?

The COURT.—Not in this way.

Mr. FINNERTY.—Every thing I have stated is true. I had no other way of proceeding. An action against Castlereagh, I was told, could not succeed; and so, in order to shield myself from his cool and cautious calumny, I could only have recourse to the press. I now come to the case of Orr. The Attorney-General has said that Lord Yelverton refused to recommend Mr. Orr to mercy——

The COURT.—You cannot proceed on that topic.

Mr. FINNERTY.—I suppose, I shall have the same indulgence which was given to Mr. Wakefield?

Lord ELLENBOROUGH did not know what Mr. Gilbert Wakefield might have uttered during those 3 hours, but if it was as irrelevant as what the defendant was now uttering, he hoped the Court interfered to suppress it.

Mr. FINNERTY asked to what other vindication of his character he could have resorted, than the one which he adopted? He applied to Counsel, on the subject of bringing an action against Lord Castlereagh, who advised him from the measure. But, after the publication of the order for his return home, he was asked by every person he met, whether he meant to submit to have imputed to him the treasonable views which that order suggested? He therefore wrote his Appeal to the Public. Was it possible that that order could originate in any thing but the ill-will of Lord Castlereagh? and was the defendant to sacrifice his own feelings to preserve his Lordship's? A libel was a misdemeanour, inasmuch as it tended to a breach of the peace; the defendant hoped, therefore, that it would not be visited with more severity than a duel or a manslaughter, which were actually breaches of the peace. The defendant alluded to a statute of the reign of Philip and Mary, by which, libel was punished by a fine of 100*l.* and an imprisonment of a month; and to another statute of Elizabeth, in which a similar light punishment was inflicted upon libel. He was aware, however, that there were precedents of punishing libel by slitting the nose, and even by death. But there was one precedent established by the present Court, upon which he particularly stood. It was the case of Mr. Heriot, who was found guilty of a libel in the Sun newspaper upon Lord St. Vincent, accusing him of having neglected to send intelligence of the commencement of war to our colonial possessions. That was a seditious libel; the present defendant's was not—that libel was false, his was true; Lord St. Vincent had never given Mr. Heriot any offence—Lord Castlereagh had bent the whole force of his hostility on the defendant; the person libelled there was a man, the brilliancy of whose naval character, splendid as it was, was thrown comparatively into the shade by the transcendant excellence of his political character—the person alleged to be libelled here was Lord Castlereagh! And yet Mr. Heriot was punished with only six

months imprisonment, and then discharged without fine or bail. The defendant also adverted to the case of Colonel Draper, who was punished with only six months' imprisonment; and to the case of Mr. Blagdon, who was punished only with that extent of imprisonment, for a libel also on Lord St. Vincent.

Mr. Finnerty proceeded to state, that in consequence of the part which he had taken in the Middlesex elections of 1802 and 1804, he had had the misfortune to make the Magistrates of that county his enemies. There was a particular prison under their control; and it would be death to him to be sent thither. He would rather be disposed of as Buonaparté disposed of Palm, the book-seller, than be sent to the Cold-bath-fields prison. He closed with the full assurance that the Court would always recollect the maxim of Blackstone, that next to the satisfaction of justice, a Judge ought to look to the satisfaction of the public. He quoted a decision of Chief Justice Lee, who refused a motion for an information against a man, who advertised to caution the public not to trust his wife upon his credit, upon the ground that the man had no other mode of obtaining redress. If this man could be prosecuted, *a fortiori* he could not be punished. The defendant applied this case to his own; and said, that to accuse Lord Castlereagh was the only way in which he could justify himself. He also quoted the case of the Abbot of St. Alban's, who wanted to punish a man for complaining that he had made him a cuckold. Just so, would Lord Castlereagh punish the defendant for complaining that his Lordship had called him a traitor.

Mr. Finnerty then read some extracts from Lord Erskine's speeches, which the Court would allow to be of no authority, as they were the mere *dicta* of an advocate. He declared that he had no intention to write a libel: if it were told him, he was bound to know what was a libel, he would reply, that surely an individual, unprofessional and uneducated as he was, might be allowed not to understand a science which had divided the most learned judges of the country. The Noble and Learned Judge on the Bench, and the Attorney General, differed as to what was a libel in Mr. Perry's late case; and surely the law of libel was one to which the maxim of *ignorantia legis non excusat* did not apply. If the record of a severe punishment upon the defendant were handed down to posterity, accompanied with the slightest biographical sketch of Lord Castlereagh, would not the reader exclaim, "What must have been the state of those laws under which an individual was punished for complaining of oppression?" The eye of England, interested in every thing which was done by that Court, especially with what related to the law of libel and the freedom of the press, and pre-eminently the eye and heart of the defendant's native land (Ireland), he had the satisfaction to know were turned with the greatest anxiety to the result of that day's judgment. But it might be said that this was not a controversy between Lord Castlereagh and the defendant; the breach of the peace, the violation of the law, were the objects of the indictment. The defendant knew not in what part of the country the peace would be broken on behalf of Lord Castlereagh's character; for upon that subject every body was of one mind. What the defendant had said throughout the libel and that day, he was ready to prove. He hoped he had adhered to his promise of saying nothing offensive to the highest Ministers of the law in England, as he regarded the Court to be. If he had tendered an inadmissible affidavit, it contained not a single atom, but what there was precedent for in Col. Draper's Case; and if he had not been able to new model his affidavit according to the directions of the Court, it was only from a difficulty of precisely ascertaining what those directions were. Having been all his life in the habit of speaking the sentiments of a free man, he should only have incurred the contempt of the Court had he abandoned that language now; and he would rather meet the severest punishment which it was in the power of the Court to inflict, than labour under the degradation of being thought a hypocrite. The whole of the case was before the Court; they would recollect the nature of the provocation; they would read the libel, and would consider whether, if that were true, the defendant deserved punishment or not. He would say little about his sufferings on account of the present prosecution—his expences, his loss of time; the whole of his subsistence, depending as it did, upon his daily exertions. He hoped he should support his punishment with firmness; and though he were to be confined in the dungeon of Dionysius, he would not exchange character with Lord Castlereagh.

He retained his conviction that every part of the supposed libel being proved, as he offered to do it, it was justifiable.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL then rose on the part of the prosecution. He had heard the address of the defendant with deep regret and with much disgust. He knew the Court's anxiety not to deprive the defendant of the slightest circumstance of mitigation which his case afforded: he knew how long the Court had refrained from interfering, upon the principle of mercy to one who deserved none, although he would find it. It was impossible to hear the defendant's address without seeing that he entertained a deliberate design, manifested as well in the publication of the libel as in the defence of it, *per fas et nefas*, to ruin the character of Lord Castlereagh—to represent him as a monster of iniquity, and that against his own perfect knowledge of the fact. The Attorney General would not say this lightly of any man; but it was a matter of public history, that Lord Castlereagh held no office in Ireland till March, 1798; and yet it was asserted in the libel, that he was the leader of the administration, and the author of the measures which were pursued in 1797. Was there any thing more disgraceful to that cause of liberty which the defendant pretended to hold so high, that the outrage which the defendant had that day committed upon public decency and good manners, should be borne with impunity? Whom had the defendant not libelled, from his Lordship on the Bench, down to the Middlesex Magistrates? The defendant desired his Lordship not to send him to any prison in custody of the Magistrates of Middlesex, because that measure would be the death of him. Can any man think that he believes what he says? If he does believe it, he is as ignorant of the administration of the laws of England, as he has shewn himself of the laws. Had the defendant known any thing about that administration, he would have known that there was no one Magistrate base or hardy enough to attempt his ill-treatment, or that if there were, the rest would never be found to consent to it. The Attorney General did not trouble the Court with repeating the libel; malignant and wicked as it was, there was nothing in it so malignant or so wicked as what the defendant had that day urged in its extenuation. The Attorney General said "wicked," for there was no conduct more base than that of the man, who, when he was called upon to answer for wrongs, took advantage of the indulgence always shewn by the Court to men in his situation, to more than double those wrongs, by charges ten thousand times more infamous than those for the preferment of which he was originally indicted. And who was the person who placed himself upon this eminence, with regard to Lord Castlereagh? By his own account of himself, he was the editor, in Ireland, of a paper called the *Press*; a man who was, in that country, convicted of a libel in that paper——

Lord ELLENBOROUGH interfered, for the purpose of preventing the Attorney General from going into extraneous matter.

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL replied, that what he had asserted was stated in the libel, and, after all that the defendant had said of Lord Castlereagh, the learned Counsel confessed that the Court had a right to confine him to the letter of the libel. He desired that it might be remembered, that almost every word the defendant uttered was the foulest slander that ever fell from the mouth of man. He called upon his Lordship to remember how he conducted himself towards his prosecutor, and how the Attorney-General conducted himself; and to deal justice between them. He had the defendant upon his own statement a convicted libeller in Ireland; and he had now shewn himself a libeller against the Court which then convicted him. Surely, when he planted himself in the late Expedition, even the circumstance of his having been a convicted libeller would of itself suggest the propriety of not suffering such a person to accompany that Expedition; and should an individual, because he chose to blow the trumpet of his own fame, dare to question the conduct of those who had the management of that expedition, when they thought fit to issue an order to prohibit his remaining in their company? And should it be permitted him, when called upon to answer a libel, to multiply that libel, and to avow himself the accuser of Lord Castlereagh? Was there any thing in this conduct but the excess of it which stupified one, and prevented one from complaining of it at once? The Attorney General would not be understood as complaining of the Court for not interposing more severely; for, after his Lordship's notice, the defendant had nothing to prevent him in his calumnies but his own sense of decency. When he began a

sentence, the Court could not anticipate how it would end. But the Attorney-General called upon the Court to visit these added calumnies in the defendant's punishment. What redress had Lord Castlereagh for the gross injuries he had received that day; unless, taking all the circumstances into their consideration, the Court estimated the degree of malignity which the defendant possessed against Lord Castlereagh, and punished him accordingly; The defendant had stated himself to have acted not without legal advice, but the Attorney-General was well persuaded the defendant had not followed that advice: for no Gentlemen at the Bar would have advised the defendant to pursue the conduct he had that day pursued; and there was not one but would have told him that the very production of his present Affidavits would be a violation of the law. His passion for injuring Lord Castlereagh had suppressed his natural desire of defending himself: he was in the situation of a man reckless of his own life, so that he murdered his enemy, or him whom he chose to fancy his enemy. The question for their Lordships to consider was the measure and kind of punishment which should be inflicted upon the defendant; and upon that head the defendant himself had desired their lordships not to send him to a particular species of prison. The Attorney-General trusted the punishment of the defendant would not be confined to imprisonment; but, that if there was any kind of punishment in their Lordships' discretion more degrading than imprisonment, that too would be inflicted upon the defendant. If their Lordships had ever met with a a case more aggravated than the present, the Attorney-General desired the defendant might receive a mitigated sentence; but if they found in the affidavits and address of the defendant to the Court, and to the Public, (the Counsel might say) the utmost degree of malignity, he desired them not to forget the justice of the laws of England, tempered as they were with mercy; and also not to forget their Lordships' own dignity, and how the defendant had aimed his outrageous reflections upon those laws, through the Court. He desired them to remember, too, the prosecutor's unmerited wrongs, and when they had allowed every thing to mercy—when they had studiously selected every portion of excuse for the defendant's conduct, to put his accumulated malignity into the other scale, and then pronounce the sentence which justice called for and exacted. How would character be sacred hereafter, if this offence were lightly punished? What case called for the severest punishment, if this did not?

Mr. Garrow followed on the same side.

Mr. Justice Grose observed, that the Court had so lately taken the circumstances of the present libel into their consideration, in the case of another defendant, that they had no hesitation in awarding their sentence immediately. That which was an offence in that person as the publisher of the libel, was much more an offence in the present defendant, who was its author. The Court in vain looked for any circumstances of mitigation in the present case. The defendant manifested a cool, deliberate intention to commit the offence; and the Court had seen in what had since passed nothing like a sense of his error. The Court did therefore order and adjudge, That the defendant be committed to his Majesty's gaol for the city of Lincoln for the space of 18 calendar months, and find security for his good behaviour for five years from that time, himself in 500*l.* and two sureties in 250*l.* each, and be further imprisoned till that security be procured.

Installation of the Regent. *6th Feb.* 1811.

This being the day appointed for swearing in the Prince of Wales as Regent, before his taking upon himself that important office, about twelve o'clock a party of the flank companies of the grenadiers, with their colours, the band of the 1st Regiment, drums and fifes, with white gaiters on, marched into the court-yard of Carlton House, where the colours were pitched in the centre of the grand entrance; the band struck up *God save the King*, and continued playing that national piece alternately with martial airs during the day till near five o'clock. Colonel Blomfield, one of the Prince's principal attendants, having written to the Earl of Macclesfield, the Captain of his Majesty's Yeomen of the Guard, informing him it was his Royal Highness's commands that as many of the Yeomen of the Guard should attend at Carlton House, as usually attend upon Councils being held by the King in state. The Noble Earl not being in London, the letter was opened by the Exon in waiting, who ordered six Yeomen and an Usher to

attend at Carlton House, which they accordingly did; and they, together with the Prince's servants in state, lined the grand hall and staircase; several of the Life-Guardsmen were also in some of the rooms, in a similar manner as on Court days at St. James's Palace.—About a quarter before two o'clock, the Duke of Montrose arrived, being the first of the Privy Counsellors who attended; he was followed by all the Royal Dukes, and a very numerous assemblage of Privy Counsellors, who had all arrived by a quarter before three o'clock. The whole of the magnificent suite of state apartments were opened, and the illustrious Persons were all ushered into the Gold Room (so called from the style of the ornaments). Almost every Privy Counsellor now in town was present—and they were above an hundred in number.—About half past two o'clock, Earl Moira, of his Royal Highness's Council, being also a Privy Counsellor of the King, brought a Message from the Prince to the President of the Council, Earl Camden, desiring his attendance on the Prince in an adjoining room, according to the usual form, to communicate to him officially the return to the summons, &c. The Noble Earl accordingly went with Earl Moira, made the necessary intimation to his Royal Highness, and returned to the company; who during this time of waiting were highly gratified with seeing the Princess Charlotte on horseback, accompanied by two grooms, make the tour of the beautiful gardens in the front of the Palace. His Royal Highness appeared to be in excellent health and spirits.—After Earl Camden's return, the Prince approached in grand procession, preceded by the Officers of his own Household, and several of his Council, among whom were Earl Moira, Lords Keith, Cassilis, Hutchinson, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. M. Angelo Taylor, Mr. Tyrwhitt, Colonel Mac-Mahon, Colonel Blomfield, Gen. Hulse, Mr. Bicknell, &c. &c. (His Chancellor was by accident not present, and there was a delay in consequence of his Royal Highness's anxious desire of his presence). The Prince was also accompanied by all the Royal Dukes. They passed through the room where the Privy Counsellors were assembled, through the Circular Drawing-room, into the Grand Saloon (a beautiful room in scarlet drapery, embellished with portraits of all the most distinguished Admirals who have fought the battles that have given us the dominion of the Seas), and here the Prince seated himself at the top of the table—his Royal Brothers and Cousin seating themselves on each hand according to seniority, and all the Officers of his Household, not Privy Counsellors, ranging themselves on each side of the entrance to the Saloon. The Privy Counsellors then proceeded, all in full dress, according to their rank—the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, the Archbishop of York, the Lord President, the Lord Privy Seal, &c. &c. &c. and as they severally entered they made their reverence to the Prince, who made a graceful return to each, and they successively took their places at the table, and lastly, Mr. Fawkener and Sir Stephen Cotterell took their seats, as Clerk and Keeper of the Records.

The Prince then spoke to the following effect:—

"My Lords;—I understand that by the "Act passed by the Parliament appointing me Regent of the United Kingdom, "in the name and on behalf of his Majesty, I am required to take certain oaths, "and to make a declaration before your "Lordships, as prescribed by the said "Act. I am now ready to take these "oaths, and to make the declaration prescribed."

The Lord Privy Seal then rose, made his reverence, approached the Regent, and read from a parchment the oaths as follows—The Prince with an audible voice pronounced after him:—

"I do sincerely promise and swear, that "I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to his Majesty King George.

"So help me God."

"I do solemnly promise and swear That "I will truly and faithfully execute the "Office of Regent of the United Kingdom "of Great Britain and Ireland according "to an Act of Parliament passed in the "fifty-first year of the reign of his Majesty King George the Third (intitled, An Act, &c.), and that I will administer, according to law, the power and authority vested in me by virtue of the said "Act; and that I will in all things to the utmost of my power and ability, consult and maintain the safety, honour, and "dignity of his Majesty, and the welfare "of his people. So help me God."

(To be continued.)

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

THE REGENCY.——This subject, as one of regular discussion, I shall here bring to a close, having, I think, borne my part in it from the beginning to the end. It was I, who, as the saying is, *broke the ice*, as to the proper mode of considering and treating the matter. Till I entered upon the subject, nothing was heard, through the channel of the public prints, but lamenting and weeping and wailing and sniveling and canting. There were, in all human probability, more lying and hypocrisy in England during that month, than ever have been witnessed in any other country in the course of a year. If I were to select any particular month of the history of my country as the most disgraceful, I should have no hesitation in selecting that. The *Bank restriction month*, that is to say, the last week of February and the three first of April, 1797, had, in my opinion, theretofore the shameful pre-eminence; but, the folly and baseness then so conspicuous in the country, were surpassed by the folly and baseness of the first month of the King's illness. The venal writers, who dealt in such doleful strains had *then* object in view, and a very rational one it was, though very malignant and mischievous. Their object was, by the means of incessant lamentations and howlings, to leave it to be clearly inferred, that if the kingly part of the government got into *other* hands, ruin, destruction, perdition, would come swiftly upon us all; and such has been the beastly stupidity of many of the people in this country since the year 1792, that I should not much wonder, if there were some of them who were, by these and the like means, made to believe, that even their natural lives depended upon that of the King.——It is true, that this description of persons, would, in an hour of need, be of no more consequence than so many snails or caterpillars; but, they count as to numbers, and they talk as much as the hale and the brave.——There seemed to be, in the hostile daily prints, a rivalship as to which should go farthest in the way of lying and canting; so that it is not a subject of much wonder, that the public caught the disgraceful tone.——What must foreigners have thought of this? The Americans, who say pretty freely what they think of us, do, to be sure, laugh most unmercifully at our *despair*. One of them, who seems to have got hold of the *Morning Chronicle* of about the beginning of November, breaks out into a pathetic apostrophe to us, does not expect us to survive the affliction, and calls upon us to repent before we depart, of our manifold sins and wickednesses, "especially "those committed upon the *highway* of "the water." In short, the cant, the incomparable cant, contained in our newspapers of the month of November last, seems to have convulsed the American continent with laughter. Some of the writers there put the case as it might have related to themselves. They suppose, for argument's sake, that they had still been subjects of the King. They ask what, in such a case as this, and with the doctrines of our news-papers in vogue, would have been *their* fate.——Then they turn to the memorable stories promulgated by the Morning Post, and laugh ready to split their sides. They repeat a great deal of the cant of our prints; they *explain* certain passages to their readers as they go on; they say what none of us would, for *delicacy's* sake, think of saying; they are not so *refined* a people as we are; they relate anecdotes; they state things in *so many words*, and when they insert the sham letters which the COURIER publishes as coming from *Windsor*, they burst out into laughter in such a way that you almost fancy you *hear* them laugh as you read their columns.——One would think, that those who have brains enough to manage even the *business* part of a daily paper, would have too great a sense of shame to be content to live in the state of a laughing stock; and, when they have got money, and are able to say, that they can live all their days without any thing more than they have; that they have a plenty for all their purposes; when men are in this state, it really is astonishing, that they

can voluntarily expose themselves to laughter and contempt for the sake of adding a few thousands to their gains. But, when men have lied and canted themselves into pelf, they are, I am afraid, generally found to persevere to the last. If such men were to become farmers, they would lie and cant to their labourers; or, in default of human beings to deceive, they would lie and cant to their horses or sheep.——I do not confound the MORNING CHRONICLE with the venal prints, which have so distinguished themselves upon this occasion; but, I often meet with what I cannot approve of in that paper; an instance of which I have now under my eye, in a passage relating to the SPEECH of the Prince. In the passage I am alluding to the writer makes these remarks:——"In one "paragraph of it, at least, his Royal High-"ness will most cordially concur in the "sentiment which will be introduced; "namely, the expression of deep sorrow "at the cause which has imposed upon "him the afflicting duty of supplying for "a time the Regal Authority. No man "in the King's dominions can more per-"fectly sympathize in that expression than "the Regent; for *all those* who have had "the best opportunities of ascertaining "the *inmost feelings of his heart* from his "*earliest infancy*, assure us, that at no time, "even when most embittered by the effects "of the mischievous misrepresentations "made to his detriment, was he ever "known to manifest other than the most "*affectionate* and *pious reverence* for his "Royal Father. And we believe it has "been *well rewarded;* for on the other side, "we understand it has been remarked, "and set down as an infallible symptom "of the access of his Majesty's complaint, "that his *paternal confidence* in the *affection*, "*virtues*, and conduct of his Son and Heir, "was loudly declared by him to be the "*chief source of consolation to his heart* on "every alarm of approaching malady. "On this point at least the Commissioners "will speak the sense of the Regent."——Now, in the first place, it is impossible that Mr. PERRY can *know* any thing at all of this matter. He cannot *know* any thing about it. He can know, for certainty, no more about the thing than I do; and I know no more about it than any of the ladies, my near neighbours, who are upon the eve of a trip to Botany Bay, with intentions much less mischievous than those with which another description of ladies take a trip to India, the latter having riches derived from plunder in view, while the former confine their views to a bare existence.——It is silly affectation to pretend to know any thing of such matters. It throws general discredit over the contents of the paper.——But, suppose Mr. PERRY to know all this to be true? What then? What *use* is it of? What is there "*rich* or *rare*" in it? Are we to be called upon to express, or to feel, admiration at a thing which is so very common in common life? Do we stand in need of *assurances*, of *positive assertions*, that the Prince of Wales loves and respects his father, and that his father has a confidence in him? I forget who it is that says, in speaking of the assertions or arguments of some one in favour of Christianity, that "he wrote so long about it, that even be-"lievers began to doubt it." And, though a similar fate cannot, of course, attend these *asseverations* of the Morning Chronicle; yet, the writer may be assured, that, if there were any doubts as to the facts of which he speaks, these *asseverations* would not remove them; no, nor tend to remove them, in the smallest degree.——Besides, what is it after all? A son loving and respecting his father, and a father loving and having confidence in his son. Just as if this was *news* to tell to the public! Just as if there was something peculiarly meritorious in this! Why, the question is not, where the like *is* to be found; but, where it is *not* to be found. It is to be found in almost every family in all ranks of life; from the great family mansion to the shepherd's hut; and, not only in the shepherd's hut, but in the shed of his dog.——How foolish is it, then, to make a grand display of so very common-place a thing; to take that, the existence of which nature bids us assume, and blazon forth as something requiring particular acquaintanceship to have discovered? Love his son! And where is the wretch so unnatural as *not* to love his son? Confide in his son! And where is the father so unfortunate, or jealous, or so perverse, as *not* to confide in his son?——Let us hear no more of this, then; for, at the very best, it can do no good, it can strengthen no man's belief, and, amongst people not understanding the cause of such publications, it may possibly excite suspicion; especially when, in almost the same breath, this same writer tells us, that, if the Prince had it in his power to do what he could wish, he would instantly *turn out* the ministers chosen and kept in and preferred to all others *by*

his father.——I dislike exceedingly all these appeals to the *private personal* qualities and disposition of the Royal personages. We know nothing at all about them; nor are they of any consequence to us. It is by their *acts*, by the measures and effect of the measures of their reign, or regency, that we must judge of them; and, all the attempts, in whatever way, that are made to bias our judgment by appeals to the private qualities of the King or Regent, are mischievous, and ought to be reprobated.——So much for the *cant* of the subject, which, however, cannot be too often exposed. It cannot be too often or too strongly condemned; for, if the effects were traced to their real causes, we should find no small part of our present difficulties and dangers fairly ascribable to this poisonous source. ——I should here quit the subject of the Regency; but, it seems necessary, by way of a close to it, just to take a view of, and put upon record, the tone which the two contending parties have now assumed ——The MORNING CHRONICLE labours hard to make its readers believe, that the Ministry are *slighted* by the Prince, and that they are now puzzled and hampered by the restrictions, which they themselves imposed; and, in short, that the keeping of them in was a *clever trick*.——Let us, however, take the whole article, it being the last time that we shall, at any length, touch upon the subject. I beg the reader to pay particular attention to it. He will see its object in a moment; but, there are particular passages, the very words of which we shall, I am sure, have hereafter to refer to.——"We cannot view the melancholy and almost ridiculous situation in which the King's Ministers are placed at this moment, without feelings of *real* and *undivided pity*. Ministers without confidence, the *jest* of *Windsor*, of *Carlton House*, and of their *own friends*, distrusted even by their own retainers, who consider them only as upon *sufferance*, how can we in common humanity refuse them our sincere *compassion?* With all the responsibility, all the trou-"ble and all the plague of Government, "they possess none of the means of ren-"dering their situations beneficial to the public, grateful to their friends, or *formidable to their enemies*. Knowing how little they had deserved the applause of the people or the confidence of the "Prince, they judged of him as they "would of themselves, and looked only "to their own immediate dismissal, be-"cause they took for granted that the "Prince would take advantage of his "Father's illness, as they had done, and "*endeavour to turn it to the objects of his* "*own ambition, as they had to theirs.*— "Under this impression their sole object "was to make the task of the Regent's "future government, as irksome to him "and to those who possessed his confi-"dence as they could. Restrictions were "heaped upon restrictions, not because "they were to be found in the precedent "of 1788 (for from that precedent they "departed) but because by restrictions "the Regent's Ministers would be pre-"vented from conferring those acts of "grace and favour which might tend to "attach meritorious talent to his service "and to add strength to their Govern-"ment. Every runner of the Treasury "enjoyed a joke which was so much to "the taste of Mr. Perceval and within the "comprehension of Mr. George Rose. "Even Mr. Secretary Ryder made shift "to understand it, and Lord Melville's "son acknowledged the force as well as "the wit of a project, the end of which "was to prevent Ministers from practising "jobs. The delusion however was quick-"ly torn away, and their faces, distended, "with smiles, are now in most ridiculous "contrast lengthened into sadness. The "Prince, with a degree of *filial piety and* "*affection towards his Father which must en-*"*dear him to the country*, resolves, *so long* "*as the favourable symptoms in his Father's* "*malady continue*, to permit the King's "Ministers to *drag* on the machinery of "the State. The poisoned chalice is re-"turned to their own lips, the restrictions "operate upon themselves, they find *them-*"*selves* destined to try the experiment with "how small a portion of Royal power they "can carry on a Regent's Government; the "Regent is determined too that they shall "try with how small a portion of Royal con-"fidence they can perform their task, and "they find themselves chained in bonds they forged for others, and *burning in their own bull*. In charity then we must give these poor men the consolation of our compassion!—We again state as a fact which we know cannot be disputed, that in the Council Chamber the Prince Regent shewed the strongest and most flattering marks of his favour and of kindness to all those connected with the men known to possess his confidence, whilst to the King's ministers and their

'adherents his deportment, always gra-'cious, because to none can it be other 'than gracious, marked to all who were 'present, as well as to themselves, *the distance at which he meant to hold them*, and the terms upon which he permitted them 'to continue the government; and least "they should mistake him, he gave away "the first thing which came within his "gift, *without communication with them*, and "in *direct opposition to their known intention* "*and wishes*. We repeat, that the au-"diences of Mr. Perceval and of the other "Ministers did not exceed two minutes "each, with the exception of the Lord "Chancellor, whom his Royal Highness "detained whilst he communicated to "him that *he would not go down to Parlia-"ment to read the Speech written by Ministers "who did not possess his confidence*. For the truth of this statement we are ready to "make any appeal the Ministerial News-"papers may require. We are ready even "to appeal to the Lord Chancellor's con-"science."—Taking this in its order, we find, then, that it is now considered an *arch trick* to have kept the ministers in their places. But, surely, this cannot have been written by Mr. PERRY, nor inserted with his *hearty* consent. He has too much sense of decency to approve of so palpable an attempt to deceive the public; so pitiful an endeavour to disguise disappointment and envy by the means of affected compassion. No: this proceeded not from the mind of Mr. PERRY, who is only to blame, in this case, for fathering the stupid effusions of some underling of the Twin Statesmen.—This *clever trick* would now be held forth to us as having been contrived for the purpose; but, *who* was it that contrived it? Not the Prince, for he, as the Morning Chronicle has told us, gave his orders to the Twin Statesmen to form a ministry for him. Not the Twin Statesmen, for they, after the passing of the Resolutions, occupied themselves, as the French call it, in forming that ministry. And, difficult as the situation of ministers now is, they were, it seems, quite willing to undertake it. So that, at any rate, if there be any cleverness in the trick of keeping the present ministers in power, it is not to be ascribed to those who it is acknowledged, were ready to supply their places.——But, *what* are those difficulties; and what reason have the present ministers to wear *long faces*; and *how* are they *burning in their own bull*?——With them all is smooth. Whatever is conferred by the Prince, under their advice, will be confirmed by his father, if he recover; and, if he do not recover, *must*, in the end be confirmed by the Prince himself.——The *present* ministers lose nothing in the way of power by the restrictions; for, whatever in the way of patronage cannot be disposed of previous to the King's resumption of the Royal authority, will be to be disposed of *then*; and thus are these things, these "*rewards of merit*," as the Morning Chronicle calls them, accumulating for the benefit of those *meri-"torious*" persons, who may have been, and may still be, found faithful to the present men.——Where, then, is the sense of talking of embarrassments to the *present* men from the restrictions? It is, perhaps, quite impossible to conceive any thing, short of absolute despotic sway, more complete than the hold which men have upon power, as far as power is dependent upon patronage. Their hold is even more strong than if, during the King's malady, they had all the kingly powers in their hands; for, in that case, they must, as they proceeded, actually reward some "meritorious persons," and, disappoint and offend others, especially where "meritorious persons" are so very numerous as they are in this country; but, now, they disappoint no one, they disoblige no one, they hold every one in expectancy, every one in cheering and heart-enlivening hope, and those "merito-"rious persons," seeing the quantity of "rewards" daily accumulating, will become, of course, every day more attached to the ministers. "Where the carcass "is," says the Scripture, "there will the "Eagles be gathered together." And, of course, the more carcasses the more Eagles. And thus, so firm a bond of attachment, so strong a hold of such numbers of "meri-"torious" supports, no ministry in England ever had before.——Nay, they will have this without any trouble at all. They will not only have nothing to refuse to any one; but no one will attempt to plague them for any thing included in the restrictions. And, yet, this writer would fain have us believe, that the restrictions which they hatched are to operate *against themselves*!——I was in hopes, that the idea of the Prince's having changed his intention from motives of *filial piety* had been so completely scouted as never to be again brought forward; but, if it was again to be mentioned, surely it ought not to have been accompanied with a statement of his

having resolved to put out the King's servants *if his malady continued any length of time*, and also with a statement of his having *treated those servants with contumely*, and told them that he would not go down to the parliament to read a speech written *by ministers who did not possess his confidence*? To make these statements, to state these things so positively, and, at the same time, to assert, that the Prince kept *in* the ministers out of *filial piety to his father*, who had chosen them, is to do this writer's best to exhibit the Prince in a light the most disadvantageous that can possibly be conceived; for, any thing more inconsistent, more unworthy of a great, or even of a rational mind, it is, I think, very difficult to imagine.——The COURIER, who is the news-paper champion of the ministry, sees this matter in another light, and is accordingly quite successful in his answer. ——"In pursuance," says he, "of the "plan for attacking the person as well as "the Government of the Regent, the Op-"position represent him as behaving with "marked rudeness to his Majesty's Mi-"nisters, that he purposely shewed in the "Council Chamber the distance at which "he meant to hold them, whilst he smiled "most graciously at the Opposition. This "no doubt originated in his Royal High-"ness's humanity. He saw the poor "creatures so chop-fallen, so woe-begone, "looking with such misery, at each other, "and with such envy at the Ministers, "that he threw a smile at them to keep "them from despair. Now, as to holding "the Ministers at a distance, Mr. Per-"ceval, and the other Members of the "Cabinet, *have reason to be perfectly satis-"fied with the Prince's behaviour towards "them.* It is most gracious. The con-"ferring the 67th Foot on General Keppel "was *not against the wishes* of the Ministers, "though if the Opposition had been in, it "might probably have been against *their* "wishes. And as to the audience of Mr. "Perceval, we adhere to our first assertion. "But what must his Royal Highness think "of those styling themselves his friends, "who say that he detained the Lord "Chancellor whilst he communicated to "him, "that he would not go down to "Parliament to read the Speech written "by Ministers who did not possess his "confidence."——The Opposition would "have us to believe the Prince to be sub-"ject to all the low little selfish passions that "fill their breasts. Did he, or could he so "deliver himself to the Chancellor? We "are persuaded it is impossible; and let "it be recollected, that whether the Speech "be read by the Regent in person, or by "his Commissioners, it is still *a Speech which must have previously received his "sanction and approbation.*' ——This is a complete answer to the Morning Chronicle. There is no doubt at all, that the Prince finds himself less thwarted by the present men, than he would have found himself with a ministry made up by Lords Grenville and Grey. No doubt at all of it. But, it does not follow, that he is to be regarded as *answerable*, to the extent here aimed at, for the *Speech* that may be delivered in his name. The SPEECH is a measure of the *Ministry*, in the same way as a *Proclamation* or an *Order in Council* or a *Message* is a measure of the ministry, and, as such it must be considered; as such speeches from the Throne have always been considered, or else, how could they, without demolishing all respect for the King, be discussed either in parliament or in print? And, if this be the true doctrine as to the King, who has no restrictions upon his authority, and who chooses whom he pleases for his ministers, it, surely, must apply still more forcibly to the case of the Prince, who has so small a part of the kingly powers and prerogatives left in his hands, who has had nothing to do in the choosing of the ministers, and who merely suffers them to remain where he found them, not having power either to choose or reject. Whether he ought to have accepted of the Regency upon such conditions is another matter; I should have advised him against it; but, this is quite a separate question; and, neither Mr. PERCEVAL nor Lord GRENVILLE can possibly impute any blame to him upon that score, seeing that the former *proposed*, and the latter *supported*, those restrictions.——I am the more inclined to dwell upon this topic of the Prince's assumed "*previous sanction of the Speech*;" because I am aware, that the assumption has not been now introduced without *design*. The venal writer has not introduced it without thinking what he was about; and the design is to play off the old trick of shifting the responsibility from the shoulders of the minister to those of the Prince. "Here," we shall be told: "Look here: here is the Prince's *own* "*Speech*. See what *he says*, if you want "to know what *he thinks*." And, in this way, if the Speech contain praises of all that has been done for the last three years,

and deprecate any change in so delightful and prosperous a system, we are to be taught to believe, that these are *the genuine opinions of the Prince.*——It is very true, however, that, in spite of all that can be said, this, to a great extent, will be the *effect;* and here it is that His Royal Highness will feel the evils of having taken the office upon him with such limited powers. In the eyes of the mass of the nation, the speech will be *his speech;* and, it will require a great deal more than his particular friends, will, I am afraid, be either able or willing to do, to remove that impression, which may, one day or another, prove greatly injurious to his interests.——He will, unless great exertions are made to prevent it, become, to a great extent, identified with the PITT system, the consequences of which no man can calculate, and, if any one could, it is to be feared, that there are very few who would honestly lay the result of the calculation before his eyes.——I am now writing while the *speech is delivering* to the two Houses, and, I shall not see it, till long after this is gone to the press; but, it is hardly possible, that it should omit to speak of the affairs in Portugal, and, if it speak in *commendation* of what has been done there, it will be very difficult to keep the Prince from appearing to be a party to that famous war.——The prudent way would be, to say, that, "thus and thus my Royal "Father has thought proper to order; "and this and that have taken place under "the direction of my Royal Father's ministers."——The minister could not object to this; and thus would the Prince keep clear of the system; but, I can conceive no other way for him to do it.——As to the *Opposition,* which will now show itself in Parliament, it will be pretty nearly what it was before, but *weaker.* The King's recovery would so completely confirm the power of the present people for his life, that there would not remain the smallest hope of supplanting, amongst those who have hitherto had that object in view; and as to the *people,* they like one of the *parties* just as well as the other; it being impossible for them to discover any difference in them, as far as the people's interests or feelings are concerned. Those who are OUT, and who, of course, wish to come in, tell us that *they would have conducted the war better.* We do not know that. But, what is the *war,* compared with many other things? Would they have *lessened the Taxes?* Would they have lessened the *sinecures and the pensions?* Did they do this? Did they attempt to do it? No: but they abused, like pickpockets, all those who called upon them for any such measure. It was they who swelled the INCOME TAX from *Six* to *Ten* per Cent, and who, for the first time, exempted the *King's funded property* (in *whatever name* entered) from paying any tax at all. But, they did so many odious things; they discovered so decided a contempt for the people in every way; they so outraged public feeling, that it is impossible for the people ever to like them again.——I do not confound them; I do not lump them altogether; and, I was in hopes of seeing the Prince so situated as to be able to divide them, and to form a ministry of those, from whom the people would have expected something; but, if we were to have merely the late ministry revived, we are full as well as we are, and *he* is much better than he would have been.——The Morning Chronicle tells us, that the Opposition will not feel themselves under any *restraint* in attacking the ministers. O dear, no! no restraint at all, except that of *the system;* except that they will not dare to attack Lord Grenville's late colleague and relation; except that they must carefully guard their tongues against any reflection, even the most distant, on any measure of "the *great states-* "*man* now no more."——This restraint they will be still under, and that is all the ministers want. Only let them keep their *muffles* on, and the ministry will beat them I warrant it.——If the war in Portugal should end in a fatal way, we should hear of *inquiries* again; and, indeed, we are told, that it was in order to let this war end in the hands of the ministers, that they were suffered to remain in place. But, what of that? Have we not had a *Corunna* Affair, and a *Cintra* Affair, and a *Walcheren* Affair? And what did the motions about them *produce?* What was the result? Why, an expence of printing Parliamentary Papers to the amount of many thousands of pounds in addition to the enormous expences of the Expeditions.——The discussions about *Corunna* and *Walcheren* were excessively unfortunate. Each of them was thwarted by a question in which *the people* were interested: the first, by the question relative to the *Duke of York* and the latter by the question relating to *Sir Francis Burdett.* Away went the *regular fights.* Not a word more could you get any one to

say about them. Mr. TIERNEY, I remember, complained, that there were certain persons, who kept away, and took no part at all in the "*great questions relative* "to the conducting of the war; but who "were all alive upon motions like that of "Mr. MADOX."——Aye, this was because the people had an *interest* in the latter; because these questions affected *them*; and, because, as to the *war*, the manner of its being carried on was nothing compared to the *principle* of it, of which the Regular Opposition approved.——This is the state of parties, then. The true bred Pittites are in power; they, therefore, are the most powerful set. The Opposition, which originally consisted of Foxites, have been subdued by Lord Grenville and the Court, and are thus disarmed as to every question favouring the interests, or feelings of the people. So that, these two parties, as far as they *act in corps*, must be considered as having the SAME PRINCIPLES to all intents and purposes. Some men imagine the OUTS wiser than the INS. It is not *want of talent* that occasioned those measures here which have put Napoleon in possession of all the continent of Europe. It is not want of talent; and, if it were, I do not see so much difference amongst the leaders as some men would fain make us believe there is. There is, in fact, no difference at all in the two parties. They are precisely the same in principle, in every thing regarding the *Rights* and *Liberties* of the people, which has been proved by their *votes* and their *speeches* and their *measures*, over and over again and in all manner of ways. —As long, therefore, as the Foxites, or any persons in Opposition, continue to cling to Lord Grenville and the name of "the *great statesman* now no "more," the people would be rank fools to wish to see them supplant the present men, it being as clear as day-light, that such a change could be productive of nothing more than an addition to the *pension list*, which is quite long enough already to satisfy any reasonable man.——There are some politicians, who wish for a *Reform of Parliament*. These belong to neither of the other parties. If they were to increase, from them the people would expect something; and, from *them* the ministry would have something to *fear*, because they are not restrained by *the system*; they drive at the whole system, "great man now no more" and altogether; they do not fight in *muffles*. This party, however little numerous, is formidable; and, if it increase, though but little, it will become an object of terror. Whether its increase will be speedy, whether it will be slow, when its power will be felt, I shall not pretend to say; but, that its power will, sooner or later, be felt, and will prevail, I am confident, and I am also confident, that its prevailing is absolutely necessary to the safety of the nation.——With these remarks I close my articles upon the Regency question; and, in the present Number I begin inserting, at full length, the *Regency Bill*; and, that Bill, together with my articles upon the subject, do, I flatter myself, contain the best materials for a true account of this transaction that the reader of the present day, or that the future historian, will be able to find.——I began the discussion and I have closed it. In the course of it I have brought into view every material fact and argument the production of others or of my own mind. I have given a proper place to every actor of any consequence; and, as far as my knowledge has enabled me, I have done strict justice to the actions and motives of every one. If I have, in any case, yielded to feelings of partiality, it has been in favour of the Prince of Wales, and the reason was, that, of all the parties concerned, he was the man whom I saw *with the fewest real friends* amongst those who were taking a part in the discussions; and further, because, some years attentive and pretty close observation as to politics and public men, long ago convinced me, that there was a settled design with some men to calumniate him by the means of canting insinuation, and thus to excite against him a prejudice that should *stick to him through life*.——The COURIER, a few days ago, in remarking upon one of my articles on the Regency, observed, that it was well calculated to serve the Prince with the *Mob* (No bad service neither, as things may happen!) and that, it was to be regarded as having somewhat of *authority* about it, seeing that the writer was *intimately acquainted with one of the Royal Dukes*.——How ready these venal men are to ascribe motives of venality to others! ——I have spoken to the Duke of KENT *four times* in my life, and no more. I have not *seen* even at a distance him or either of his brothers for these last *five years*, and have never had any communication, directly or indirectly, with any one of them of any sort, since that time; and I never received or asked from any one of the Royal Family any favour, of any kind,

in all my life.——In the part I have taken upon this occasion, I have been actuated solely by a love of truth and of my country, and by a corresponding hatred of hypocrisy and of the worst enemies of that country, faction and corruption.

I wished to say something upon the subject of *Portugal*, and also (which is of much greater importance to us) upon the subject of the defence of MR. FINNERTY, whose case, I am happy to find, is considered in the manner that it ought to be. ——I must defer both till my next.

W^M. COBBETT.

State Prison, Newgate, Tuesday, February 12, 1811.

INSTALLATION OF THE REGENT. 6th Feb. 1811.

(Concluded from p. 352.)

And the Prince subscribed the two oaths. The Lord President then presented to his Royal Highness the Declaration mentioned in an Act made in the 30th year of King Charles II. intitled, "An "Act for the more effectual preserving the "King's Person and Government, by disabling Papists from sitting in either "House of Parliament," and which Declaration his Royal Highness audibly made, repeated, and subscribed.—The Lord President signed first, and every one of the Privy Counsellors in succession signed these instruments as witnesses—and the same was delivered into the hand of the Keeper of the Records.—The Prince then delivered to the President of the Council a certificate of his having received the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper at the Chapel Royal of St. James's, on Sunday, the 27th January ult. which was also countersigned and delivered to the Keeper of the Records, who deposited all these instruments in a box at the bottom of the table.—The Lord President then approached the Regent, bent the knee, and had the honour to kiss his hand. The Royal Dukes followed, and afterwards the Archbishop of Canterbury, and all the rest according to the order in which they sat at the long table, advancing to the chair on both sides. During the whole of this ceremony, his Royal Highness maintained the most dignified and graceful deportment.

The ceremony being closed, a short Levee took place in the drawing-room, when his Royal Highness addressed himself to the circle; and afterwards he gave an audience to Mr. Perceval, who had the honour again of kissing his hand, as First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer.

His Royal Highness gave private audiences also to—

The Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, Earls Camden, Westmorland, Liverpool, Bathurst and Derby, the Marquis Wellesley, Lords Mulgrave, Palmerston and Gwydir, Sir David Dundas, Messrs. Ryder and M. Sutton.

The latter laid before his Royal Highness the proceedings of some Courts Martial, and took his Royal Highness's commands upon the same.—They were introduced into the presence of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, by the Earl of Moira.

The following among others were present:—

Their Royal Highnesses the Dukes of York, Clarence, Kent, Cumberland, Sussex, Cambridge and Gloucester.

The Archbishop of Canterbury.

The Lord Chancellor.

The Archbishop of York.

The Lord President of the Council.

The Lord Privy Seal.

The Duke of Montrose.

Marquisses; Hertford, Buckingham, Stafford, Lansdowne, Wellesley, and Douglas.

Earls—Moira, Liverpool, Aylesford, Mount Edgcumbe, Derby, Grosvenor, Bathurst, Chatham, Aylesbury, Pembroke, Spencer, Hardwicke, Winchelsea, Buckinghamshire, Chesterfield, Cholmondeley, Lauderdale, Temple, Carysfort, Harrowby, Donoughmore, Chichester, Grey, and Powis.

Viscounts—Cathcart, Morpeth, Sidmouth, and Castlereagh.

Lords—Grenville, Holland, Erskine, Ellenborough, C. Somerset, Palmerston, Arden, G. and J. Thynne, Redesdale, Teignmouth, St. John, Walsingham, St. Helen's, Dundas, and Mulgrave, &c. &c.

The Bishop of London.

The Master of the Rolls.

General Fitzpatrick.

The Chief Baron Macdonald.

Sirs—W. Drummond, J. Sinclair, W. Scott, J. Nicholl, D. Dundas, E. Nepean, and J. Anstruther.

The Speaker of the House of Commons.

Messrs—Ponsonby, Tierney, Sheridan, Ryder, W. Elliot, C. M. Sutton, Arbuthnot, Corry, G. Canning, C. Yorke, T. Grenville, G. Rose, Wallace, and Long.

ENGLAND.—*Official Account of the Installation of the Regent, published in the Gazette.*

At the Court at Carlton House, the 6th of February, 1811.

PRESENT.

His Royal Highness the PRINCE OF WALES, Regent of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

His R. H the Duke of York.
His R. H. the Duke of Clarence.
His R. H. the Duke of Kent.
His R. H. the Duke of Cumberland.
His R. H. the Duke of Sussex.
His R. H. the Duke of Cambridge.
His R. H. the Duke of Glocester.

[Then follow the names of ninety other Privy Counsellors, as mentioned above.]

This day his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, Regent of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, by virtue of an Act passed in the present Session of Parliament, intituled, "An Act to provide for the Administration of the Royal Authority, and for the Care of his Majesty's Royal Person, during the continuance of his Majesty's Illness; and for the Resumption of the exercise of the Royal Authority by his Majesty," was, at his first coming into the Council, pleased to declare, that understanding, that the law required that he should take and subscribe certain Oaths and Declarations, he was now ready to do so; his Royal Highness accordingly took and subscribed the Oaths and Declarations required by the said Act; after which all the Members present of his Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council had the honour of kissing his Royal Highness's hand.

ENGLAND.—SHERIFFS.—*At the Court at Carlton House, the 8th of February, 1811, Present, his Royal Highness the Prince Regent in Council.—Sheriffs appointed by his Royal Highness the Prince Regent in Council, in the Name and on the Behalf of his Majesty, for the Year 1811.*

Bedfordshire—J. Howell, of Market-street, Esq.
Berkshire—W. W. Clarke, of Ardington, Esq.
Buckinghamshire—W. Bernard, of Nether Winehindon, Esq.
Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire—W. D. Gardner, of Chatteris, Esq.
Cheshire—B. Grey, of Ashton Hayes, Esq.
Cumberland—J. Losh, of Woodside, Esq.
Derbyshire—G. Meynell, of Langley, Esq.
Devonshire—A. Champernowne, of Dartington, Esq.
Dorsetshire—E. Greathed, of Udden, Esq.
Essex—C. Smith, of Suttons, Esq.
Gloucestershire—R. Gordon, of Kemble, Esq.
Herefordshire—P. Jones, of Sugwas, Esq.
Hertfordshire—R. Taylor, of Tolmer, Esq.
Kent—Sir J. C. Honeywood, of Evington, Bart.
Leicestershire—R. Norman, of Melton Mowbray, Esq.
Lincolnshire—Sir J. Trollope, of Casewick, Bart.
Monmouthshire—H. Powell, of Llanvihangel, Esq.
Norfolk—C. Lucas, of Filby, Esq.
Northamptonshire—W. Strickland, of Brixworth Hall, Esq.
Northumberland—W. Burrell, of Broome Park, Esq.
Nottinghamshire—Postponed.
Oxfordshire—Sir J. Reade, of Shipstone, Bart.
Rutlandshire—Hon. G. Watson, of Rockingham Castle.
Shropshire—G. Brooke, of Haughton, Esq.
Somersetshire—J. Leigh, of Combbay, Esq.
Staffordshire—J. Beach, of the Shaw, Esq.
County of Southampton—Sir R. Kingsmill, of Sidmonton, Bart.
Suffolk—R. Pettiward, of Finborough, Esq.
Surry—G. Titton, of West-hill, Wandsworth, Esq.
Sussex—W. Dearling, of Donnington, Esq.
Warwickshire—P. Newdigate, of Arbury, Esq.
Wiltshire—H. Biggs, of Stockton, Esq.
Worcestershire—T. Hawkes, of Dudley, Esq.
Yorkshire—R. Watt, of Bishop Burton, Esq.

SOUTH WALES.

Carmarthenshire—H. Williams, of Edwinsford, Esq.
Pembrokeshire—E. Mathias, of Lan[illegible]ren, Esq.
Cardiganshire—W. Brookes, of Noyart, Esq.
Glamorgan—Sir R. L. Blosse, of Gabalva, Bart.
Brecon—W. Wilkins the younger, of Alexanderstone, Esq.
Radnor—J. C. Severn, of Llanquillo, Esq.

NORTH WALES.

Merioneth—H. Reveley, of Brynywin, Esq.
Carnarvonshire—T. P. J. Parry, of Madryn, Esq.
Anglesey—H. Williams, of Treardaur, Esq.
Montgomeryshire—E. Heyward, of Crosswood, Esq.

Denbighshire—J. Wynne, of Garthuulio, Esq.
Flintshire—Sir G. W. Prescott, of Ewlde, Bart.

CORNWALL.
W. S. L. Trelawney, of Penquite, Esq.

51 GEO. III. CAP. I.

An Act to provide for the Administration of the Royal Authority, and for the Care of His Majesty's Royal Person, during the Continuance of His Majesty's Illness; and for the Resumption of the Exercise of the Royal Authority by His Majesty.—[5th Feb. 1811.]

WHEREAS by reason of the severe Indisposition with which it hath pleased God to afflict the King's most excellent Majesty, the personal exercise of the Royal Authority by his Majesty is for the present so far interrupted, that it becomes necessary to make provision for assisting his Majesty in the administration and exercise of the Royal Authority, and also for the Care of his Royal Person during the continuance of his Majesty's Indisposition, and for the Resumption of the exercise of the Royal Authority by his Majesty; be it therefore enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, That his Royal Highness George Augustus Frederick Prince of Wales shall have full Power and Authority, in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty, and under the Stile and Title of "Regent of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland," to exercise and administer the Royal Power and Authority to the Crown of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland belonging, and to use, execute, and perform all authorities, prerogatives, acts of government and administration of the same, which lawfully belong to the King of the said United Kingdom to use, execute, and perform; subject to such Limitations, Exceptions, Regulations, and Restrictions, as are herein-after specified and contained; and all and every act and acts which shall be done by the said Regent, in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty, by virtue and in pursuance of this Act, and according to the powers and authorities hereby vested in him, shall have the same force and effect to all intents and purposes as the like acts would have if done by his Majesty himself, and shall to all intents and purposes be full and sufficient warrant to all persons acting under the authority thereof; and all persons shall yield obedience thereto, and carry the same into effect, in the same manner and for the same purposes as the same persons ought to yield obedience to and carry into effect the like acts done by his Majesty himself; any law, course of office, or other matter or thing to the contrary notwithstanding.

II. And be it further enacted, That as to all authorities given and appointments made in the name and in the behalf of his Majesty, and all other acts, matters, and things usually done under the authority of the Royal Sign Manual, the Signature of the Regent in the form following, that is to say, "George P. R." or in cases where the Royal Signature has usually been affixed in initials only, then in the form "G. P. R.," shall be as valid and effectual and have the same force and effect as his Majesty's Royal Sign Manual, and shall be deemed and taken to be to all intents and purposes his Majesty's Royal Sign Manual, and be obeyed as such.

III. And be it further enacted, That when his Majesty shall by the blessing of God be restored to such a state of health as to be capable of resuming the personal exercise of his Royal Authority, and shall have declared his Royal Will and Pleasure thereupon, as herein-after provided, all and every the powers and authorities given by this Act, for the exercise and administration of his Royal Power and Authority, or for the using, executing, and performing the Authorities, Prerogatives, Acts of Government, and Administration of the same, which belong to the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland to use, execute, and perform, or for the Care of his Majesty's Royal Person, shall cease and determine; and no act, matter, or thing, which, under this Act, and previous to such declaration might be done in the administration of his Majesty's Royal Power and Authority, or in the using, exercising, or performing any such Authorities, Prerogatives, Acts of Government, or Administration as aforesaid, or in the Care of his Majesty's Royal Person, by virtue and in pursuance of this Act, shall, if done after such declaration of his Majesty's Royal Will and Pleasure, be thenceforth valid or effectual.

IV. Provided always, and be it further enacted, That all persons holding any Offices or Places, or Pensions, during his Majesty's Pleasure, at the time of such declaration, under any appointment or authority of the Regent, or her Majesty, under the provisions of this Act, shall continue to hold the same, and to use, exercise, and enjoy all the powers, authorities, privileges, and emoluments thereof, notwithstanding such declaration of the resumption of the Royal Authority by his Majesty, unless and until his Majesty shall declare his Royal Will and Pleasure to the contrary; and all Orders, Acts of Government, or Administration of his Majesty's Royal Authority, made, issued, or done by the said Regent, before such declaration, shall be and remain in full force and effect, until the same shall be countermanded by his Majesty.

V. Provided also, and be it further enacted, That no Acts of Regal Power, Prerogative, Government, or Administration of Government, of what kind or nature soever, which might lawfully be done or executed by the King's most excellent Majesty, personally exercising his Royal Authority, shall, during the continuance of the Regency by this Act established, be valid and effectual, unless done and executed in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty, by the Authority of the said Regent, according to the provisions of this Act, and subject to the Limitations, Exceptions, Regulations, and Restrictions herein-after contained.

VI. And be it further enacted, That the said Regent, before he shall act or enter upon his said Office of Regent, shall take the following Oaths:

I do sincerely promise and swear, That I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to his Majesty King George.

So help me God.

I do solemnly promise and swear, That I will truly and faithfully execute the Office of Regent of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, according to an Act of Parliament passed in the 51st year of the reign of his Majesty King George the Third, intituled, An Act [here insert the title of this Act]; and that I will administer, according to law, the power and authority vested in me by virtue of the said Act; and that I will in all things, to the utmost of my power and ability, consult and maintain the safety, honour, and dignity of his Majesty and the welfare of his people.

So help me God.

I do faithfully promise and swear, That I shall inviolably maintain and preserve the Settlement of the true Protestant Religion, with the Government, Worship, Discipline, Rights, and Privileges of the Church of Scotland, as established by the Laws made there in prosecution of the Claim of Right, and particularly by an Act, intituled, 'An Act for securing the 'Protestant Religion, and Presbyterian 'Church Government,' and by the Acts passed in the Parliament of both Kingdoms, for Union of the Two Kingdoms.

So help me God.

Which Oaths shall be taken before his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council; who are hereby required and empowered to administer the same, and to enter the same in the Books of the said Privy Council.

VII. And be it further enacted, That the said Regent shall, at the time of his taking such Oaths as aforesaid, and before the members of the Privy Council administering the same, make, subscribe, and audibly repeat the Declaration mentioned in an Act made in the 30th year of King Charles the Second, intituled, 'An Act 'for the more effectual preserving the 'King's Person and Government, by disabling Papists from sitting in either 'House of Parliament;' and shall produce a Certificate of his having received the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in any of the royal chapels, signed by the person administering the same; which Certificate shall be sufficient evidence of the said Regent's having received the Sacrament; and such Declaration and Certificate shall respectively be registered in the Books of the Privy Council.

VIII. Provided always, and be it enacted, That until after the 1st day of February 1812, if Parliament shall be then assembled, and shall have been sitting for six weeks immediately previous to the said 1st day of February 1812, or if Parliament shall be then assembled, but shall not have been so sitting for six weeks, then until the expiration of six weeks after Parliament shall have been so assembled and been sitting; or if Parliament shall not then be assembled, then until the expiration of six weeks after Parliament shall have been assembled and sitting, next after the said 1st day of February 1812, the Regent shall not have or exercise any power or authority to grant, in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty, any Rank, Title, or Dignity

of the Peerage, by Letters Patent, Writ of Summons, or any other manner whatever, or to summon any person to the House of Lords by any Title to which such person shall be the Heir Apparent, or to determine the Abeyance of any Rank, Title or Dignity of Peerage, which now is or hereafter shall be in Abeyance, in favour of any of the Coheirs thereof, by Writ of Summons or otherwise.

IX. Provided also, and be it further enacted, That the said Regent shall not, until after the said 1st day of February 1812, or the expiration of such six weeks as aforesaid, have power or authority to grant, in the name or on the behalf of his Majesty, any Office or Employment whatever, in Reversion, or to grant for any longer term than during his Majesty's Pleasure, any Office, Employment, Salary, or Pension whatever, except such Offices and Employments in Possession for the term of the natural life, or during the good behaviour of the grantee or grantees thereof respectively, as by law must be so granted: Provided always, that nothing herein contained, shall in any manner affect or extend to prevent or restrain the granting of any Pensions under the provisions of an Act passed in the 39th year of the reign of his present Majesty, intituled, " An Act for the Augmentation 'of the Salaries of the Judges of the 'Courts in Westminster Hall, and also of 'the Lords of Session, Lords Commissioners of Justiciary, and Barons of Exchequer in Scotland; and for enabling 'his Majesty to grant Annuities to persons in certain Offices in the said 'Courts of Westminster Hall, on their 'resignation of their respective Offices;' and of another Act passed in the 48th year of the reign of his present Majesty, intituled, 'An Act for enabling his Majesty to grant Annuities to the Judges of 'the Courts of Session, Justiciary, and 'Exchequer in Scotland, upon the resignation of their Offices;' and of another Act, passed in Ireland, in the 40th year of the reign of his present Majesty, intituled, 'An Act to enable his Majesty to 'grant Annuities to the Lord High Chancellor, and to the Judges of the Court of 'King's Bench, Master of the Rolls, 'Judges of the Courts of Common Pleas 'and Exchequer, Judge or Commissary 'of the Court of Prerogative, the Judge 'of the Court of Admiralty, the Chairman of the Quarter Sessions of the 'County of Dublin, and Assistant Barristers of the several other Counties, on the 'resignation of their respective Offices;' and to amend an Act passed in the 36th year of his present Majesty, intituled, 'An Act for encreasing the Salaries of 'the Chief and other Judges of the Courts 'of King's Bench and Common Pleas, 'and of the Chief Baron and other Barons 'of the Court of Exchequer in this Kingdom;' or to prevent or restrain the granting of any Pensions out of the revenues of the British territories in the East Indies, under the provisions of any Act or Acts of Parliament now in force, to such persons as may have held the Office of Chief Justice or other Judge in the Supreme Courts of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal and at Madras, and the Office of Recorder of Bombay.

X. Provided also, and be it further enacted, That nothing in this Act contained shall in any manner affect or extend to prevent or restrain the granting of any Pensions under the provisions of an Act passed in the 11st year of the reign of his present Majesty, intituled, 'An Act for 'the better regulation of his Majesty's 'Prize Courts in the West Indies and 'America, and for giving a more speedy 'and effectual execution to the Decrees of 'the Lords Commissioners of Appeals,' and of another Act passed in the 43rd year of his present Majesty, intituled, 'An Act 'for the encouragement of Seamen, and 'for the better and more effectual manning his Majesty's Navy; for regulating 'the payment of Prize Money, and for 'making provision for the Salaries of the 'Judges of the Vice Admiralty Courts in 'the Island of Malta, and in the Bermudas, 'and Bahama Islands;' and also of another Act passed in the 45th year of his present Majesty, intituled, 'An Act for the 'encouragement of Seamen, and for the 'better and more effectually manning of 'his Majesty's Navy.'

XI. And be it enacted, That nothing in this Act contained shall extend or be construed to extend to empower the said Regent, in the name and on the behalf of his Majesty, to give the Royal Assent to any Bill or Bills in Parliament for repealing, changing, or in any respect varying the Order and Course of Succession to the Crown of this Realm, as the same stands now established by an Act passed in the 12th year of the reign of King William the Third, intituled, 'An Act for the further Limitation of the Crown, and better 'securing the Rights and Liberties of the

'Subject;' or to any Act for repealing or altering the Act made in the 13th year of the reign of King Charles the Second, intituled, 'An Act for the Uniformity of 'Public Prayers and Administration of 'Sacraments, and other Rites and Cere-'monies, and for establishing the Form 'of making, ordaining, and consecrating 'Bishops, Priests, and Deacons in the 'Church of England:' or the Act of the 5th year of the reign of Queen Anne, made in Scotland, intituled, 'An Act for 'securing the Protestant Religion and 'Presbyterian Church Government.'

XII. Provided also, and be it enacted, That if his said Royal Highness George Augustus Frederick Prince of Wales shall not continue to be resident in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, or shall at any time marry a Papist, then and in either of such cases, all the powers and authorities vested in his said Royal Highness by this Act, shall cease and determine.

XIII. And whereas it is expedient that the Care of his Majesty's Royal Person should be committed to the Queen's most excellent Majesty, together with the sole direction of such portion of his Majesty's Household as shall be deemed requisite and suitable for the due attendance on his Majesty's Sacred Person, and the maintenance of his Royal Dignity; Be it therefore enacted, That the Care of his Majesty's Royal Person, and the disposing, ordering, and managing of all matters and things relating thereto, shall be, and the same are hereby vested in the Queen's most excellent Majesty, during the continuance of his Majesty's Indisposition; and that the sole direction of his Majesty's Household, except the Lord Chamberlain of his Majesty's Household, the Captain of the Yeomen of his Majesty's Guard, and the Captain of the Honourable Band of Gentlemen Pensioners, shall be and is hereby vested in her Majesty; and her said Majesty shall have the full and sole power and authority, by any Instrument or Instruments in writing signed and sealed by her Majesty, to nominate and appoint, in case of any vacancies arising by resignation or death, all the Officers and Persons belonging to his Majesty's Household, in the respective departments thereof, whose appointment, nomination, or removal have heretofore been made by his Majesty; except the Lord Chamberlain of his Majesty's Houshold, and the Gentlemen and Grooms of his Majesty's Bedchamber, his Majesty's Equerries, the Captain of the Yeomen of his Majesty's Guard, and the Captain of the honourable Band of Gentlemen Pensioners; and the nomination and appointment by her Majesty, in manner and form aforesaid, shall be valid and effectual to all intents and purposes as if the same had been made or done by his Majesty in the accustomed manner; and the several persons so appointed shall be entitled to the like precedence, privileges, salaries, wages, profits, and all other emoluments, as the several persons now holding and enjoying the same offices are respectively entitled to: Provided always, That the power and authority given by this Act to her Majesty to nominate and appoint such persons of his Majesty's Household as are not herein before excepted, shall continue in force until the said 1st day of February, or the expiration of such six weeks as aforesaid, and no longer: Provided, also, That her said Majesty shall not have any power or authority to remove any officer in any department of his Majesty's Houshold, by this Act made subject to the nomination or appointment of her Majesty, who shall have been nominated and appointed by his Majesty: Provided also, That until the expiration of such period as aforesaid, no appointment shall be made to the Office of Lord Chamberlain of his Majesty's Household, now vacant, but that all the duties of the said Office shall be performed by the Vice Chamberlain; and that during such period as aforesaid, no person holding the Office of Gentleman or Groom of his Majesty's Bedchamber, or being one of his Majesty's Equerries, shall be subject to be removed; and no vacancy which shall arise by death or resignation of any of the Grooms or Gentlemen of his Majesty's Bedchamber, or of his Majesty's Equerries, shall be supplied or filled up, or any appointment or nomination made to supply any such vacancy.

XIV. Provided always, and be it further enacted, That it shall not be lawful for any Officer in his Majesty's Household who is by this Act put under the direction of her Majesty, to make any appointment to any Office to which such Officer may have the power of appointment for any longer period than during his Majesty's Pleasure.

XV. And whereas the execution of the weighty and arduous trusts by this Act committed to the Queen's most excellent Majesty, may require the assistance of a Council, with whom her Majesty may con-

sult and advise; be it therefore enacted, That in order to assist and advise her said most excellent Majesty in the several matters aforesaid, there shall be, during the continuance of his Majesty's Illness, a Council, consisting of Charles lord archbishop of Canterbury, Edward lord archbishop of York, James duke of Montrose, George earl of Winchelsea and Nottingham, Heneage earl of Aylesford, John lord Eldon, Edward lord Ellenborough, and the right hon. sir William Grant; which Council shall from time to time meet as her Majesty shall be pleased to direct, and shall also have power to meet in manner by this Act directed; and if it should happen that any of them the said Charles lord archbishop of Canterbury, Edward lord archbishop of York, James duke of Montrose, George earl of Winchelsea and Nottingham, Heneage earl of Aylesford, John lord Eldon, Edward lord Ellenborough, or the right hon. sir William Grant, should depart this life, or by instrument in writing communicated to her Majesty, signify their intention to decline to act, then and in such case it shall be lawful for the Queen's most excellent Majesty, from time to time, by an Instrument in writing signed and sealed by her Majesty, revocable at her will and pleasure, to nominate and appoint some one person, being or having been a member of his Majesty's most hon. Privy Council, to be a member of the said Council, to advise and assist her Majesty as aforesaid, in the room and place of each and every of the said Councillors so departing this life, or declining to act as aforesaid; which nomination and appointment shall be forthwith certified by an Instrument in writing, signed and sealed by her Majesty, to the Lords of his Majesty's most hon. Privy Council, and shall be entered in the Books of the said Privy Council.

XVI. And be it further enacted, That each and every member of her Majesty's Council shall, within the space of five days after his appointment by virtue of this Act, or by virtue of her Majesty's nomination and appointment in manner aforesaid, take an Oath before the Lord High Chancellor or Keeper of the Great Seal, or Commissioners for keeping the Great Seal of Great Britain, or the Lord President of his Majesty's Privy Council, or the Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench, for the time being respectively, or either of them, who are hereby severally and respectively required and empowered to administer the same, when required so to do by any person so appointed a member of her Majesty's Council as aforesaid; and the person administering such Oath, shall give to the member of her Majesty's Council taking the same, a Certificate of the same having been so taken, signed with his hand; which Certificate shall be forthwith transmitted to his Majesty's Privy Council, and entered in the Books of the said Privy Council; and such Oath shall be in the form following; (that is to say),

'I *A. B.* do solemnly promise and swear,' 'That I will truly and faithfully counsel 'and advise the Queen's most excellent 'Majesty, according to the best of my 'judgment, in all matters and things relating to the trusts committed to her Majesty, touching the care of his Majesty's 'Royal Person, and the resumption of the 'personal exercise of the Royal Authority 'by his Majesty.'

XVII. And be it further enacted, That her Majesty's Council, or any three or more of them, shall have power and authority at all times, when they shall judge it necessary, to meet, and call before them, and to examine upon oath, the Physicians and all other persons attendant on his Majesty, during the continuance of his Illness, touching the state of his Majesty's Health; and all matters relating thereto; (which Oath any member of the said Council is hereby authorized and empowered to administer); and to ascertain the state of his Majesty's Health, by all such other ways and means as shall appear to them to be necessary for that purpose.

XVIII. And be it further enacted, That three or more of the members of the Council appointed to assist her Majesty in the execution of the trusts committed to her Majesty by this Act, shall, in case such trusts shall then be in force, meet on some day in the first week in April 1811, and some day in the first week of every third month thereafter; and shall, whilst the said trusts shall continue in force, at every such meeting, declare the state of his Majesty's Health at the time of each of such Meetings respectively, and shall forthwith transmit a Copy of such Declaration to the President of his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council, or in his absence to one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, who shall thereupon cause the same to be inserted in the Books of the Privy Council.

XIX. And whereas it is necessary that effectual provision should be made, that

his Majesty may resume the personal exercise of his Royal Authority, as soon as his Majesty is restored to such a state of health as to be capable of resuming the same; be it therefore enacted, That when it shall appear to her Majesty the Qneen, and to any four or more of the Council appointed by this Act to assist her Majesty in the execution of the trust committed to her Majesty by this Act, assembled at any meeting held in pursuance of her Majesty's Royal Will and Pleasure signified for that purpose, or assembled under the direction of this Act, or in pursuance of his Majesty's Royal Will and Pleasure signified to her Majesty and her Council for that purpose; which Council of her Majesty is hereby required to assemble in the presence of her Majesty, upon his Majesty's Royal Will and Pleasure being signified for that purpose, that his Majesty is restored to such a state of Health as to be capable of resuming the personal Exercise of the Royal Authority, it shall and may be lawful for her said Majesty, by the advice of any four or more of her said Council, to notify the same, by an Instrument under her Majesty's hand, and signed also by the said four or more of her Majesty's said Council, and addressed to the Lord President of his Majesty's most hon. Privy Council for the time being, or in his absence to one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State; and the said Lord President or Secretary of State shall and is hereby required, on the receipt thereof, to communicate the same to the said Regent, and to summon forthwith a Privy Council, and the members of his Majesty's most hon. Privy Council are hereby required to assemble in consequence of such Summons; and the said Lord President, or in his absence the said Secretary of State, is required, in the presence of any six or more Privy Counsellors so assembled, to cause the said Instrument to be entered on the Books of the said Privy Council.

XX. And be it further enacted, That if at any time after the said Instrument under the hand of her Majesty, and of four or more of her said Council, shall have been received and entered as aforesaid, his Majesty shall think proper, by an Instrument under his Sign Manual, to require the Lord President of his Majesty's most hon. Privy Council for the time being, or in his absence, one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, to summon a Council in his Majesty's presence, consisting of any number of persons not less than nine, whom his Majesty shall name, and who shall be or shall have been members of his Majesty's most hon. Council, not being members of her Majesty's Council, the said Lord President or Secretary of State shall and he is hereby required to summon such persons accordingly; and as well the said Lord President or Secretary of State, as the other persons so summoned, shall and they are hereby required to attend at the time and place appointed by his Majesty; and such persons so assembled shall be and be deemed to be a Privy Council for the purpose herein-after mentioned.

XXI. And be it further enacted, That if his Majesty, by the advice of six or more of such Privy Council so assembled, shall signify his Royal Pleasure to resume the personal exercise of his Royal Authority, and to issue a Proclamation declaring the same, such Proclamation shall be issued accordingly, countersigned by the said six or more of the said Privy Council, and all the Powers and Authorities given by this Act shall from thenceforth cease and determine, and the personal exercise of the Royal Authority by his Majesty, shall be and be deemed to be resumed by his Majesty, and shall be exercised by his Majesty, to all intents and purposes, as if this Act had never been made.

(To be continued.)

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

PORTUGAL.—*Extract of a Dispatch from Lord Viscount Talavera, dated Cartaxo, 19th January 1811; and published in England, 9th February 1811.*

Since the enemy obtained possession of the bridge over the Guadiana, at Merida, the accounts of their progress have been so various and contradictory, that I am not enabled to form an opinion of their designs or numbers. When Gen. Mendizabel retired across the Guadiana, he threw a small corps of about 3,000 infantry into Olivenza, which place was but ill supplied with provisions and stores. A body of infantry, which at times have been stated to be 4,000, and at others 7,000, with about 1,500 cavalry, have blockaded Olivenza. There has been no alteration in the position of the enemy's troops in front of this army. I imagine that Gen. Claparede has not received the

orders from Gen. Drouet to take up his position upon Guarda, of which I reported to your Lordships in my last dispatch that we had intercepted the duplicate. He attacked Gen. Silveira with the advanced guard of his division near Trancosa, at the Ponte d'Albade, on the 30th ult. and obliged him to retire with some loss.—Lieut. Col. M'Bean of the 24th was wounded in this affair. General Claparede attacked General Silveira, again with the advanced guard of his division, at Villa du Ponte, on the 11th instant, and obliged him to retire, but without material loss, excepting that of Major Cooksey, of the 24th Portuguese regiment, who was unfortunately killed, and the officer commanding the 1st brigade of Portuguese Militia wounded. General Baceller, who commands in the North, has moved the divisions commanded by General Miller and Colonel Wilson upon the flank and rear of the enemy, which it is expected will check this movement, and oblige him to fall back again towards the frontier. A part of Claparede's division was still at Pinhel.

Portugal.—*A Dispatch from the Lord Viscount Talavera, dated Cartaxo, 26th January 1811; and published in England 9th February 1811.*

The enemy has continued the blockade of Olivenza, and obtained possession of that place on the 22d or 23d inst. Notwithstanding the positive assertions that a large body had crossed the bridge of Merida on the 9th, it does not appear that the French have yet had any large body on the right of the Guadiana. They have a train of six 24-pounders, and other ordnance of large calibre, and a large quantity of stores and carriages, on the left of the Guadiana; but it is not yet considered decided that they propose to attack Badajoz. I am concerned to have to report to your Lordship, that the Marquis de la Romana died in this town on the 23d inst. after a short illness. His talents, his virtues, and his patriotism, were well known to his Majesty's Government. In him the Spanish army has lost the brightest ornament; his country their most upright patriot; and the world the most strenuous and zealous defender of the cause in which we are engaged; and I shall always acknowledge with gratitude the assistance which I received from him, as well by his operation as by his counsel, since he has been joined with this army. Upon receiving accounts of the movements of the French troops in Estremadura, of the difficulties experienced in the relief of Olivenza, and of the possibility that Badajoz might be attacked, he ordered the Spanish troops which had been joined to us to march towards the frontier, and they commenced their march on the 20th inst. Gen. Mendizabel has since ordered them to halt on the road.—Since I addressed your Lordship on the 19th inst. I have received the detailed accounts of Gen. Silveira's affairs with the enemy in Upper Beira. In the affair at the Ponte d'Albade, on the 30th December, which was the most serious and in which the greatest loss was sustained, the General attacked the French and was repulsed. In the last affair of the 11th inst. the French attacked Gen. Silveira at Villa de Pont, and he was obliged to retire upon Lamego. He was followed by the French division, and was obliged to evacuate Lamego, and to retire across the Douro on the 13th inst. General Bacellar then took up a position on the Pavia, on the enemy's left flank, while Colonel Wilson was upon their rear at Castro Dairo, and General Silveira prevented them from crossing the Douro. These positions appeared to have induced General Claparede to retire again, as I have heard, from another channel, of his arrival at Trancoso. The enemy have made no material alteration in their position in front of this army since I last addressed your Lordship. They appear still to entertain a great jealousy of all our movements on the left of the Tagus, and they have recently removed some of the boats which were in the Zezere. They detached a body of 2,000 men from the rear of their army into Lower Beira, on the 22d instant, apparently to escort a courier towards the frontier. They drove our picquets through the town of Rio Mayor on the 19th inst. with a strong body of cavalry and infantry, but retired again immediately. It is reported that General Junot was wounded on this occasion. Our light detachments, under the Hon. Captain Cocks, of the 16th light dragoons, and others, still continue their operations with success, and send in many prisoners. My last accounts from Cadiz are of the 15th inst. I have the honour to be, &c

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

SPEECH OF THE REGENT.——On Tuesday, the 12th instant, A SPEECH was delivered to the two Houses of Parliament by Lords Commissioners, appointed by the Regent for the purpose.——This SPEECH, as being one delivered upon so singular an occasion, I shall insert here and then offer upon it and upon the report of the Debate such observations as seem to me likely to do good.——The Speech was as follows:——" MY LORDS AND " GENTLEMEN, In execution of the com- " mission which has now been read to " you, we are commanded by his Royal " Highness the Prince Regent to express " in the strongest manner, how deeply he " laments, not only in common with all " his Majesty's loyal subjects, but with " a personal and filial affliction, the great " national calamity which has been the " occasion of imposing upon his Royal " Highness the duty of exercising in his " Majesty's name, the Royal Authority of " this kingdom.——In conveying to you " the sense which his Royal Highness en- " tertains of the great difficulties attend- " ing the important trust which is reposed " in him, his Royal Highness commands " us to assure you, that he looks with the " most perfect confidence to the wisdom " and zeal of Parliament, and to the at- " tachment of a loyal and affectionate " people, for the most effectual assistance " and support; and his Royal Highness " will, on his part, exert his utmost en- " deavours to direct the powers with " which he is invested, to the advance- " ment of the prosperity, welfare, and " security of his Majesty's dominions. " ——We are directed to inform you, " that his Royal Highness has great sa- " tisfaction in being enabled to state, that " fresh opportunities have been afforded " during the late campaign, for distin- " guishing the valour and skill of his " Majesty's forces both by sea and land. " ——The capture of the Islands of Bour- " bon and of Amboyna have still farther " reduced the Colonial dependencies of " the enemy.——The attack upon the " Island of Sicily, which was announced " to the world with a presumptuous anti- " cipation of success, has been repulsed " by the persevering exertions and valour " of his Majesty's land and sea forces. " ——The judicious arrangement adopted " by the officers commanding on that sta- " tion derived material support from the " zeal and ardour which were manifested " during this contest by the inhabitants of " Sicily, and from the co-operation of the " naval means which were directed by his " Sicilian Majesty to this object.——In " Portugal, and at Cadiz, the defence of " which constituted the principal object of " his Majesty's exertions in the last cam- " paign, the designs of the enemy have " been hitherto frustrated. The consum- " mate skill, prudence, and perseverance " of Lieutenant General Lord Viscount " Wellington, and the discipline and de- " termined bravery of the officers and men " under his command, have been conspi- " cuously displayed throughout the whole " of the campaign. The effect of those distinguished qualities, in inspiring con- " fidence and energy into the troops of " his Majesty's Allies, has been happily " evinced by their general good conduct, and particularly by the brilliant part which they bore in the repulse of the enemy at Busaco. And his Royal Highness commands us further to state, that he trusts you will enable him to con- " tinue the most effectual assistance to the brave nations of the Peninsula, in the support of a contest which they manifest a determination to maintain with unabated perseverance; and his Royal Highness is persuaded, that you will feel, that the best interests of the British Empire must be deeply affected in the issue of this contest, on which the liberties and independence of the Spanish and Portuguese nations entirely depend. ——We have it likewise in command to acquaint you, that discussions are now depending between this country and the United States of America; and that it is the earnest wish of his Royal Highness that he may find himself enabled to bring these discussions to an amicable

"termination, consistent with the honour "of his Majesty's Crown, and the mari- "time rights and interests of the United "Kingdom.——GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE "OF COMMONS, We are directed to acquaint "you, that his Royal Highness the Prince "Regent has given his commands that the "estimates for the expenditure of the "current year should be laid before you; "and his Royal Highness has great satis- "faction in acquainting you, that although "the difficulties under which the com- "merce of this kingdom has laboured, "have in some degree affected a part of "his Majesty's revenue, particularly in "Ireland, yet that the revenue of Great "Britain in the last year, though unaided "by any new taxation, is greater than was "ever known in any preceding year. And "his Royal Highness trusts to your zeal "and liberality to afford his Majesty "adequate supplies for the support of the "great contest in which he is necessa "rily engaged.———MY LORDS AND GEN- "TLEMEN, We are commanded by his "Royal Highness to declare to you, that "it is the most anxious wish of his heart, "that he may be enabled to restore un- "impaired into the hands of his Majesty "the government of his Kingdom; and "that his Royal Highness earnestly prays "that the Almighty may be pleased in his "mercy to accelerate the termination of a "calamity so deeply lamented by the "whole nation, and so peculiarly afflict- "ing to his Royal Highness himself."—— As to what is said about the anxious hopes entertained of the King's recovery, and particularly as to the *prayer* of his Royal Highness and the People, it will be quite unnecessary for me to say any thing; seeing, that, upon these parts of the Speech, the proper observations will suggest themselves to every man of *sense* and *sincerity*, and, as to fools and hypocrites, it does not signify one straw what they think about this matter or any other. ——The Speech expresses great *satisfaction*, that fresh opportunities have offered for the forces by land, as well as by sea, shewing their skill and valour; and, the capture of the islands of *Bourbon* and *Amboyna* is mentioned as a particular instance of the effect of this skill and valour. The Courier regrets, that a little longer delay had not taken place, that the *Isle of France* might have been added to the number. This, we are now told, is the *last* of the enemy's colonies.——"The last of "the enemy's colonies has fallen; and the Regent's Government has been "ushered in with a most gallant and im- "portant achievement. The Isle of "France has surrendered to our arms, to- "gether with all the naval force of the "enemy in that quarter of the globe. "Not a French flag is now to be seen "*upon any sea*."——The Morning Post goes further. It congratulates its readers upon this event as being not only of the greatest importance in itself; but as being "intended by a kind and guardian Pro- "vidence as a balm to the wounded mind "of our beloved Sovereign." We will pass over the theological tenets of this passage, and notice only its political tendency; which is to cause the well-dressed rabble who read the Morning Post to believe, that the capture of this French colony will *contribute towards the safety of this kingdom*, than which a more false or stupid notion never was attempted to be palmed upon a credulous, infatuated, and long-deluded people.——The Park and Tower Guns have, indeed, been fired upon this occasion; and, doubtless, those who caused them to be fired, had their reasons for so doing; but, in my estimation, any one of the sentences, uttered in the case of MR. FINNERTY, the other day, is, if properly considered, of more importance to this nation, much more importance to it, than the capture of the Isle of France with the other two conquests added to it.——The object of every People, taken as such, must be to secure or obtain *happiness*. Public happiness cannot be obtained or secured without that degree of political liberty, which is necessary to provide *security against oppression*. Oppression may approach from *within* or from *without*. The conquests in question, if tending at all to secure the people against oppression, must, of course, be considered as tending to prevent the success of an enemy against this country. And, can any one shew me, that they have, or are likely to have, such a tendency? We have taken, one after another, *all* the colonies of France, in all parts of the world; but, are we more *secure* on that account? Does any man in England think his estate safer than it was in 1792? We have not only taken the colonies of France, but those of Holland, and Denmark, and, indeed, all the colonies of all the European powers are at our absolute command; but, does that add to the safety of Ireland? Does it tend to strengthen our confidence in Bank Notes? Has it done any thing in the way

of extirpating or checking peculation and corruption? Has it diminished the number of Pitt's paupers? Has it made us more secure *from without*; and, if it has not done that, what has it done? If it has not done that, why is it a matter to give any man *satisfaction*?——It is curious enough, that, at the same moment that the ministers and their people are boasting of these conquests of the enemy's colonies, they are complaining that the Emperor Napoleon (whom they call "the "*person* ruling in France;") they are complaining most bitterly, that the "*per*-"*son* ruling in France," seems to have formed the determination to *ruin* this country, if he can. Well! and what then? If we are so victorious as they tell us we are, what need we care for the *resolutions* of "the *Person*," any more than we need for the menaces of a Bedlamite? His *resolutions* indeed! What are his resolutions to us, when we know that we have captured all his colonies, and that our armies are *so victorious* in every part of the world?——MR. MILNES, the mover of "*the Address*" (for this thing is still, it seems, to be kept up), said that all the designs of the enemy had been frustrated, that his hopes had proved fallacious, that his predictions had recoiled upon himself; and, that though Great Britain DID NOT BOAST (Oh, no! a very modest nation become!) she *proudly* maintained her position!——That is to say, she was proud that she was still *unsubdued*; for, as to maintaining her *position*, if taken in a literal sense, it would mean that these Islands were, as yet, not removed by "the *person*."——But, admitting, then, that we do stand in this *proud* position as to France; admitting that "the *person*" has been baffled in all his views: that he has been "disap-"pointed;" and in short, that we have, as the speeches would seem to convey, the best end of the staff. Admitting this to be the case, why do we *complain*, why do we set up a *plaintive* sort of tone, when speaking of his hostility? We are always talking about his *implacable* disposition; his *hatred* of us; his *ambitious* views. What need *we* care for any of these, if we are in the state above described? If we have taken all the colonies of "the *person*," and disappointed all his hopes and made all his predictions recoil upon himself?——A MR. WELLESLEY, who seconded the Address, and who is, I am assured, a son of the MARQUIS, is reported to have said, that "the *person*" (Lord Talavera called him an *Emperor* at the affair of Cintra) "waged war not for any "of the *common* purposes of war; not to "receive satisfaction for supposed injuries "incurred; not to recover territory to "which any presumed right was set forth: "no: his hostility was directed at our "*existence*; the aim of his *inveterate hatred* "and uninterrupted *machinations* was to *sub*-"*vert and undermine all our establishments*."——Yes, yes; there is no doubt but this is his object; but, *what of that?* Why this *complaining* tone? It is not for us to dictate to our enemy what sort of objects he shall have for his wars; and really, if this person does not choose to make war for the old-fashioned purposes, I do not see any reason that we have to find fault?——"Subvert our establishments!" And, would *we* not do him the same kindness, if we could? Can we so soon have forgotten what has passed? Is it not fresh in every one's memory, that we and our allies *invaded* France, in various parts; and that, at one time, a statesman of more than usual fire, proposed *a march to Paris direct?* Did we not join with the Austrians and Prussians for the sake of forcing the people of France to do something that they did not like to do, or in other words, of subverting *their* establishments.——"Aye," I shall be told, "but *their* estab-"lishments were *bad* and they were *wicked* "men who were then in power in France."——Just so, if you please. But, we were the *judges* of *them*, and, of course, they, now that they are become the assailants, will take the liberty to be *judges* of *us*.——"Subvert?" Aye, to be sure, "the "*Person*" wishes to subvert our establishments; but, why need we talk of that? He never talks about *our* wishes to subvert *his* establishments. He seems not to notice our wishes in that way. What can be the cause of this?——"*Inveterate ha-"tred?*" And do we *love* him? I have seen no very strong marks likely of inveterate hatred in him towards us; but, it is, I think, quite impossible for him to love us; and, I neither expect it or wish it. Love of England on the part of "the *per*-"*son* ruling in France," at any time, would be a little too much to expect; but, to expect Napoleon to love us, or, not to hate us, would be most unreasonable. *What* is there, in the way of hostility, that we have left undone, or, at least, unattempted, against France and her rulers, since the day that she called a convention for the avowed purpose of framing a

free constitution of government? I am not inquiring whether we were justified, or not, in these acts and attempts of ours; but, surely, what is fair on one side is fair on the other. We have a right to subvert the throne of "the *person*" if we can; but, we must expect to excite any thing but compassion by *complaining* that he is anxious to return the compliment, or, even to outstep us in point of politeness. *Complaint* is not the tone, and especially at a time when we are boasting of our *conquests* and of the *disappointment* and *chagrin* of the enemy.——In the debate of the next day (13th instant), when the Address was reported to the House, Mr. PERCEVAL took occasion to touch upon the same topic, in answer to a part of Mr. Whitbread's speech, wherein sorrow was expressed, that no mention was made about hopes of *peace*. This passage of Mr. PERCEVAL's speech has been cited by the COURIER, and given with a comment, making it the more worthy of attention. ——It stands thus, in that paper of the 14th instant.——"Well and manfully, "therefore, did Mr. Perceval speak, when, "coming at once to the subject, and dis-"daining all shifts and subterfuges, all "doubtful and evasive language, he said, "(and the hearts and voices of the House "went with him) "That no peace could "" be made until there was an abatement "" of the pretensions of France. This "" had been characterized as a declara-"" tion of interminable war It may be "" so; but be it recollected, it was *not a* "" *war of this country's making*, but *a war* "" *waged by France*. For what had France "" declared to be her object? Nothing "" short of *the utter ruin and subversion of* "" *Britain*. If, then, the war was inter-"" minable, it was an *interminable war of* "" *self-defence*; and *no other means were* "" *left to us for existence*, but to stand up "" and *resist to the last*."—This is the "language of *a Briton*; it is such a lan-"guage as *a British Minister should hold* "and it gives Mr. Perceval another claim "to the applause, the *gratitude*, and the "*support of the country*."——Good God! Is it come to this at last? This is a "*proud*" position is it? We are to be kept at war just as long as our enemy pleases; and, the utmost of our *hope* is, that we shall be able to *defend* ourselves? "This is the language of *a Briton*," is it? ——As to the question of who *made* the war, there are different opinions; but, I really never have read any where, that France has "*declared*" her object to be "the *utter ruin* and subversion of Britain." I never have *seen* any such declaration, and this is the first time that I have *heard* of any such declaration.——But, understand me, I mean not to give it to be understood, that I doubt the *intention* to be such; for, I have no doubt at all, that the Emperor of France fully *intends* "utterly "to ruin and subvert Britain," so far as may be necessary to make the country obedient to his will.——We are, upon such subjects, apt to make use of strong rhetorical figures, and to say, in the language of Mr. PERCEVAL, that we are fighting for our *existence*. But, by this is meant the existence of the *government* and the *present state of things*; the present *distribution of power*; and, in short, the present system of rule; for, as to the *lives* or *existence* of the people, and even the *property* of the far greater part of them, these would, and must, remain undestroyed. We have not seen the people in Holland and Italy *die*. Oh, no! This is not the way, therefore, to take the matter; for, when the people came to look closer and closer at it, they will see it in less hideous colours. The best way is to state it *truly*; to state the consequences of invasion and conquest such as they naturally would be; and, in those consequences, without any exaggeration, there ought to be quite enough to call forth exertion. To this loose way of describing the consequences of the country's subjugation I greatly prefer a sober statement, shewing *how* and to *what extent* the mass of the people would be affected by the change; shewing, first *what they have to lose*, either in the way of *liberty* or *property*; next, in what *manner* they would naturally *lose* either or both; and then, showing how much *worse* their situation would be under Napoleon than it now is. This is what I should like to see done; for, as to exaggerations, as to fly-away figures of rhetorick, they produce no lasting effects; they are like water upon the duck's back. Give us *facts*; prove to us what you state, and then your words will become a ground of action with us.——But, to return from this digression, what *use*, again let me ask, are all our *conquests*, what *use* all these victories, of which we are boasting, if it be true, as is here stated in Mr. PERCEVAL's speech, that we are at war solely for *defence*; that we do not make war, but that France *compels* us to fight; that whether the war shall be *without end*, or not, de-

pends upon *her* will; that if it be without end, it is, on our part, to be considered as an endless war of *self defence*; that an *endless war* is *all we have left* for our *existence*; and, that we ought to stand up and *resist* to the *last*; if this be the case, what, I again ask, is the *use* of all our conquests and all our victories? We have been conquering colonies for the last 18 years. What firing of Park and Tower Guns! What shoutings! What bonfires! What titles, what pensions, what boastings! Well, if after all this, we are still in the situation described by Mr. PERCEVAL, what was the use of it all? If we are still unable to make peace; unable to obtain any terms consistent with our safety; if this be the case, what have we gained by our conquests; by all our victories? It is *existence* that we are, it seems, now fighting for, according to the acknowledgment of the minister himself. How are our views changed since we began the war, in 1792, against the Jacobins and Republicans? We then expected to be *conquerors*; the double object of *clipping the wings of France* and *stifling republican principles* animated the zeal of our statesmen. In some few years they abated in their demands. They afterwards came to "*indemnity for the past and* "*security for the future.*" They *would* have *that*, or they never would make peace. Amiens saw that completely abandoned; and, in spite of all the conquests and victories of this new war, the minister tells us, that, we have now nothing left but to fight for our *existence*; to stand up and *resist* to the last. Not *attack*, mind. *Resistance, defence*, all the words descriptive of a party hunted or assaulted, are applied to our situation; and yet, at the same time, in the course of the very same speech, we hear boastings about our *conquests* and our *victories*.——Mr. WELLESLEY, after having stated, as above, the nature of the hostility of "the *Ruler* of France" towards this country, said, that "when he considered "the motives by which that Ruler was "impelled, and applied those motives to "the impediments which France was every "day endeavouring to give to the com- "mercial intercourse of this country and of the world; it was not because its Ruler wished to cripple commerce in 'this country, or to ultimately acquire it 'for the nations of the Continent subject 'to his dominion, but that it was his po- 'licy to put down, if possible, *the spirit of* "*freedom which sprung from commercial in-* "*tercourse*; that spirit, which the *history of* "*this kingdom* proved to be most encou- "raged by commercial intercourse and "greatness; a greatness which at one "time raised the Hanseatic towns to a "level with some of the most important "Powers of the Continent, and the *want* "*and deprivation of which has now depressed* "*them to the lowest department of France.* "Whilst these were the objects of our "enemy, he could not understand upon "what ground, without *first repressing* the "power, and *abating the pretensions* of "France, any man could entertain the fal- "lacious hope of a solid peace with that "power."——If Mr. WELLESLEY had pointed out any *method*, by which the power of "the *person*" is to be *repressed*, or his pretensions *abated*, this part of his speech would have been much more satisfactory; but, to tell us, that we never can have peace, till Buonaparté's power is *repressed*, is, indeed, to put peace at a most awful distance. To be sure, there is Lord Viscount Talavera busily employed in *repressing* this power, which laudable work he has been engaged in for many months past; but, if *he* should fail? I do not say, that he *will* fail, mind. I do not even venture to express *an opinion* that he will fail. But, I trust, that I may be permitted to give it as my opinion, that it is *possible* that he may fail; or, at least, that he may not go quite so far as to effect what one might fairly call a repression of the power of "the *person* ruling in France." That Lord Viscount Talavera, who, a great while ago, told us, that the French had no ground, except that on which their army stood, will, with the aid of the valiant Portuguese, soon beat the French raggamuffins that remain in Portugal, there can be little doubt, and, indeed, it would be a great pity if he did not do it in quick time, seeing that the French have nothing but old *Serjeants* and *Corporals* to command them, while the allies are commanded by the nobility of the two nations. JUNOT was the son of a farmer, and as to MASSENA his parents were so poor, that they were unable to put him to school, and he even learnt his A. B. C. after he became a soldier.——That such coarse, uneducated, low-bred fellows as these should be able to resist the attacks of the high and gallant allies is not probable; but, at the same time, as Buonaparté has *so many* of these fellows, it may not be easy for Lord Talavera to *repress* his power. Though the Serjeants and Corporals in Portugal will, doubtless, be

beaten, and, in all likelihood, be borne from Santarem (where, it seems they are now besieged) to England, prisoners of war; yet, it does not follow, that Buonaparté's power, upon a general scale, will be, by this glorious approaching result of the war in Portugal, *repressed.* And, if it be not repressed, we are, observe, *not to entertain any hopes of peace.*——Is it meant, therefore, that we would refuse to *negociate* at this time? Is it meant that we ought never to negociate till we have *repressed* the power of France? If this be not the meaning I should be glad to know what the meaning is; for, as to repressing the power *by the means of negotiation,* it would be something rather worse than insanity to expect that.——There is, I am satisfied, no means of making peace with Napoleon without yielding, in the way of *preliminary,* all pretensions to interfere in the affairs of *Spain* and *Portugal* and even *Sicily;* and, as to Holland, Italy, Naples, the Hans Towns and Sweden, I am quite sure, that he would not suffer them to be *named* in a treaty with us, except for the purposes of commercial regulation.——We are not ready to yield to such terms, I know; but I should be glad to be informed of the means by which we are likely to get *better* terms. I know very well, that he would, in addition to all the above, insist upon having back every colony that we have taken. Very grating all this might be; but, tell me by *what means* we are likely to get better terms. It is useless to revile. It is quite useless to talk about Buonaparté's hatred of us. Unless we have the means of *diminishing* his power, we must make peace upon these terms, or we must *keep on the war.*——And, is the prospect likely to *mend?*——I just put this question, and leave the reader to answer it.——Mr. WELLESLEY's remarks upon Napoleon's commercial warfare, are of the same description as those upon his general motives. It may be, that Napoleon wishes to annihilate commerce, not for *the good of his own dominions,* but for the sake of *injuring us.* This *may* be true; but, of what *use* is the remark; of what use is it to point out this fact to us, if the knowledge of it can do us no good? So that his measures *injure* us, what is it to us whether they do good to his own subjects, or not?——The idea of his wishing to destroy *commerce* because it is *favourable to* LIBERTY is worth attention; especially as we are told, that it has proved so very favourable to liberty *in England.*——The idea is an old one, and, as applied to commerce in the *first stages of its progress,* is correct. Commerce, as the word imports, was an *intercourse* between men and nations. It communicated *knowledge,* which is always the enemy of despotic sway, whose chief supporters are, indeed, *ignorance* or *military force.*——But, commerce has long gone beyond this mark. It has now become a great, and the greatest, political instrument. And, indeed, let any man look at the East India Company, view it in all its departments at home and abroad, in all its sources of influence, in all intercourse with the minister for the time being; let any one look at the Bank, at Lloyd's, at the Stock Exchange, at the Loan-makers. Let any man, with eyes capable of discerning the wheels and the movements of these machines, only just cast his eye upon them, and he will, I think, soon be convinced, that Napoleon ought to let commerce in this way flourish as much as possible, if his object be to see freedom annihilated.——As to the HANS TOWNS having been *free* while they had commerce, and being *subjugated by France,* now that they have no commerce, what argument is this in favour of commerce? Napoleon found them *free* (or, at least, calling themselves so) and *commercial;* and he took both freedom and commerce away *together.* The loss of the commerce was not the *cause* of the loss of the freedom; but, it may with perfect truth be said, that the endeavours made *to preserve the commerce* did accelerate the loss of the freedom, or of what was called the freedom.——But, after all, and to return to the main point, what signifies it to *us* what are the *motives* of Napoleon in his wars upon our commerce? What right have we to find fault of his endeavours to annoy us and to ruin us, seeing that this is the case on our side with regard to him? What have we left untried in order to overset him? And, shall we, then, set up a cry, because we find him resolved to annoy us, cost what it will?——Besides, it is a mistake to suppose, that the continent of Europe will not benefit from this war upon our commerce; that is to say, as far as it is beneficial to a country to make its own goods of all sorts.——There are all the same *raw materials* upon the Continent that we have in England; those countries will now naturally become by degrees manufacturing countries; and, what is of vast importance, *they* will, as to all practical

purposes, be at *peace*, while we shall be at war.——If Napoleon's war against our commerce and manufactures be, therefore, continued for a few years, the manufacturing will gradually leave us, and go to Germany, and, perhaps, into Spain. Is it in *nature*, ought it to be *expected*, that, with all this light broken in upon the world, the wool of Spain should continue to be sent to England to be made into cloth?——The dispersion of the Spanish *flocks* alone is an event that would, in former times, have marked *a century*. It will produce a prodigious change in the commercial affairs of the world and in the relationship between nations.——The greater part of these flocks have been driven into France; some have gone to Italy; some to Germany; a good share to England; and a full proportion to the American States.——This last exportation is the most important of all. In America every animal is prolific. Lands are boundless; and all that is wanted for these sheep grows almost spontaneously.——I hear, that Mr. CHANCELLOR LIVINGSTONE of New York has written a book upon the subject, in which book he gives an account of the method of treating these sheep and of the success which has already attended their propagation. They increase at a wonderful rate; and his calculation is, that, in the space of *five years*, America, allowing for an increase of population, will be able to dispense with all importation of goods of whatever kind, as especially of *Woollens*.——This is not a thing *going to take place*. It has taken place. The matter is decided. The flocks are *there*; and, so sure as the wheat that is now in the ground will be a ripe crop in next August or September, so sure will America not only not import, but she will *export*, woollens, in a few years hence.——This is decisive as to our woollen manufactures, as far as relates to exportation. Not that I think this change injurious to the *nation*, to the *people* of this kingdom. I think it a benefit, on the contrary, and am very glad that America is in a fair way of being wholly independent of us. I want to see no commercial connection with her, or with any other country, till, at least, these commercial phalanxes are broken up. My decided opinion is, that England could not only do without foreign commerce; but that she would be much better without it than with it.——But, there are others, who are of a very different opinion, and these persons ought to begin, by times, to consider how the loss of the foreign commerce will be supplied; for, if there be already a sensible injury done to it, what must be the amount of the injury in the course of two or three years?——Mr. WELLESLEY talks about "*the reviving spirit* "*of the British merchant*." The spirit of the British merchant, like that of all others, will revive when a fair prospect of gain opens; but not before. It will not revive at a call. It is not a thing affected by sentiment. It cannot stop the current of events, and that current now runs against a commercial monopoly in the hands of England.——MR. MILNES said, that the view of our *pecuniary resources*, which the gracious Speech of the Prince Regent held out, was most "*flattering*, and "put them above all those *vulgar appre-* "*hensions*, which were circulated respect- "ing the permanency of our resources."——I wonder what Mr. HUSKISSON thought of this? He has very clearly stated, that Bank of England Notes are worth only 17*s.* the pound, and has said, that they are *daily sinking in value*, so that, perhaps, in a short time, his 1,200 a year pension will not be worth above 5 or 600 pounds a year. This is a serious thing; and though rather *vulgar* to be sure, is well worth an honest pensioner's attention.——However, as to the language of the *speech* in this respect; as to the *flattering* prospect it holds out, does MR. MILNES recollect, that, the King's Speech, which was delivered to the Parliament only a *few weeks* before the *Bank Stoppage* took place, spoke of the national resources with much *greater* confidence than this Speech does? Does he recollect, that, upon that occasion, the mover and seconder of the Address, sung most melodious praises on the heaven-born minister for having carried on the contest, while our resources remained *untouched?* These are facts to be borne in mind, and well calculated to make men cautious when they are grounding opinions upon assertions made in ministerial speeches.——These remarks I could not refrain from making; not, that I think, that *any* one can do much good in this way; but, I do not like to let such things pass as if I were unable to see them in their true light. Nothing I can say will, perhaps, produce or prevent any effect; but, it is *possible* it may, and no *chance* ought to be neglected.——Mr. LAMBE, who spoke in the first day's debate, is reported to have said, that, as there was now no *foreign failure* to discuss, nor any *domestic question*, to occupy the feelings and attention of the House,

as had lately been the case, he hoped they would set themselves seriously to work to the *concerns of the country*.——What this may *mean* I cannot pretend to say; but this I know, that the "*domestic questions*," to which Mr. LAMBE alludes, appear to me to be the real "*concerns* of the country." Questions which relate to the power of seizing upon people, putting them into jail at pleasure, and keeping them there during pleasure, without any trial or hearing; these, and such like questions, seem to me to be the true "concerns of "the country," and to be a matter of infinitely more importance than any thing that can possibly be brought forward, relating to Spain or Portugal or Sicily, or any other of "our allies." The manner, indeed, in which the *taxes* are expended, how the people's money is distributed, *this* is a subject of great importance and interest; but, questions merely relating to *detail* are of no consequence, even if they are of a pecuniary nature. If you allow, that the several branches of expenditure ought to exist as they are in the main. If you allow that we ought to pay such or such an army, for instance, what signifies disputing about the *estimate?* What is the use of making an alteration in the shillings and pence columns of the account? I want to see the taxes *lessened* and, if this effect be not produced, I do not see any advantage whatever in any thing that can be done about the finance accounts. I want to see the expences *upon the whole* diminished; and, if this be not done, what, I ask, is the use of *discussion?* What is the use of Reports and Returns, which add greatly to the expences instead of lessening them?——There is one subject of a "*domestic*" nature, which Mr. LAMBE will, surely, consider as belonging to the "*concerns of the country:*" I mean a *Reform in the Commons' House of Parliament.* This subject has been most solemnly introduced by the Corporation of the City of London, who have, as became them, taken the lead in addressing the Prince. Not an address will the Regent receive, I dare say, unaccompanied with a complaint of the same sort. The City of London have spoken the sense of the nation. They have *said* what all good men *think*, and all independent men *say*.——The friends of reform have nothing to do but to *persevere*. A people *never dies*. Let the principle be kept alive. Let the object stand before *all* others. Let nothing eclipse it; no emergency, no alarm, no danger; nothing; let nothing draw off the public attention from this great purpose, this great end of political labour and political life. Let no humbug story about wars in Spain or Portugal or Sicily or the East Indies or about the Pogram war in Suffolk; let nothing of this sort draw our minds aside from this object. Every thing in politics, every thing relating to our personal liberty or our property, turns, at last, upon this point. The time for discussing this question is *always present*. If Buonaparté were at Dover, Parliamentary Reform should be the word; for I am fully persuaded, that that measure would have more effect in driving him out, or insuring his extermination, than 300,000 soldiers in regular array.——*Faction* being now, in some measure killed, or, at least, very sick, heart-sick, this would be a good time to bring forward the question in a regular manner; and then, from the reception it met with the people would know *what they had to expect*, and would *make up their minds and fashion their course accordingly*. I shall be told by some people, that it will *never* be adopted. *Never* is *a long while!* We shall see a great many things before *never* comes; And at any rate, as Major Cartwright says, if reform is never to come, our exertions will not *defer* the period of its arrival. But, when people talk of *never*, they, surely, are blind, not only to what has been passing for the last eighteen years, but to what is passing this moment. Let any man look at what has lately passed and is passing, and then say, if he ought to despair of seeing this great and salutary measure accomplished; this measure so necessary, as the City of London observe, to 'the safety of the Crown and the happiness of the People.

MR. FINNERTY.—— It is with great pleasure I hear that a measure is about to be adopted as a mark of respect towards this Gentleman, whose conduct has attracted such universal attention. ——I shall have an opportunity of speaking more fully upon the subject, when I am more accurately informed of the intention of the Gentlemen to whom I allude.

WM. COBBETT.

State Prison, Newgate, Friday, February 15, 1811.

LONDON.—*Address to the Regent, presented Feb.* 14, 1811.

To His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, Regent of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.—The dutiful and loyal Address of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of London, in Common Council assembled.

May it please your Royal Highness;

We, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of London, in Common Council assembled, most humbly approach your Royal Highness with the warmest assurances of affectionate attachment to your Royal Person, and unshaken adherence to those sacred principles which seated your family upon the throne of this realm; fully convinced, that those principles afford the best security to the honour and dignity of the Sovereign, and the rights and interests of the people.

Whilst we offer to your Royal Highness our sincere condolence upon the severe visitation with which it has pleased Divine Providence to afflict our most gracious Sovereign, which has occasioned a suspension of the royal functions, it is with heartfelt consolation, that, in common with all ranks of our fellow-subjects, we behold in the person of your Royal Highness a Prince highly endowed, and eminently qualified to exercise the regal duties—a Prince, who has so greatly endeared himself to the people, by his moderation and forbearance on various trying occasions, and the attachment he has so uniformly shewn to their rights and liberties.

Had indeed the desire and expectation of the United Kingdom been realized, by vesting in your Royal Highness the full powers of the executive authority, we should have had just cause for congratulation, confident as we feel that those powers would have been wisely and beneficially exercised, to enable us to meet the extraordinary exigencies of so perilous a crisis.

Deeply impressed with a sense of the many and great difficulties, which, with powers so limited, your Royal Highness must have to encounter in the discharge of duties so arduous, and feeling towards your Royal Highness the fullness of that loyal affection, which, in deeds as well as in words, we have so long demonstrated towards your Royal Father and Family, we would fain have forborne to cloud the dawn of our intercourse with your Royal Highness by even a glance at our grievances, manifold and weighty as they are, but duty to our Sovereign, duty to our Country, the example of our Forefathers, justice to Posterity, the fame and the safety of the Kingdom, all, with voice imperious, forbid us to disguise our thoughts, or to smother our feelings.

Far be it from us, insulted as the Corporation of this ancient (and, at all former times, respected) City has recently been, by the Servants of the Crown; far be it from us to indulge in complaints of grievances peculiar to ourselves, ready and willing as we are, to share in all the necessary burdens and all the dangers of our country. It is of general grievances, grievances sorely felt in all ranks of life; of accumulated and ever-accumulating taxation, rendered doubly grievous by the oppressive mode of exaction, and of the increased and increasing distress and misery therefrom arising; of the improvident expenditure of the immense sums thus wrung from industry and labour; of the waste of life and of treasure, in ill-contrived and ill-conducted expeditions; of the attempts, which, for many years past, and especially within the last three years, have been made, and with but too much success, to crush public liberty in all its branches, and especially the liberty of freely discussing the conduct of public men, and the nature and tendency of public measures.

Can we refrain from humbly expressing our complaints, when we have seen those Ministers who have so long usurped the Royal Authority, and who, it is now discovered, have, by practising the most criminal deception upon the Parliament and the People, carried on the Government during his Majesty's former incapacity, exerting their influence to degrade the Kingly Office;—when we have seen measures adopted, evincing the most unfounded jealousy and mistrust of your Royal Highness;—when we have seen the Prerogatives of the crown curtailed and withheld—when we have seen a new Estate established in the realm, highly dangerous and unconstitutional — when we have seen power, influence, and emolument, thus set apart to controul and embarrass the Executive Government, at a time of such unprecedented difficulty—when all the energies of the State are necessary to enable

us to surmount the dangers with which we are threatened, both at home and abroad —we confess that, feeling as we do the most unbounded gratitude to your Royal Highness, for undertaking these arduous duties at a moment of such peril, and under such circumstances, we can discover no cause for congratulation;—on the contrary, we should be filled with dismay and the most alarming apprehensions, were it not for the known patriotism and amiable qualities, which your Royal Highness possesses, and the resource which we trust your Royal Highness will find, in the zeal, ardour, affection and loyalty of a free and united People.

Numerous other grievances we forbear even to mention; but there is one so prominent in the odiousness of its nature, as well as in the magnitude of its mischievous consequences, that we are unable to refrain from marking it out as a particular object of our complaint and of your Royal Highness's virtuous abhorrence—the present Representation in the Commons House of Parliament—a ready instrument in the hands of the Minister for the time being, whether for the purposes of nullifying the just prerogatives of the Crown, or of insulting and oppressing the People, and a Reform in which Representation is, therefore, absolutely necessary for the safety of the Crown, the happiness of the People, and the peace and independence of the Country.

Reposing the fullest confidence in your Royal Highness's beneficent views and intentions, we can only deplore the present unfortunate state of things, fully relying, that, under circumstances so novel and embarrassing, every measure which depends personally upon your Royal Highness will be adopted towards extricating us from our present difficulties, and for promoting the peace, happiness, and security of the country.

Thus to mingle our expressions of confidence and affection with the voice of complaint is grievous to our hearts; but, placing as we do, implicit reliance on the constitutional principles of your Royal Highness, we are cheered with the hope, that such a change of system will take place, as will henceforward, for a long series of happy years, prevent your Royal Highness from being greeted by the faithful and loyal City of London in any voice, but that of content and of gratitude.

Signed by Order of Court,

HENRY WOODTHORPE.

ANSWER.

To which Address his Royal Highness was pleased to return the following most gracious Answer.

I thank you for the assurances of your attachment, and of your confidence in the sincerity of my endeavours to promote the welfare and security of his Majesty's dominions, by the faithful administration of those powers with which I am entrusted during the lamented indisposition of the King.

In the arduous situation in which I am placed, I can assure you that it will be the happiest moment of my life when, by the blessing of Providence, I shall be called upon to resign the powers now delegated to me into the hands of my beloved and revered Father and Sovereign.

My own disposition, no less than the example of my Royal Father, will make me at all times ready to listen to the complaints of those who may think themselves aggrieved; and will determine me on all occasions to regulate my conduct upon the established principles of that ancient and excellent Constitution, under which the people of this country have hitherto enjoyed a state of unrivalled prosperity and happiness.

THE REGENCY BILL.

(Concluded from page 382.)

XXII. And be it further enacted, That if his royal highness George Augustus Frederick Prince of Wales shall depart this life during the continuance of the Regency by this Act established, or cease to be Regent under any of the provisions thereof, the Lords of his Majesty's most hon. Privy Council shall forthwith cause a Proclamation to be issued, in his Majesty's name, under the Great Seal of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, declaring the same: And if her Majesty the Queen shall depart this life during the time that the care of his Majesty's Royal Person shall be committed to her Majesty according to the provisions of this Act, the Regent shall forthwith order and direct a Proclamation, under the Great Seal of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, to be issued and published, declaring the same: And in case the Parliament in being at the time of the issuing of any Proclamation declaring the death of the Regent or of her Majesty, or at the time of the issuing of any Pro-

clamation for the Resumption of the personal exercise of the Royal Authority by his Majesty, shall then be separated, by any adjournment or prorogation, such Parliament shall forthwith meet and sit.

XXIII. Provided always, and be it further enacted, That in case any such Proclamation as aforesaid shall issue in any or either of such cases as aforesaid, at any time subsequent to the dissolution or expiration of a Parliament, and before the day appointed by any Writs of Summons then issued for assembling a new Parliament, then and in such case the last preceding Parliament shall immediately convene and sit at Westminster, and be a Parliament to continue during the space of six months and no longer, to all intents and purposes, as if the same Parliament had not been dissolved or expired, but subject to be sooner prorogued or dissolved: Provided also, that if any such Proclamation as aforesaid shall issue in any or either of such cases as aforesaid upon or at any time after the day appointed by any Writs of Summons then issued for calling and assembling a new Parliament, and before such new Parliament shall have met and sat as a Parliament, such new Parliament shall immediately after such Proclamation convene and sit at Westminster, and be and be deemed to be a Parliament in being to all intents and purposes under the provisions of this Act.

XXIV. And be it also enacted, That in case of the death of her Majesty the Queen, the Care of his Majesty's Royal Person, and all and every the Powers and Authorities in and by this Act vested in her Majesty touching the care of his Majesty's Royal Person, and the disposing, ordering, and managing all matters and things relating thereto, shall be and the same are hereby vested in her Majesty's Council, until due provision shall have been made in relation thereto by Parliament: Provided nevertheless, that in such case, nothing in this Act contained shall extend or be construed to extend to empower the Regent, or the said Council, to nominate, appoint, or remove any of the Officers or Persons of his Majesty's Household, by this Act made subject to the nomination, appointment or removal of her Majesty, until due provision shall have been made by Parliament in that behalf.

XXV. And be it further enacted, That if any person, being a member of the House of Commons, shall accept of any Office of Profit from the Crown, by the nomination and appointment of the Regent in the name and on behalf of his Majesty, or of her Majesty the Queen, during the continuance of the Regency hereby established, the Election of such member shall be and is hereby declared to be void, and a new Writ shall issue for a new Election, in such and the like manner as if such person had been appointed to such Office by his Majesty.

XXVI. And be it further enacted, That the several Letters Patent, Letters of Privy Seal, and all other lawful authorities, of what nature or kind soever, which have been granted or issued by his Majesty, by virtue whereof any payments of any sum or sums of money are directed to be paid out of the monies applicable to the use of his Majesty's Civil Government, for the use of the Queen's most excellent Majesty, or for the use of any of the branches of his Majesty's Royal Family, shall continue to be, and the same are hereby enacted to continue and be of full force and effect respectively, during the continuance of the Regency by this Act established; and that Warrants shall be issued by the Lord High Treasurer, or Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, for the payment of the several sums therein respectively contained; which Warrants the said Lord High Treasurer, or Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, are hereby respectively required to issue at the usual and accustomed times, and in the usual and accustomed manner.

XXVII. And be it further enacted, That the Lord High Treasurer or Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury for the time being, shall direct, and they are hereby required annually to direct the sum of £.60,000 to be issued out of the monies of the Civil List Revenues to the Keeper of his Majesty's Privy Purse for the time being, in like manner, and at such times and in such proportions as has heretofore been usual and accustomed in respect to the issue of the sum of £60,000 as aforesaid; and that the said Keeper of his Majesty's Privy Purse shall, and he is hereby authorised and directed, during the continuance of his Majesty's indisposition, out of the monies so issued to him, to make such payments, and issue and apply such sums (not exceeding the sum of 15,461*l.* in the whole in the year), to such persons, in such proportions, and at such times, for such purposes, and on such accounts and in such manner as he hath

heretofore usually paid, issued and applied the same by the authority and direction of his Majesty; and the said Keeper of his Majesty's Privy Purse shall, and he is hereby authorised and directed to issue and pay to such person as her Majesty may think proper to appoint for this purpose, out of such 60,000*l.* as aforesaid, such sums of money, (not exceeding 4,215*l.* in each quarter of the year in the whole, the first payment whereof shall be made for the current quarter as soon as may be after the passing of this Act) as her Majesty shall, by any order or orders in writing made for that purpose, direct, to be by such person so to be appointed as aforesaid, paid and applied in such sums and proportions, and to such persons and for such purposes, and upon such accounts, and in such manner, as the same have been heretofore accustomed to be paid and applied, under the immediate direction and authority of his Majesty; and such person, so appointed as aforesaid, shall, before any such money shall be issued to him after the passing of this Act, take an oath before some one of her Majesty's Council (which Oath each of her Majesty's said Council is hereby authorised to administer) that he will faithfully apply and will justly account to her Majesty for the faithful application of such sums of money so issued to him as aforesaid; and such person so appointed as aforesaid, shall, from time to time, within one month after the receipt of every such sum as aforesaid, render to her Majesty a just and true Account of the application thereof: Provided also, that the remainder of the aforesaid sum of 60,000*l.* shall be invested by the said Keeper of his Majesty's Privy Purse in some of the public Funds, or Government Securities, in the name of the Keeper of his Majesty's Privy Purse for the time being, in trust for his Majesty; and that the net surplus of the Revenues of the Duchy and County Palatine of Lancaster shall be from time to time paid under the Order of the Chancellor and Council of the said Duchy, into the hands of the Keeper of his Majesty's Privy Purse, whose receipt shall be a sufficient discharge for the same, and shall by him be invested in some of the public Funds or Government Securities, in manner aforesaid; and that the Governor and Company of the Bank of England shall place the said several sums on an Account to be raised in the Books of the said Governor and Company intituled, "The Account of the Keeper of his Majesty's Privy Purse;" and that upon the death or resignation of the present and every other Keeper of his Majesty's Privy Purse hereafter to be appointed, all and every the said stock or stocks and sum or sums of money arising from the dividends which shall accrue thereon, shall immediately vest in the successor of the present or any future Keeper of his Majesty's Privy Purse respectively, and the Keeper of his Majesty's Privy Purse for the time being is hereby required to lay out and invest the dividends so accruing as aforesaid, from time to time, in the purchase of other Stocks and Securities on the like account, and that the Keeper of his Majesty's Privy Purse for the time being, shall from time to time execute Declarations of Trust of all such Funds and Securities, declaring that the same are held in trust for his Majesty, by Instruments to be executed under his hand and seal, to be deposited with her Majesty.

XXVIII. Provided always, and be it enacted, That the said Keeper of his Majesty's Privy Purse, and such person so to be appointed as last aforesaid by her Majesty, shall on or before the first day of January 1812, and on or before the first day of January in every succeeding year during the continuance of this Act, respectively take an Oath before the Barons of the Court of Exchequer, or one of them, in the form following:

I *A. B.* do swear, That according to the best of my knowledge, belief, or information, no part of the money which has been issued to me for the service of his Majesty's Privy Purse, by virtue of an Act intituled, An Act [here insert the Title of this Act], between the first day of January
and the first day of January
has been applied directly or indirectly for the benefit, use, or behoof of any Member of the House of Commons, or, so far as I am concerned, applicable, directly or indirectly, to the purpose of supporting or procuring an Interest in any Place returning Members to Parliament. So help me GOD.

XXIX. And whereas an Act passed in the 39th and 40th years of the reign of his present Majesty, intituled, 'An Act 'concerning the Disposition of certain 'real and personal Property of his Ma'jesty, his heirs and successors, and also

'the real and personal Property of her 'Majesty, and of the Queen Consort for 'the time being;' And whereas it is necessary that provision should be made for the care of the real and personal Estate and Property of his Majesty, during his Indisposition, and for the preservation thereof for the use and future disposal of his Majesty; be it therefore enacted, That all persons having the care or management of his Majesty's real or personal Estate or Property, or any part thereof, now vested in any trustees for the use of his Majesty, shall be and are hereby made and declared to be subject to the controul, order, direction, appointment, and removal of the several and respective trustees of the real and personal Estate and Property of which they are respectively in the care and management; and shall from time to time, and whenever required so to do, account to the respective trustees of the several and respective parts of the real and personal Estate and Property of which they so have the care and management, for all the rents, issues, profits, dividends, interest and sums of money arising or accruing therefrom respectively; and shall apply, pay over, lay out, invest, or otherwise dispose of the same, for the use of his Majesty, in such manner as shall be from time to time ordered and directed by such trustees respectively and as to such trustees shall appear most adviseable and beneficial for the care and improvement of such real and personal Estate and Property, and the preservation thereof, for his Majesty's use and future disposal: and all the real and personal Estate and Property of his Majesty, in relation to which no disposition shall have been made by his Majesty before his illness and which shall not now be vested in any trustee or trustees for his Majesty's use, shall immediately from and after the passing of this act vest in the Queen's most excellent Majesty, his Royal Highness, the Regent, and the Keeper of his Majesty's Privy Purse for the time being, as trustees thereof, for the use of his Majesty, and for the protection and care thereof during his Majesty's Illness, and preservation thereof for his Majesty's use and future disposal; and her said Majesty, and his said Royal Highness the Regent, and the Keeper of his Majesty's Privy Purse, may appoint a Secretary and such other persons as may appear to them to be necessary for the management of and keeping the Accounts of the said Trust, with such salaries, to be paid out of the proceeds of the trust property, as may appear to the said trustees to be proper; and all persons in the care and management of any real or personal Estate or Property, so vested in such trustees as last aforesaid, under this Act, shall in like manner as aforesaid be subject to the order, controul, direction, appointment, or removal of such trustees as last aforesaid, and shall account to such trustees in like manner as is herein-before directed, in relation to such real and personal Estate and Property as was vested in trustees before the passing of this Act; and shall in like manner as aforesaid apply, pay over, lay out, invest, or otherwise dispose of the rents, issues, profits, dividends, interests, and sums of money arising or accruing therefrom respectively, according to the order and direction of such trustees as aforesaid: Provided always, that all dividends arising from any Public Funds or Securities shall be from time to time invested and laid out in the purchase of other like Funds or Public Securities, unless any other order or direction shall be given by the trustees thereof respectively; and all trustees in whom any real or personal Estate or Property was vested, before the passing of this Act, or in whom the same is vested by the provisions of this Act, shall hold all such Estates and Property for the use and benefit of his Majesty, and preserve the produce thereof, and of all rents, issues, profits, dividends, interest, and sums of money, arising and accruing therefrom, for his Majesty's use and benefit, and for the future disposal of his Majesty, in case no disposition shall have been made thereof by his Majesty before his illness; and all such real and personal Estate and Property, and rents, issues, profits, produce, dividends, interest, and sums of money aforesaid, arising and accruing therefrom, whereof no disposition shall have been made by his Majesty before his illness, shall, if no disposition thereof shall hereafter be made by his Majesty, go and be disposed of according to law: Provided always, that nothing in this Act contained shall be construed to invalidate or in any manner to affect any disposition which shall have been made, or which shall hereafter be made, by his Majesty, by deed, will, or otherwise, of any such property or proceeds thereof as aforesaid, either before or after his Majesty's illness, which would have been or would be a good and valid disposition of

such Property, if this Act had not passed.

XXX. And whereas his Majesty hath been accustomed from time to time, by the advice and on the recommendation of the Commissioners of the Treasury, to make grants out of the Droits of the Crown and of the Admiralty to persons concerned or interested in the capture of any vessels and cargoes, or other property, condemned to or becoming vested in his Majesty, as Droits of the Crown or of the Admiralty, or to persons praying for relief as o his Majesty's Bounty in any cases o damage or injury sustained by them on account of or in any manner connected with any capture or prize, or occasioned by any engagement with ships of the enemy; be it therefore enacted, That the said Regent shall have full power and authority, by the advice and on the recommendation of the Commissioners of the Treasury for the time being, or any three or more of them, out of the Droits of the Crown or the Droits of the Admiralty, or any part or parts thereof, from time to time to make any such Grants to persons concerned or interested in the capture of any vessels or cargoes, or other property, which have been or may hereafter be condemned to or become vested in his Majesty as Droits of his Crown or of the Admiralty, or to any person or persons praying for relief in any cases of damage or injury sustained by or on account of any matter or thing arising out of or in any manner connected with capture or prize, or occasioned by any engagement with ships or vessels of the enemy, in such manner as his Majesty hath heretofore by the advice of the said Commissioners been accustomed to make any Grants of the same.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

Mexico.—*Civil War.—Letter from the Viceroy to the Governor in Spain —Nov. 7, 1810.—(Concluded from page 320.)*

Detail.

The Viceroy has received the following intelligence from Don Ignacio Garcia Robollo, commanding in the city of Queratero.—"In the night of the 29th of last October, the above General having received certain information that the insurgents having attacked the town of St. Juan del Rio, were proceeding to attack the city of Queratero, immediately took the necessary precautions for distributing the troops of the small garrison which he had got into all the entrenchments of his line, and strengthening the posts, where, taking advantage of the ground, he had placed his artillery, and, by forming in the rear a body of reserve, for the purpose of giving assistance on those points where circumstances might demand it.—On the following day, about seven in the morning, the enemy presented themselves, to the number of six or seven thousand, on a hill called the Carretas, and at the distance of half a league, between the roads to Mexico and La Canada, and they also made several attempts to dislodge us of other points; but their main attention was directed to the town, which is the College of Santa Crux, and at half past nine in the morning all the insurgents advanced in a body, attempting to force the two principal intrenchments of the place; but they were received with a well supported discharge of artillery and musketry, which, at half past seven in the evening, forced them to a precipitate flight, and they were closely pursued by Senor Revollo, who commanded a division of cavalry, and in the glorious engagement killed upwards of 300 men. There were as many taken prisoners, and a very considerable number wounded. On our own part we sustained very little loss, having only one man seriously wounded by a cannon shot. He was an European volunteer, D. Andres Carcoba, and received his wound at the commencement of the attack. We had a number slightly contused, from the many stones which the insurgents discharged from their slings upon those who defended the passes.

Proclamation, Mexico, Nov. 16. Don Felix Maria Calleja, &c.

The army of the rebels, headed by the traitors Hidalgo, Allende, Aldama, Abasolo, and others, was on the seventh entirely routed by the Royal forces under my command, in the neighbourhood of the own of Aculo: all their artillery, baggage, and ammunition, have fallen into our hands. Their loss in killed and wounded exceeds three thousand men, and what remained made their escape hrough the mountains.—The laws of war, and, above all, that justice which a lawful Government requires to be enforced against men, who, forgetting their most sacred oaths, have attempted to establish anarchy in a country the most happy in he world, and to break every tie of social order, oblige us without any compassion

(confining ourselves to the sole consideration of the extermination of those who have sided with traitors, or have embraced their party), by the means of an exemplary punishment, to inflict a salutary example. Certainly his Majesty's troops have conducted themselves with the greatest moderation, and desirous to make known unto every one the benignant intentions of the Superior Government of this kingdom, and particularly those which animate his Excellency Senor Don Francisco Xavier Venegas, whose paternal feelings are directed to no other object than as far as possible to prevent the effusion of blood, to restore the inhabitants of this kingdom to that felicity and repose which they formerly enjoyed under a just and beneficent Government, and deliver them from those calamities into which they have been led by the most absurd impostures of the miserable authors of the rebellion. His Excellency grants a general pardon to all those who may have been in the army of the insurgents, upon their leaving it, and retiring to their houses. They shall not be molested in their persons in any respect; but the leaders are expressly excluded from the benefit of this proclamation. His Excellency also declares, that whoever shall produce the heads of the principal rebels, Hidalgo, Allende, and the two brothers, Aldama and Abaslo, shall, independent of personal security, receive a reward of ten thousand pieces. And that the present proclamation may come to the knowledge of every one, his Excellency commands that it be placarded in the most conspicuous places of the towns and villages through which the army shall pass.—Calleja.—*San Juan del Rio, Nov. 9, 1810.*

Spain.—*Proclamation of the Cortes, 1st Jan.* 1811.

Don Ferdinand VII. by the Grace of God, King of Spain and the Indies, and in his absence and captivity, the Council of Regency, authorised *ad interim*, to all those who shall see and hear these presents. Know that, in the Cortes General and Extraordinary, assembled in the Royal Isle of Leon it has been resolved and decreed as follows:—The Cortes General and Extraordinary, in conformity with their Decree of the 24th of December of last year, in which they declare null and void the renunciations made at Bayonne by the legitimate King of Spain and the Indies, Seignior D. Ferdinando VII. not only from his want of liberty, but from want of the essential and indispensable circumstance, the consent of the nation, declare that they will not acknowledge, but will hold for null and of no effect every act, treaty or convention, or transaction, of whatever kind or nature they may have been, authorized by the King while he remains in the state of oppression and deprivation of liberty in which he now is, whether in the country of the enemy, or within Spain, while his Royal Person is surrounded by the arms, and under the direct or indirect influence of the usurper of his crown, as the nation will never consider him as free, nor render him obedience, until it shall see him in the midst of his faithful subjects, and in the bosom of the national Congress, which now exists, or hereafter may exist, in the Government formed by the Cortes.

They declare at the same time, that every contravention of this Decree shall be considered by the nation an act hostile to the country, and the offender shall be amenable to all the rigour of the laws. And, finally, the Cortes declare that the generous nation whom they represent will never lay down its arms, nor listen to any proposition for accommodation, of whatever kind it may be, which shall not be preceded by the total evacuation of Spain by the troops which so unjustly have invaded it; since the Cortes, as well as the whole nation, are resolved to fight incessantly till they have secured the holy religion of their ancestors, the liberty of their beloved Monarch, and the absolute independence and integrity of the monarchy. The Council of Regency, that this may be known and punctually observed throughout the whole extent of the Spanish dominions, shall cause this to be printed, published, and circulated.

Alonzo Canedo, President.
J. Martinez, }
J. Asnarez. } Secretaries.

To the Council of Regency.—Jan. 5, 1811.

And for the due execution and fulfilment of the preceding Decree, the Council of Regency orders and commands all the tribunals, justices, chief governors, and other authorities, as well civil as military or ecclesiastical, of whatever class or dignity, that they observe, and cause to be observed, this Decree fulfilled and executed in all its parts.

Joaquin Blake, President.
Pedro de Agar.
Gabriel Ciscar.

SWEDEN.—*Declaration relating to England, Supplementary to the Declaration of War.*

Sweden, in breaking its alliance with England, and adopting its former political relations as much through inclination as recollection of events, has learned to understand by her own experience the results of the exclusive system which she has hitherto pursued. — The calamities which she has suffered, the multiplied losses which she has experienced, were the inevitable consequences of an impolitic and unequal war in which she engaged. Her interest and wants point out the course she ought in future to adopt.—Sweden, desiring nothing but the establishing in peace the forces that she still possesses, may hope to preserve a good understanding with every power, without being forced to make such war, which the recent loss of a third part of her territories would render still more bitter.—The treaties of peace concluded with France, Russia, and Denmark, who have adhered to the Continental system, had, it is true, placed Sweden, on equal terms with those powers; but these treaties did not insist on her entirely abandoning that system of neutrality which she desired to maintain.—Nevertheless, Sweden has found herself from that period always the mark for calumny, which has perhaps excited envy and hatred against her. She has been accused of not having punctually fulfilled the engagements which good faith, as well as the high character of the King, demanded. All the abuses which took place in the Baltic, to the advantage of English commerce, were imputed to her; and it was pretended, Sweden, by these circumstances, had thrown many obstacles in the way of the conclusion of a general peace.—His Majesty the Emperor of the French and King of Italy had considered it his duty to make some observations to the King, to do away all doubts which remained for resolving upon the true relation which ought to subsist between Sweden and Great Britain —The King, who; under these circumstances, has before his eyes but the sentiments of consideration and attachment which he has vowed to his Imperial Majesty, and who even acknowledges that some actions relative to commercial engagements may have given some reason for well-founded complaints, convinced that it is his duty to declare, that the accumulated accusations against Sweden are false, has resolved to give new guarantees of his intentions, and of the fundamental principles upon which he will act for the future. His Majesty has in consequence declared war against England, and has ordered an immediate sequestration to be laid on all English ships, which contrary to appearances may be found in the ports of Sweden, in order to do away every accusation of having a secret understanding with England, or infidelity in not observing the importation of colonial products upon the Continent. He has renewed his severe decrees, formerly issued against introducing into Sweden goods of English manufacture, as well as colonial produce, of whatever kind it may be, without regard to the flag which may convey it, and to declare that he will not permit, under any pretext, the exportation of colonial merchandize or those of English manufacture, to the Continent.—His Majesty will give the necessary orders for making the strictest inquiries respecting colonial products, or goods of English manufacture, which have been imported into Sweden, no matter under what flag, since the 24th of April last, and that according to law they shall be placed at the disposition of the King.—The King, in making these sacrifices, of which experience will manifest the importance, has always proposed not only to express by it the attachment which he has promised to the person of his Majesty the Emperor of the French, but also to satisfy the desire which he has to contribute to the success of the Continental system, which has latterly had for its object a maritime peace.—His Majesty, in uniting his efforts to those of the other Powers of the Continent, to accelerate this epoch, so interesting to humanity, will justify to his subjects the causes of the considerable losses which circumstances have made them suffer, and prove to all Europe that the establishing of peace upon the sea, and restoring commerce to its natural independence, has never depended on him. In consequence of this, the formal declaration of war against England shall be published in our periodical papers, and the most strict measures adopted to seize and confiscate colonial products, or goods of English manufacture.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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"THEY have governed Ireland by equitable laws, and the local disturbances, we feel confident, "will be suppressed by the aid of those laws, *without having recourse to severity*, which the Opposition 'seem to recommend.—But we do not believe that the party wishing for a separation from Great 'Britain is *either active or powerful*, and however the Opposition may advertise for an invasion by pub-'lishing "that at this moment there are not 6,000 regular troops in Ireland, nor even 2,000 of regular '"infantry," *we should not have any fears for Ireland were she left without a regiment.* In the first 'place, whilst we occupy Buonaparté in Portugal and Spain, and whilst we force him to convert his 'troops in Holland and Germany into Custom-house Officers, to carry on war against English merchan-'dize, we are doing more to protect Ireland than if we left thousands upon thousands in the kingdom. 'In the next place, we will not imitate the Opposition, and so far calumniate the Irish people as to 'suppose they wish for or would favour an invasion. No; No. A French army with the lying invita-'tion of liberty on their banners, would *find partizans no longer*. The French revolution and the modern 'Hun have murdered liberty; they have destroyed the delusion that considered France the upholder of 'all free and enlightened principles; *the time of danger is gone by*."——COURIER, Venal News-paper, 9th Feb. 1809.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

IRELAND.—Look at the motto, English Reader! Look at the motto! And then say to what a pass English *gullibility* must have come, before a news-paper writer, who is interested in the sale of his work, would, only eleven days ago, have published such a passage.——The *baseness* of these venal writers is well known; but, their *self-interestedness* cannot be disputed, and what must that *people* be, to publish such a passage amongst whom a man thought it likely to serve his interest?——These assertions, relative to the tranquil state of Ireland, were hardly published; nay, at the very moment that they were in the press in England, the state of things in Ireland was such, that the Magistrates were called upon by the government to put in force, or act upon an act of Parliament, passed in 1793, called the CONVENTION ACT; according to which act it is a *high misdemeanour* in any part of the people to *assemble* for the purpose of choosing any persons to act for them in framing petitions or other representations for the producing of any change in any thing established by law. But, it will be best to give the act at full length, and then there can be no charge of a misrepresentation of it*. So, you see, this Act is not so to be construed as to *prevent* or *impede* the *undoubted right* of the people to petition the King and the Parliament. Oh, dear, no! It is not to take away the *inestimable right* of *humbly praying*. It is only to prevent the people from holding meetings, from *assembling together* to consult as to the choosing of the persons whom they may deem most proper for aiding them in collecting the sense of other parts of the people, in order to give *effect* to their petitions.——It is very well known, that the CATHOLICS of Ireland are now preparing a petition to Parliament for the removal of what they have long deemed weighty grievances; it is also well known, that they have held many meetings for this purpose in Dublin, at which meeting *delegates* from the several parts of the country attended; and, it is very clear, that, if this law (passed in 1793), this law, passed under the auspices of the "*great statesman* now no more;" it is very clear, that, if this law be enforced, there can be no more such meetings; that the whole thing is broken up, and put an end to.——Now we come to the fact of what has been done.——The LORD LIEUTENANT of Ireland ordered a Circular Letter to be sent to the Magistrates, signed by W. WELLESLEY POLE (a brother of the other

* K. G. III. A. 33. c. 29.—*An Act to prevent the Election or Appointment of Unlawful Assemblies, under pretence of preparing or presenting Public Petitions or other Addresses to his Majesty or the Parliament.*—Whereas the election or appointment of Assemblies purporting to represent the People, or any description or number of the People of this realm, under pretence of preparing or presenting Petitions, Complaints, Remonstrances and Declarations, and other Addresses to the King, or to both or either Houses of Parliament, for alteration of matters established by law, or redress of alledged grievances in Church and State, may be made use of to serve the ends of factions and se-

Wellesleys), his Chief Secretary, dated Dublin Castle, 12 Feb. 1811, of which letter the following has been published as a copy.——" Sir,—It being reported that " the Roman Catholics in the county of " are to be called together, or have " been called together, to nominate or ap- " point Persons as Representatives, Dele- " gates, or Managers, to act in their be- " half as members of an unlawful as- " sembly, sitting in Dublin, and calling " itself the Catholic Committee, you are " required, in pursuance of the provisions " of an Act of the Thirty-third of the " King, chap. 29, to *cause to be arrested*, and " to *commit to prison* (unless bail shall be " given) all persons within your juris- " diction, who shall be guilty of giving, " or having given, or of publishing, or " having published, or of causing, or " having caused to be given or published, " any written or other *notice of the election* " *and appointment, in any manner, of such* " *representative, delegate, or manager, as* " *aforesaid;* or of attending, voting, or " acting, or of having attended, voted, or " acted in any manner, in the choice or " appointment of such representative, de- " legate, or manager. And you are to " communicate these directions, as far as " lies in your power, forthwith, to the se- " veral Magistrates of the said county of " N. B. Sheriffs are to act under " the warrant of Magistrates, in cases " where the crime has been committed.— " By command of his Grace the Lord " Lieutenant."——Such is the instrument, which has attracted so much attention. How well its tone agrees with the assertion taken for my motto! What an infamy is it, that such imposture should exist as that carried on by the venal author of that motto! What an infamy to the English nation, who really seem to desire to be deceived with regard to Ireland; but, whose silly and base desire will be frustrated in spite of themselves; for hear and see and *feel* the truth they must. They may hide their heads in their hoods and cloaks as

ditious persons, to the violation of the public peace, and the great and manifest encouragement of riot, tumult, and disorder; be it declared and enacted by the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same; That all Assemblies, Committees, or other Bodies of persons elected, or in any other manner constituted or appointed to represent, or assuming or exercising a right or authority to represent the people of this realm, or any number or description of the people of the same; or the people of any province, county, city, town, or other district within the same, under the pretence of petitioning for, or in any other manner procuring an alteration of matters established by Law, in Church or State, save and except the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses, elected to serve in the Parliament thereof, and save and except the Houses of Convocation, duly summoned by the King's writ, are unlawful Assemblies; and it shall and may be lawful for any Mayor, Sheriff, Justice of the Peace, or other Peace Officer; and they are hereby respectively authorised and required within his and their respective jurisdictions, to disperse all such unlawful Assemblies; and if resisted, to enter into the same, and to apprehend all persons offending in that behalf.—II. And be it further enacted, That if any person shall give or publish, or cause or procure to be given, or published, any written or other notice of Election to be holden, or of any manner of appointment of any person or persons to be the Representative or Representatives, Delegate or Delegates, or to act by any other name or description whatever, as Representative or Representatives, Delegate or Delegates of the Inhabitants, or of any description of the Inhabitants of any province, county, town, or other district within this kingdom, at any such Assembly; or if any person shall attend and vote at such Election or Appointment, or by any other means vote or act in the choice or appointment of such Representatives or Delegates, or other persons to act as such; any person who shall be guilty of any of the said offences respectively, being thereof convicted by due course of law, shall be deemed guilty of an high misdemeanour.—III. Provided always, That nothing herein contained shall extend or be construed to extend to, or affect Elections to be made by Bodies Corporate, according to the charters and usage of such Bodies Corporate respectively.—IV. Provided also, That nothing herein contained shall be construed in any manner, to prevent or impede the undoubted right of his Majesty's subjects of this realm to petition his Majesty or both Houses, or either House of Parliament, for redress of any public or private grievance.

long as they will; they may, as long as they please, pay impostors to sooth their cowardly fears, but all will not do. Ireland! Ireland! Ireland! will, maugre all their miserable devices, present herself to them in her true and formidable shape. ——It is well worth our while to take a look at, and to put upon record, the reasons given, by the venal writers in Dublin, for the Circular, issued from the Castle upon this occasion. "This measure," says one of those venal men, "has not been resorted "to until the *utmost necessity* existed for its "adoption; and until it was called for by "every *loyal* man in Ireland, of every re- "ligious persuasion, interested in the peace "and *preservation* of the country. The "*forbearance* and *lenity* of the Irish Govern- "ment have been tried to the utmost, and "in the spirit that has all along actuated "their conduct, of abstaining from strong "measures, until the *last extremity*, they "have hitherto refrained from enforcing "the Convention Bill; but the violent, "intemperate, and mischievous conduct "of the leading Members of the Roman "Catholic Committee, and the measures "which they had *in contemplation*, have "compelled the Government to put the "Convention Bill in force."——Now, reader, compare this with the assertions contained in my motto. Look on this and on that description of Ireland.——It is impossible for me to say, whether there was a necessity for the measure, even according to the notions which this writer seems to entertain. It might, by persons disposed to reason abstractedly, become a question, whether, in *any* case, such a measure ought to be adopted; because it might be contended, that the system to support which such a measure was necessary ought not to be suffered to exist. ——I shall not take the matter in this light, but shall consider the measure as having been adopted for the purpose of "*preserving the country*," as it is here said to have been.——That Ireland is, and long has been, in a very ticklish state, I know as well as most other people. The news-papers from that country contain abundant proofs of it, one of which I cannot refrain from citing here, just as I find it quoted into the London daily papers.—— "Clonmel, Monday, 8 a. m.—Yesterday "evening, at five o'clock, the Right Hon. "the *Chief Baron*, accompanied by the "*Solicitor General*, Mr. Serjeant Moore, "&c. and escorted by *the Sheriff, Bailiffs*, "&c. and a troop of THE GERMAN "LEGION, arrived in this town." A Judge, upon the circuit, entering an Assize-Town, under escort of a *troop of dragoons* of *any* kind is a fact that speaks a language *not to be misunderstood.* It speaks volumes. It gives the reader, at one glance, a complete idea of the state of the country. Therefore, I do not pretend to assert, that the enforcement of the *Convention Act* is not necessary to "*preserve the country*," or, more strictly speaking, the present system of rule; but, if it be necessary for that purpose, how shamefully have the people of England been deceived; how grossly have they been cheated by these venal and corrupt writers! To the very last moment, were we told, that Ireland never was more peaceable and happy; and, as will be seen in the motto, we were desired to believe, that *the season of danger was over*, that the *day was passed* for the French to deceive and seduce the people of Ireland; yet, while we are told this in England; at the very moment that we are told this by our venal writers, the venal writers in Ireland are telling the people there, that strong measures are become absolutely necessary to "*preserve* the "country," by which must be meant, that the country is in danger of being given up by the persons aimed at in these strong measures; and, in that case, these persons cannot be supposed, to be *few in number*.——The venal author of my motto calls Napoleon "the Hun;" that is to say, the imitator of the ancient Northern Chief, who over-ran a great part of Europe; and he tells us, that the Hun has "*mur-* "*dered liberty*," for which reason it would be out of his power to *deceive* the people of Ireland by any of his invitations to revolt against their government; adding, that *no people* can now be deceived by such invitations.——Very true. Nobody is so *deceived*, can be so *deceived*, and, give me leave to think, that no people ever *have been* so deceived. I do not believe, that the people of any of the countries subdued, or, rather, entered and taken possession of, by France, have ever been *deceived* by any *promises* of the French. The French have got possession, not in consequence of the *good* which they were expected to bring, but in consequence of the *evil* which the people hoped they would put an end to. It is not *love* of the French that has smoothed the way for them, but *hatred* of those whose power the introduction of the French would naturally put an end to. The inroads of the French have

been favoured much more by a spirit of *revenge* than by a *love of liberty.*——The venal writer of the COURIER is, therefore, deceived, or he wishes to deceive his readers, when he tells them, that the Irish would not listen to "THE HUN," *because* the HUN has *murdered liberty.* This is false reasoning; it leaves out the ingredient of *revenge,* the most powerful of the whole mass of those motives, which have operated in favour of the projects and conquests of France.——But, it seems, that the government does view the matter in a light very different from that in which it is viewed by the COURIER; or, else, where is the justification for this measure of which we are speaking? If there be *no danger;* if the day of danger be *gone by;* if "the HUN" is sure to find no adherents in Ireland (though by the by, he has very recently found some in Sweden), why adopt this measure? And, if there *be danger*, if the day of danger be *not* gone by; if it be necessary to adopt strong measures for "*preserving* the country," it is, I think, too much for even this venal man to deny, that Ireland is an object which demands our serious and anxious attention.——This invites us to view the matter in another light.——Laying aside all considerations as to what ought, or ought not, to be done for the Catholics, who, be it borne in mind, compose about *three fourths* of the people of Ireland; laying aside all considerations of this sort, it, surely, behoves us to consider how *we ourselves* may be affected by what is now passing in Ireland. That it would be *difficult* for Napoleon to land any considerable body of troops in Ireland there can be no doubt. I would fain *hope* the thing to be *impossible;* but, for hope I must have some *foundation* and here I have none; because, I have seen French troops, during war, make a landing in Ireland, and I look back with fearful forebodings for the future, to the effect produced by the landing of *less than one thousand men.*——Well, then, with this experience before us, should we not be excessively stupid, or, which is worse, guilty of criminal cowardice, if we were to rely, or affect to rely, upon it as being impossible for Napoleon to land a body of troops, and even a considerable army in Ireland?——"Aye, but his friends there are *so few* and "*so contemptible.*" Indeed? Why, then, if that be the case, are the strong measures resorted to? But, this will not do, for the venal themselves declare, that these measures are absolutely necessary to "*preserve* "the *country.*" Preserve it *against whom?* Against *whom* is the country to be preserved? Against *a few contemptible* persons? Against men who have no power to do any thing of importance? It is a pretty story indeed to tell us, that strong measures are necessary to "*preserve* the "country" against men who have no power to do the country any harm.——What ought, in my opinion, to be done for the people of Ireland, I have before pointed out; and, if I am told, that I am a fool, and know nothing at all of the matter, I answer, that my scheme has not been *tried.* The ministers, and particularly the advocates of "the *great statesman* "now no more," will tell me, that they are the best judges of what ought to be done, in order to preserve Ireland, and, of course England, against the machinations and power of France; and that what they do, and have done, is all right, all that can be done, all that consummate wisdom joined to consummate integrity can possibly suggest. Well, but if this be the case, how fearful is our situation? For, it is now acknowledged that the state of Ireland is such as to demand strong measures "to *preserve* the *country;*" and, if every thing has been done that possibly can be done for the avoiding of this extremity, what, I again ask, is the state to which we are reduced? If consummate wisdom and integrity have nothing left but strong measures for the "*preservation* of the *coun-* "*try,*" is it not shameful, is it not insulting to the last degree, to tell us, that "the "day of danger is *gone by,*" and that "the "HUN" will find nobody any where, and especially in Ireland, to listen to his invitations to revolt?——It is very curious to observe the *twist* which the venal writers have taken upon the adoption of this measure in Ireland.——It was amusing to watch for what the COURIER would say upon it. On Monday last, just nine days after he had published the article, from which my motto is taken, he, after having chewed the cud of imposture for a few days, opens himself thus:——"The mea- "sure to which his Majesty's Ministers "have had recourse in Ireland; the exe- "cuting the provisions of the Convention "Act (for it is not, as has been stated, a "revival of the Act, the Act having al- "ways been in force) seems to have been "*forced upon them by the Opposition.* Their "uniform attempt has been *to persuade* "*Ireland that she has been purposely insulted*

"*and oppressed;* That there was *a systematic plan to enslave her.* Language was "used for the purpose of goading, and "inflaming her; and was accompanied "by a manifesto *advertising for an invasion* "*by the enemy,* and *for an insurrection to* "*meet it.* It was publicly stated that the "military force was small; and more "than one hint was dropped that now "was the time for *prompt and efficacious* "*measures.*"——This refers to a very excellent article in the MORNING CHRONICLE, pointing out the dangers to which Ireland was exposed, and beseeching the ministers to adopt speedily measures for putting an end to those dangers by the means of conciliation. And this is here termed, advertising for an *invasion,* and also for an *insurrection* to meet it! Impudent and venal varlet! So, if any man point out what appears to him to be ground of apprehension, and calls upon the ministers to adopt what appear to him to be the proper means of prevention, he is to be accused of *seditious* and *treasonable* designs. This is not, however, the first time that this detestable doctrine has been promulgated, even from some authority.——Observe, too, that the OPPOSITION; that is to say, all those who do not approve of the minister's measures; that is to say, all those who do not vote for him; that is to say, about one half of the members of both Houses of Parliament; all these persons are, thus, in a lump, accused of entertaining wishes to see Ireland invaded, and to see an insurrection of the people ready to meet and to favour it. And yet, this man does not scruple to call upon the people for *unanimity.*——Talk of *advertising,* indeed! What does he advertise? What does he "*hint* to the enemy?" He tells the enemy in so many words, that all those who do not approve of the present minister's system and measures, wish to see an invasion and are ready to favour it. What would be said and done to me, or to any one else, if we were to state, that nearly one half of the members of both Houses of Parliament anxiously wished the enemy to come and to conquer the country? I beg the reader to bear this in mind, and to reflect a little upon this mode of "*preserving* the *country.*"——But, all this aside, what a foolish, what a beastly, idea is it, that the people of Ireland are to be "*persuaded* that there is a settled sys-"tem for *insulting* and *oppressing* and *en-*"*slaving* them!" Just as if men were to be *persuaded* to believe themselves in any state in which they are not. This writer may as easily make us believe, that it is possible to *persuade* a man that he is hungry, when his belly is full, that he has been broom-sticked or flogged, when his body has been untouched, that he has been imprisoned, gagged, exiled and hanged, when he has, all the while, been living at home, enjoying himself under his own vine and fig-tree with no one to make him afraid. *Persuade!* Why, how are you to *persuade* a people to believe that they are *suffering* that which they do not *feel?*——Base and detestable as this is, however, it has not the merit of novelty. It is a mere slavish repetition of what was said, upon all occasions, by writers of this description, during the last war, while "the *great statesman* now no "more" was in power. It succeeded; it was one of the means by which the Jacobins and Levellers were kept down. It *succeeded;* but, again I ask, what has been the *fruit* of that *success?* Are we any *safer* than we were in 1792? What could the Jacobins and Levellers have done, if they had *not been kept down,* to make our situation more perilous than it now is? What could they have done, which would have put *more* power into the hands of France? What measures could they, with all their Corresponding Societies and Conventions and Reforms; what could they have done that would have *sooner* and *more effectually* have overturned the "regular "governments" of Europe? What could they have done, that would have brought this country into a state more "unsatis-"factory" than that of being obliged to make war for bare existence; and of acknowledging, by the mouth of the minister, that we have it not in our power to make peace with security; that the termination of the war depends wholly upon the enemy and not upon us? What could they have done that should have produced as to the *Bank* and to *Trade* worse effects than have been produced without any of their doings? The *success* against *them* was pretty complete; but, the worst of it is, it has not been attended with success against the *enemy.* And, the COURIER may, perhaps, now *succeed* in its abominable attacks upon the Morning Chronicle; but what will that avail? It will not make the situation of Ireland less dangerous; no, and it will not retard the hour of invasion; but, it may hasten it, and, really, I do not know any thing more nefarious than these attempts to blacken the characters of political adversaries at the

manifest risk, and with almost a certainty, of adding to the dangers of the country. ——I see, that this strong measure in Ireland has been taken up in parliament by Lord MOIRA and Lord HOLLAND, and that the ministers have disavowed any participation in the *orders*, but have avowed their conviction of the *necessity of the measure.* ——The turn attempted to be given to the affair is, that it is merely the *enforcing* of an *existing* law, and that it is nothing more than the execution of *any other well-known law.*——How candid this statement is all the world will easily see. It is too plain for remark; and, all we have now to do is to look quietly on, and see how the thing works.——All that I shall add is, that it appears, that HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS, the REGENT, has not had *any thing to do with the measure in question*, as, indeed, he could not, seeing that the ministers say, that it was adopted without their knowledge. This is very material; for it might be productive of the most serious and fatal consequences, if the people of Ireland thought, that such a measure took place as the first act of his Royal Highness towards them.

THE PRESS.——Of the state in which the press *now is* nothing need be said. That state is very well known to the public. The history of the last three years will be memorable on many accounts; but on no account so much as on account of *the press.*——LORD HOLLAND, on Friday last, gave notice of a motion upon the subject. "He stated his intention to make "a motion at an early period of the present "Sessions for an account of the number of "informations filed EX OFFICIO by the At-"torney General. The Bill brought in "recently by the Attorney General, and "passed into an act, which his Lordship "had unsuccessfully opposed, had given "to such informations consequences which "did not before belong to them by the "law. His Lordship took this early op-"portunity of giving his notice."——In the House of Commons, on Monday last, LORD VISCOUNT FOLKESTONE, after stating, that he had, for several days, waited in vain to see the Attorney General in his place, gave a notice to the same effect; and this important subject will now, let us hope, meet with a full and fair discussion ——The MORNING CHRONICLE, in observing on the notice of Lord HOLLAND, says:——"Lord Holland's notice, given "in the House of Peers on Friday last, "respecting an inquiry into EX OFFICIO "prosecutions for libels, will be read with "peculiar pleasure by every man in the "country not vitiated in his nature "by the *profits of corruption.* We are "glad to have occasion to relate achieve-"ments by our navy, and victories by "our armies abroad; but their effects are "not to be estimated half so high as a "victory obtained over the depravity "and extravagance at home, which waste-"fully and wickedly consume the profits "of the industry and the fruits of the in-"tellect of the best portion of the inha-"bitants of the Empire. A battle gained, "however glorious to our arms and ho-"nourable to our reputation, for indivi-"dual courage, does but prolong for a "short time the existence of an injured "and declining constitution; but a con-"quest over that perversion of principle "which so universally prevails in the "State, would give it immortality."——Most cordially do I subscribe to these sentiments, which are, at last, becoming as general as the air, and which must lead to great good, if any thing can now bring us good.——Yes, for what indeed, are the wars and expeditions compared to this? What do we fight *for?* What is the rational object of military and naval struggles? OUR LIBERTIES; and, shall we, then, think little of those *liberties themselves?* Shall we think so much of the *means*, and yet forget the *end?* Shall we busy our minds, shall we fill ourselves with care and anxiety about the keeping out of the foe who we fear would destroy our freedom; and, shall we, at the same time, be so stupid and so base, as to think nothing about that freedom itself?——The people of England, strange as it may seem, know little more about INFORMATIONS EX OFFICIO than they do of what is passing in Russia, Turkey, or Algiers. They know the *name* of the thing; but of the thing itself they know nothing at all.——Those who have read Magna Charta find nothing there about INFORMATIONS EX OFFICIO. *Ex Officio* are two Latin words, and in this respect, amongst many others, the "*Learned Languages*" as they are called, is found to be of great service. These two words mean *By Office*, or, perhaps, more fully, *by privilege, or in virtue, of office.*——So that, an *Information Ex Officio* is an Information laid by the Attorney General in virtue, or by the privilege, *of his Office.*——Aye, but what is an *information?*——It requires a little explanation.

When any man has committed what is called, by our laws, a *crime*, and he is prosecuted for it, there must be an *accusation* preferred against him, and this accusation, when drawn up, is called a bill of INDICTMENT, which indictment, before the party accused can be put upon his trial, is presented to a *Grand Jury*, who, if they see no cause for prosecution, *throw out* the bill of indictment, or, if they see cause for prosecution, *find the bill*, as it is called; that is to say, they carry it into the Judge, and tell him, that it is a *true* Bill.——But, observe, that, before they can find the bill *true*, there must be *witnesses* examined by the Grand Jury upon *oath*, the Grand Jury being also upon *their oaths*; and thus, in this case, in this usual course of the law of the land, every accused person has the double security of *oaths* taken by those who judge of the matter alledged against him and also by the witnesses to the facts of which he is accused. ——An INFORMATION is a thing which supplies the place of an *indictment*; and, in all cases where *individuals* are the parties, they must be *moved* for in Court, *affidavits*, or *depositions*, must be produced in support of the motion, and the accused party must have time and opportunity to be heard by himself, or counsel, before the Information is received by the Judges, and, of course, before the accused party can be put upon his trial.——Here again, though there is no *Grand Jury* to stand between the accused and the prosecutor, there are the *oaths* of credible witnesses, and, which is of full as much importance as the oaths of witnesses, there is a *hearing* of the party accused, before he can be put upon his trial, and subjected to all the *inconvenience and expence* of a trial, which must always be heavy, and, sometimes, enormous.——But, in the case of *Informations Ex Officio*, there is *no Grand Jury, no witnesses, no previous hearing, no oaths*, no, *nor even any motion to the Court*.——Here the Attorney General, without any previous notice whatever, accuses any man whom he thinks proper to accuse, and brings him to trial in consequence of an *Information*, which himself lays against him. All that he has to do is to make out his *Information*, put it upon the file, or list, of the Court, and to send the accused party a little slip of paper, called a Subpœna, *to come and answer to certain charges preferred against him*.——This is an INFORMATION EX OFFICIO.——Well, the party comes and goes at once upon his trial; and, if he be *acquitted*, what then? Why, he has good luck; but he has all his harrass of mind, all his loss of time, and all the heavy expences of the law to sustain; for, he gets *no costs*, no, nor any compensation of any sort.——Suppose, that, after laying the information, the Attorney General *does not choose to proceed?* Why he *does not choose it*, that's all. Oh! I had like to have forgotten; the party has to sustain all *his expences* of preparation for trial. The Attorney General is not compelled, nor compellable, to bring him to trial.——I need say no more for the purpose of convincing the reader of the importance of this subject, and to show, that, while it is under discussion, that man must be a beast indeed, who looks upon *any* other subject as worthy of his attention.——I have here given merely the out-lines of this famous thing called an *Information Ex Officio*, and without any attempt or wish to give what I say a particular application to this or any other time. It is the *thing itself*, the *power itself*, that I wish to bring under the view of the public. There are many circumstances belonging to it that will be noticed another time, and that must indeed be thought worthy of all the attention that every man is able to command. But, I repeat, that the man must be a beast, whose mind can be occupied with what is going on in Spain and Portugal, while a subject like this is presented to his attention.——I rejoice, with the Morning Chronicle, that the matter has been taken seriously up in the proper place. We shall now have it fully before us, and we shall then all of us be able to judge of it. ——I have only one wish to express, and that is, that the two Noble Lords, who have given the notices above-mentioned, will not suffer themselves to be diverted from their purpose. All I wish to see is a *full* discussion of the matter; a *full* discussion. Speaking *plainly*; speaking *out*.

Mr. Finnerty.——There is, I hear, a meeting to be held to-morrow (*Wednesday*, February 20), at the *Crown and Anchor* in the Strand, when the case of this gentleman is to be taken into consideration, and where Sir Francis Burdett is to be in the chair.——So full, so ample, has been *the report of the Trial* in this case, such complete justice has been done to it by the reports, that it would be useless to add any thing to what is therein contained. ——But, as an erroneous report appears to have gone forth as to the *date* of the

transactions in Ireland, respecting which Mr. FINNERTY's affidavits spoke, I will just state, that I understand, that the most *important transactions* mentioned in those affidavits are therein stated to have taken place in May and June, 1798.——It is also bare justice to Mr. FINNERTY to say a word or two about the *cause* of his being put in the *Pillory* in Ireland, a circumstance, which was brought forward BY THE ATTORNEY GENERAL after Mr. FINNERTY had no longer an opportunity of speaking.——He was put in the Pillory in punishment of A LIBEL, of which, whatever might be its nature, he was not the *author*, but merely the publisher.——Besides, why was such a circumstance to weigh against him? Did not JOHN LILBURNE stand in the Pillory for a *libel*; that same JOHN LILBURNE, who stands immortalized as one of the truest friends of freedom that ever breathed, and who, in the words of *Sir John Maynard*, had "the "noblest spirit that ever warmed an English breast?" Nay, was there not a man put in the pillory, ridden backward upon a horse, had his ears cut off, fined, and imprisoned; did he not die in prison, did not his family starve; and for what? For a libel in accusing *Lord Chancellor Bacon* with *bribery?* And was not that same *Bacon*; afterwards *proved* to have taken *bribe upon bribe*, and to be so vile and corrupt a scoundrel as to merit being *stripped of his peerage?*——Being put in the Pillory for *libel*, therefore, is not ground whereon to found a man's condemnation.

W^M. COBBETT.

State Prison, Newgate, Tuesday, February 19, 1811.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

PRINCE OF WALES.—*Genuine Copies of the Letters that passed between his Royal Highness the Prince Regent and Mr. Perceval, on the Annunciation of his Royal Highness's Determination to retain the present Ministers in his Service.*

THE PRINCE REGENT'S LETTER.

Carlton-House, February 4, 1811.

The Prince of Wales considers the moment to be arrived, which calls for his decision with respect to the persons to be employed by him, in the administration of the Executive Government of the Country, according to the Powers vested in him by the Bill passed by the two Houses of Parliament, and now on the point of receiving the sanction of the Great Seal.—The Prince feels it incumbent upon him, at this precise juncture, to communicate to Mr. Perceval his intention not to remove from their stations those whom he finds there, as his Majesty's official servants. At the same time the Prince owes it to the truth and sincerity of character, which, he trusts, will appear in every action of his life, in whatever situation placed, explicitly to declare, that the irresistible impulse of filial duty and affection to his beloved and afflicted Father, leads him to dread that any act of the Regent might, in the smallest degree, have the effect of interfering with the progress of his Sovereign's recovery.—This consideration alone dictates the decision now communicated to Mr. Perceval.—Having thus performed an act of indispensible duty, from a just sense of what is due to his own consistency and honour, the Prince has only to add, that, among the many blessings to be derived from his Majesty's restoration to health, and to the personal exercise of his Royal Functions, it will not, in the Prince's estimation, be the least, that that most fortunate event will at once rescue him from a situation of unexampled embarrassment, and put an end to a state of affairs, ill calculated, he fears, to sustain the interests of the United Kingdom, in this awful and perilous crisis, and most difficult to be reconciled to the genuine principles of the British Constitution.

MR. PERCEVAL'S ANSWER.

Downing-Street, February 5, 1811.

Mr. Perceval presents his humble duty to your Royal Highness, and has the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Royal Highness's letter of last night, which reached him this morning.—Mr. Perceval feels it his duty to express his humble thanks to your Royal Highness for the frankness with which your Royal Highness has condescended, explicitly, to communicate the motives which have induced your Royal Highness to honour his colleagues and him with your commands for the continuance of their services, in the stations entrusted to them by the King. And Mr. Perceval begs leave to assure your Royal Highness, that, in the expression of your Royal Highness's sentiments of filial and loyal attachment to the King, and of anxiety for the speedy restoration of his Majesty's health, Mr. Perceval can see nothing but additional motives for their most anxious exertions to give satisfaction

to your Royal Highness, in the only manner in which it can be given, by endeavouring to promote your Royal Highness's views, for the security and happiness of the country.—Mr. Perceval has never failed to regret the impression of your Royal Highness, with regard to the provisions of the Regency Bill, which his Majesty's servants felt it to be their duty to recommend to Parliament. But, he ventures to submit to your Royal Highness, that, whatever difficulties the present awful crisis of the country and the world may create in the administration of the Executive Government, your Royal Highness will not find them in any degree increased by the temporary suspension of the exercise of those branches of the Royal Prerogatives, which has been introduced by Parliament, in conformity to what was intended on a former similar occasion; and that whatever Ministers your Royal Highness might think proper to employ, would find in that full support and countenance which, as long as they were honoured with your Royal Highness's commands, they would feel confident they would continue to enjoy, ample and sufficient means to enable your Royal Highness effectually to maintain the great and important interest of the United Kingdom.—And Mr. Perceval humbly trusts, that, whatever doubts your Royal Highness may entertain with respect to the constitutional propriety of the measures which have been adopted, your Royal Highness will feel assured, that they could not have been recommended by his Majesty's servants, nor sanctioned by Parliament, but upon the sincere, though possibly erroneous, conviction, that they in no degree trenched upon the true principles and spirit of the Constitution.—Mr. Perceval feels it his duty to add, that he holds himself in readiness, at any moment, to wait upon your Royal Highness, and to receive any commands, with which your Royal Highness may be graciously pleased to honour him.

Isle of France.——*Capture of.*——*Letter from* Admiral Bertie, *13th Oct.* 1810. ——*Published in England, 12th Feb.* 1811.

Sir;—Following the intentions communicated by my letter addressed to you of the 26th August, I have the honour now to acquaint you, for the information of their Lordships, that having made the necessary dispositions and arrangements previous to my departure from the Cape, I hoisted my flag on board the Nisus, and sailed on the 4th ult. in that ship for the Isle of France. Having made the land on the 2d inst. I proceeded to reconnoitre Port South East, and from thence to Port Louis, where, having cruised 48 hours, and not falling in with any ship of the blockading squadron, I proceeded to this anchorage for information of them, where I found lying his Majesty's ships Boadicea, Otter, and Staunch, gun-brig, together with his Majesty's ships Africaine and Ceylon, which had been taken and recaptured from the enemy, and the imperial French frigate La Venus, also captured from the enemy.—The details, copies of which, I have the honour to transmit herewith, will fully explain to their Lordships the circumstances of the occupation of the Isle de la Passe, as well as the subsequent unfortunate result of a very gallant attack made on the enemy's ships in Port S. E. with the Sirius, Capt. Pym, the Magicienne, Capt. Curtis, the Iphigenia, Capt. Lambert, and the Nereide, Capt. Willoughby, which ended in the unavoidable destruction of the two former of his Majesty's ships, and the surrender to the enemy of the Iphigenia and Nereide, the latter after a glorious resistance almost unparalleled even in the brilliant annals of the British navy.—A momentary superiority thus obtained by the enemy has been promptly and decisively crushed by the united zeal, judgment, perseverance, skill, and intrepidity of Capt. Rowley, in his Majesty's ship Boadicea, the value and importance of whose services, long conspicuous and distinguished as they have been, have fully justified the selection and detention of him as the senior officer conducting the blockade of this station; and who in the present instance, almost alone and unsupported but by the never-failing energies and resources of his active and intelligent mind, under circumstances, as may be easily imagined, of extremest anxiety, mortification, and disappointment, in a few hours not only retook his Majesty's ships Africaine and Ceylon, but captured also the largest frigate possessed by the enemy in these seas, and has thus restored the British naval pre-eminence in this quarter, which his talents have long so successfully contributed to maintain.—Nor can I omit to offer the tribute so justly due to the memory of the gallant Corbett, of his Majesty's ship Africaine, whose meritorious eagerness to check the triumph of an exulting enemy impelled him to an

unequal contest, in which he nobly fell, defending the cause of that country, to whose service his valuable life had been most usefully, most honourably devoted.—Under the pressure of these events, the arrival of the Nisus was to be considered as most opportune, as every exertion had been already employed with a view to the equipment of the Africaine and Ceylon, which ships, though severely cut up in the masts and rigging (the lower masts being unfit for further service,) had fortunately, at the time of their recapture, part of their crews on board. Fully concurring in the expediency and the absolute necessity of this measure, the adoption of which and the carrying into effect with the least delay, is of the most serious importance to the ultimate success of the operation, now ripe for execution, against the Isle of France, and having found it further practicable to equip the Venus in furtherance of this object, I have not hesitated to commission her for the time being, under the name of the Nereide, in commemoration of the gallant defence of his Majesty's ship bearing that name, notwithstanding the very many local difficulties and disadvantages with which we have necessarily had to contend in the execution of these plans. The squadron, now on the eve of sailing from these roads, consisting of the ships named in the margin,* exhibits a striking and no less gratifying instance of what may be effected by British exertion and British perseverance.—I should at the same time be very deficient, were I not to avail myself of the opportunity now afforded me of expressing the obligations of the service to the Lieutenant Governor and Commander of the forces on this island, Lieutenant-Colonel Keating, to whom it is indebted not only for his co-operation, as well as that of the whole military force, not only for the application of every civil means at his command, but for that spirit of zealous emulation, wherever the navy is concerned, which has most anxiously anticipated the appropriation of every resource to its service, and the influence of which has been extended throughout this division of the army.—Among other vessels captured by the enemy I regret to mention the Ceylon and Wyndham, Honourable East India Company's ships, and the Ranger transport, from the Cape, having on board provisions and stores for the squadron; I am happy to add that the Wyndham has since been re-taken, and is arrived here, and the Venus was found to have on board the greater part of the stores and provisions taken in the Ranger, both of which circumstances have been particularly advantageous, the lower masts of the Wyndham having been applied to the Africaine, and the victualling of the squadron being, by means of the provisions found in the Venus, completed to four months.—It is further of still greater moment that I should apprize you, for the information of their Lordships, that Major-General Abercrombie, who with his whole staff was embarked in the Ceylon, and who is entrusted with the Command of the expedition against the Isle of France, was recaptured in that frigate.—As the squadron will proceed to sea in a few hours, after the closing these dispatches, I trust I shall stand excused to their Lordships, in deferring to a future opportunity the several returns and details of the squadron, as well as a statement preparing of work performed in each department, which, in the short space of three weeks, through the unremitting and unwearied exertions that have been displayed, has been such as to complete the equipment of the squadron, and to render the whole thoroughly effective. —I should add, that the light brigade of the troops from hence are embarked, to the number of six hundred men, on board the five frigates, and are doing duty as Marines, until their services shall be required on shore. I have, &c. A. BERTIE.

* Boadicea, Africaine, Ceylon, Nisus, and Nereide.

His Majesty's Ship Boadicea, St. Paul's Road, Isle of Bourbon, 21st Sept. 1810.

Sir;—I had the honour to transmit to you on the 31st of August, Captain Pym's report of a gallant and successful attack by his boats on Isle de la Passe, and I beg leave to second his recommendation of Lieutenants Chads and Watling for their conduct on that occasion. Under the said cover, I also transmitted Captain Pym's detail of his subsequent operations at Grande Porte. The urgency of the service we were then engaged in, prevented me from entering more minutely into particulars; the Boadicea was then under weigh, proceeding to Grande Porte, in hopes of relieving the Iphigenia, the only frigate left to me by the disasters which had befallen our Squadron. It is now my duty to give you a more detailed account of our operations.—I had acquainted you with the intentions of Colonel Keating in

concert with myself to establish a strong military post at Flat Island, after occupation of the Isle de la Passe. For this service the Bombay merchant transport was prepared with water and provisions sufficient for the supply of both places; and the flank battalion, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Austin, with a proportion of Artillery, were in readiness to embark, when, on the evening of the 22nd of August, by the arrival of the Wyndham recaptured Indiaman, I learned that the Bellone and Minerve, French frigates, Victor corvette, and Ceylon captured Indiaman, had forced the passage by Isle de la Passe into Grande Porte, and that it was Captain Pym's intention to attack them there—Two of the flank companies and a detachment of artillery were immediately embarked on board the Boadicea; the transport with the remainder of the force was directed to follow as expeditiously as possible. From baffling winds our passage was very tedious; on the morning of the 27th we picked up a boat with an officer and fourteen men dispatched with letters from Captains Pym and Lambert, which I transmitted to you; these made me acquainted with the unfortunate result of the attack on the frigates in Grande Porte: next morning at daylight I made Isle de la Passe, and perceived two of the enemy's frigates close off the Porte; we stood nearly within gun-shot of one of these, and within five or six miles of Isle de la Passe, under which the Iphigenia was anchored, making signals to her, but a third sail, which we afterwards learned was the Astrea frigate, appearing to windward, I thought it prudent to tack off, and was immediately chased by the French Squadron; of these the Venus, from her superiority of sailing, might soon have brought us to action, but appeared to wait for her consort (La Manch).—Towards day-break they hauled off; but as I judged it advisable to draw them down as far as possible from their station; in order to give the transport an opportunity to succour the Iphigenia, and favour the escape of both, I again stood towards the French frigates, when they resumed their chace, and continued it until our arrival off St. Denis. From thence I immediately dispatched an express to Captain Tomkinson to move with his ship's company on board the Wyndham, and join me off the island, the Otter being dismantled for heaving down.—On my arrival off St. Paul's, I found that Captain Tomkinson, considering the Wyndham unfit for immediate service, had declined the command of her; in consequence of which Captain Lynne had with the most indefatigable exertions, fitted the Emma transport with her guns, and joined me off the port.—For the promptitude and expedition with which his aid was afforded me, as well as for the most ample assistance on every occasion, I am indebted to Colonel Keating, who has spared neither personal exertions, nor the resources which his situation commands in facilitating the supplies of the naval service, and assisting me by reinforcements of his troop.—With the Emma in company I resumed my route towards the Isle of France; but finding that she could not keep company, I detached her to windward from Round Island to Roderiguez in order to give notice to any of our ships she might meet, of the comparative state of our naval force, and that of the enemy's. I then proceeded with the Boadicea off Isle de la Passe, and on our arrival there found the Iphigenia gone, and four ships at anchor in Grande Porte; these we have since learned were the Bellone, Minerve, Nereide, and Ceylon, (East India ships,) the first with top gallant-yards across, sails bent, and apparently ready for sea; the second with jury-top-masts; and the third with jury fore and mizen-masts. I have also understood from the prisoners lately taken in the Venus, that they were shortly to proceed round to Port Louis, and that the slaughter on board of them had been very great.—Finding that nothing was to be effected as affairs then stood, I returned to this port, where I anchored on the 11th of September.—Captain Lambert is said to have capitulated for the Iphigenia and the Isle de la Passe the day before we first arrived off there, on condition that all the officers and men should, in one month from the date of the capitulation, be sent from the Isle of France to some part in the dominions of his Majesty, not to serve against France or her allies till exchanged.—I have the honour to be, &c.

Vice Admiral Bertie, &c. JOSHUA ROWLEY.

His Majesty's Ship Boadicea, St. Paul's Road, Isle of Bourbon, 21st Sept. 1810.

SIR; I weighed anchor from the bay of St Paul's on the morning of the 12th of Sept. in company with the Otter sloop, and Staunch gun-brig, in order to attack 2 of the enemy's frigates, the Astrea and Iphigenia, who were in the offing to windward. When under weigh, I received an intimation from Col. Keating that an English fri-

gate was said to have arrived at St. Dénis, and as we stood out clear of the bay, I had the satisfaction of recognizing the Africaine, who joined with me in the chace. By superior sailing, and having the same breeze as the enemy, she was enabled to close with them before dark, and led by her signals the Boadicea was gaining fast upon them, when at three A. M. a heavy firing was observed between the frigates, at that time between four and five miles a-head of the Boadicea. I concluded that it was Captain Corbett's intention merely to attempt crippling the enemy, in order to enable us sooner to close with them, but unfortunately at that moment the winds became light and variable, and the Africaine becoming unmanageable under the fire of both ships (one in a most destructive-raking position), after a most gallant, though unequal contest, was obliged to surrender, and the firing ceased at about fifteen minutes after four in the morning. —Day dawned, and shewed us the result; the enemy appeared to have suffered little; the Africaine was in their possession, with no apparent loss but that of the mizen topmast; such a state did not appear to justify my commencing an attack on a force so much superior, particularly in the present critical situation of our affairs, when mine was the only British frigate in those seas, and we knew of two other frigates of the enemy, and a corvette, cruizing in the neighbourhood: I therefore made sail to bring up the Otter and Staunch, then out of sight, and having soon rejoined them, I led them towards the enemy, who at our approach abandoned the Africaine, leaving an Officer and nine Frenchmen in charge of her, with most of the wounded, and about eighty-three of her crew, whom they had not time to remove. The extent of her loss in killed and wounded I have not been able to ascertain, but it must have been considerable. It is with deep regret I have to mention the loss of my gallant friend Captain Corbett; he was wounded early in the action, and died a few hours after it had ceased; in him the service has lost one of its best Officers.—I cannot conclude without mentioning, in terms of approbation, the steadiness and zeal manifested by my First Lieutenant, Mr. Langhorne, the Officers and ship's company under my command, and beg leave to recommend them to your favourable notice.—I have the honour to be, &c.—JOSHUA ROWLEY.

To Vice Admiral Bertie, &c. &c. &c.

The under-mentioned statement of the killed and wounded belonging to the Africaine is as correct as I have been able to obtain.—24 seamen, 8 marines, 4 soldiers, killed; 52 seamen, 11 marines, 8 soldiers, wounded—Total, 36 killed, 71 wounded.

NAMES OF OFFICERS KILLED AND WOUNDED.

Killed.—Robert Corbett, Esq. Captain; Mr. Parker, Master.

Wounded.—J. Tullidge, Senior Lieutenant; brought a prisoner to the Isle of France—C. Forder, Second Lieutenant; is at the Hospital St. Paul's—J. Jackson (2), Lieutenant of Marines; at Hospital St. Paul's—Mr. Theed, Master's mate; at Hospital St. Paul's—Mr. Merder, Midshipman; at Hospital St. Paul's—Mr. Jones, Midshipman; a prisoner at the Isle of France—Mr. Leech, Midshipman; at the Isle of France. JOSHUA ROWLEY.

His Majesty's Ship Boadicea, St. Paul's Road, Isle of Bourbon, 21st Sept. 1810.

SIR; I have the honour to inform you, that after having anchored in this bay, on the morning of the 18th September, I discovered, soon after, three sail in the offing, two of which appeared to have suffered in their masts and rigging. I immediately weighed anchor in company with the Otter sloop, and Staunch gun-brig, but from light winds was unable for some hours to clear the bay, at which period the ships were nearly out of sight.—The Boadicea having the advantage of a fresh breeze neared the enemy; one of them which had a crippled frigate in tow, cast her off, and made all sail away from us, the third bore up under her courses, (having lost her topmasts) to protect the other, which enabled us to close with her; we soon ran her alongside, and after a short but close action, having lost nine killed, and fifteen wounded, she struck to the Boadicea, and proved to be the French imperial frigate Venus of forty-four guns, with a complement on leaving port, of three hundred and eighty men, commanded by Commodore Hamelin, senior officer of the French squadron in India, victualled and stowed for six months.—She had in the early part of the morning, in company with the Victor corvette, captured, after a most gallant defence, his Majesty's ship Ceylon, commanded by Capt. Gordon, having on board General Abercromby and his staff, bound for this island.—I made the signal for the Otter to take possession of Ceylon, while we took the Venus in tow, and they are both arrived in these Roads, where I trust

we shall in a few days have them and the Africaine in a state for service, which will again restore us to our accustomed ascendancy in these seas, Colonel Keating having, with that zeal he has manifested on every occasion, offered to complete their complements from the force under his command.—It is with much satisfaction I have again to call your attention to the gallantry and zeal manifested by my officers and ships' company in presence of the enemy; to which I have also to add that of Lieutenant Ramsay of the 89th, with his detachment doing duty on board. —To Lieutenant Langhorne I feel much indebted for his able assistance in taking charge of and conducting into port the Africaine and La Venus, and beg you will have the goodness to recommend him to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty. —I think it my duty to mention the active zeal shewn by Captain Tomkinson, of the Otter, and Lieutenant Strut, Commander of the Staunch gun-brig, both on the present service and those on which we have lately been engaged; the latter is an Officer of long service, whose merits being well known to you, renders it unnecessary for me to recommend him to your notice. —I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) JOSHUA ROWLEY.

To Vice Admiral Bertie, &c. &c. &c.

A List of the Killed and Wounded on board his Majesty's Ship Boadicea, in action with the French Imperial Frigate La Venus, off the Isle of Bourbon, on the 18th September 1810.

Killed—None.

Wounded—Benjamin Brown, landman, badly; Stephen George, yeoman of the sheets, slightly.

The bowsprit badly wounded; standing and running rigging much cut.

His Majesty's Ship Ceylon, St. Paul's, in the Island of Bourbon, Sept. 22, 1810.

Sir—I have to inform your Excellency, that, agreeably to your orders, I proceeded towards the Island of Bourbon, and on the 17th instant, being in expectation of falling in with the blockading squadron off the harbour of Port Louis, I reconnoitred that port, and estimated the enemy's force at seven frigates and one large corvette. Not finding the squadron, bore up at noon for the Island of Bourbon. At one, two of the enemy's ships were observed coming out of port, and were soon discovered to be in chase of his Majesty's ship; the headmost gained fast, and the sternmost slowly. I continued under the same sail, endeavouring to draw them as far as possible, which also tended to extend the distance of the chacing ships. At fifteen minutes past twelve, on the enemy's coming alongside, I found her to be a frigate of the largest class. After a severe conflict of one hour and ten minutes, she hauled off and dropped astern, which I concluded was to wait her consort's coming up.—Finding the great superiority of force, I encountered (having drawn my conclusion of the enemy's force before dark), I lost not a moment in repairing my rigging, which was much cut, and made sail, in hopes of reaching the Island. At two descried the enemy's second ship. At fifteen minutes past two, the enemy's head most frigate coming along-side, I shortened sail to the top-sails, and renewed the action. At four I had the satisfaction to see her mizen-mast and three top-masts go by the board: a few minutes afterwards, the Ceylon's fore and main top-masts fell. At this time, his Majesty's ship being unmanageable, had suffered severely; the rigging and sails being cut to pieces, which entirely precluded all further manœuvre. The action was maintained and continued with great spirit. At five A. M. the enemy's fore and main-masts standing, with the assistance of his fore-sail, enabled him to wear close under our stern, and take a raking position on our lee quarter. His Majesty's ship lying an unmanageable wreck, I directed the mizen top-sail to be cut away, and endeavoured to set a forestay-sail, in hopes of getting the ship before the wind, but without effect. The second ship having opened her fire, with the great advantage the enemy had by having both his ships under command, enabled him to take and keep his raking position, and pour in a heavy and destructive fire, while his Majesty's ship could only bring a few quarter guns to bear.

In the shattered and disabled state of his Majesty's ship, a retreat was impossible. The superiority of the enemy's heavy and destructive fire left me no hopes of success. Reduced to this distressful situation, feeling the firmest conviction that every energy and exertion was called forth, under the influence of the strongest impressions I had discharged my duty and upheld the honour of his Majesty's arms; feeling it a duty I owed to the officers and crew, who had nobly displayed that bravery which is so truly their characteristic,

when I had lost all hopes of saving his Majesty's ship, to prevent a useless effusion of blood, I was under the painful necessity of directing a light to be shewn to the second ship that we had struck.—I think it a duty I owe to Captain Ross, of his Majesty's 69th regiment, to thus publicly acknowledge the able support I received from him and his party of men, who were acting as marines for the time being.

The enemy's force proved to be the Venus, of forty-four guns, and three hundred and eighty men, and Victor, of twenty guns, and one hundred and fifty men, the former mounting twenty-eight eighteen pounders on her main deck, and twelve forty pounders, and four long nines on her quarter deck and forecastle. Subscribed is a list of killed and wounded. I have the honour to be, &c.

CHARLES GORDON.

Rear-Admiral Drury, &c. &c. &c.

Killed—John Parish, seaman; William Isby, ditto; John Grigg, ditto; John Cook, ditto; John Philips, ditto; William Kent, ditto; Patrick Kearny, soldier; Daniel Enlay, ditto; John Ferguson, ditto; John Feeland, ditto.—*Dangerously Wounded.*—Jacob Davis, seaman; Otto Abraham, ditto; James Spields, ditto; James Turnbull, ditto; Nathaniel Gibson, soldier.—*Severely Wounded.*—Captain Gordon; Mr. Oliver, master; William Staggs, seaman; Charles Smith, ditto; John Robinson, ditto; John King, soldier; John Bradley, ditto; Hugh Murphy, ditto.—*Slightly Wounded.*—Mr. Graham, boatswain; Leven Benson, seaman; Richard Brownsden, ditto; Thomas Curtis, ditto; John Braham, ditto; John Williams, (2), ditto; William Hancock, ditto; George Johnson, ditto; Patrick Armstrong, ditto; William Sprattly, ditto; Arthur Quin, ditto; Wiliam Turner, marine; Captain Ross, soldier; Charles M'Cann, ditto; Charles Bailie, ditto; Samuel Philips, ditto; James Allen, ditto; Patrick M'Claskey, ditto.

Admiralty Office, February 13, 1811.

Lieutenant Cator, acting as Commander of his Majesty's sloop the Otter, arrived here this morning with dispatches from Vice Admiral Bertie, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's ships and vessels at the Cape of Good Hope, to John Wilson Croker, esq. Secretary to the Admiralty, of which the following are Copies:

Africaine, in Port Louis, Isle of France, Dec. 6, 1810.

Sir; I have the honour to announce to you, for the information of their Lordships, the capture of the Isle of France and its dependencies, comprehending the extirpation of the naval force of the enemy in these seas, and the subjugation of the last remaining colonial territory of France.

By my communication addressed to you on the 12th of October last, and forwarded to England by the Otter, from Bourbon, I had the honour to acquaint you, that I was on the point of resuming the blockade of the Isle of France; I accordingly arrived off this port on the 19th, and, finding the whole of the enemy's ships in the harbour, and two only apparently in a state of forward equipment, I left Captain Rowley with the Boadicea, Nisus, and Nereide† to watch the movements of the enemy; and having previously detached the Ceylon and Staunch to convoy the division of troops from Bourbon to Rodriguez, I proceeded with the Commander of the forces (Major General the Hon. John Abercromby) who had embarked in the Africaine, towards that anchorage. On the 24th I was joined by Rear Admiral Drury, with a division of his squadron as per margin‡ and taking under my orders for the time being the Rear Admiral with the ships under his command, I was enabled to strengthen the blockading squadron, by detaching the Cornelia and Hesper for that purpose; and with the others made all sail for Rodriguez, where the squadron arrived on the 3d of November, and found lying there the division of troops from Bombay; on the 6th arrived the division from Madras, under convoy of the Psyche and Cornwallis. On the 8th, Rear Admiral Drury sailed with the Russell, Phaeton, and Bucephalus, to resume his command in India; on the 12th, arrived the division from Bourbon, under convoy of the Ceylon.

The divisions from Bengal and the Cape not arriving by the 20th, the season being so far advanced, and the anchorage (surrounded by reefs) by no means secure, more particularly for so large a number of ships, I determined on weighing with the whole fleet on the morning of the 22d, proposing the convoy should cruise to

† Late La Venus, captured by Commodore Rowley, as announced before.

‡ Russell, Clorinde, Doris, Phaeton, Bucephalus, Cornelia, Hesper.

windward until joined by one or other of the divisions. Very fortunately, intelligence was received on the night of the 21st that the Bengal division, under convoy of the Illustrious, was in the offing. General Abercromby deemed it, as well as myself, advisable they should not anchor; but that, having communicated with the convoy, and given them such supplies as they might essentially require, we should proceed to the attack of the Isle of France, without waiting the junction of the troops expected from the Cape. The whole fleet accordingly weighed from the anchorage, and on the morning of the 29th bore up for the point of debarkation it had been determined to occupy in Grande Baye, about 12 miles to windward of Port Louis, where the Africaine leading in, and the several ships of war following with the convoy, according to a previous arrangement, the whole fleet were at anchor by 10 o'clock, A. M. consisting of nearly 70 sail; and the army with their artillery, stores, and ammunition, the several detachments of marines serving in the squadron, with a large body of seamen, disembarked the same day, without a single loss or accident; a division of ships still maintained a vigilant blockade of the port; another division remained for the protection of the convoy at the anchorage; and a third, under my more immediate command, shifted their station as circumstances required, to keep up a more effectual communication with the army as it advanced, and which was dependant for its supplies of provisions and stores wholly on the resources of the navy.

On the 2nd instant the Governor-General De Caen proposed terms of Capitulation, and, Commissioners being appointed on either side, a Capitulation was signed and ratified on the morning of the 3d instant, at the British Head-Quarters, a copy of which I have the honour to transmit for their Lordships' information.

In a combined operation of this nature, the ultimate success of which must essentially in a great degree be made to depend upon a zealous and emulative co-operation and support through each gradation; and in the present instance, where these features have been so eminently conspicuous in every rank, and in every situation and circumstance, the recommendation of particular individuals to their Lordships' more immediate notice may be deemed superfluous.

It is however from a sense of justice, that I record the services of Captain Beaver, of his Majesty's ship Nisus, whom I entrusted with the superintendance of the whole arrangements for the disposition and debarkation of the army, and whose abilities and experience on similar occasions particularly qualified him to undertake this important duty. Nor should I omit to bear testimony to the unwearied exertions of Captain Patterson, of his Majesty's ship Hesper, and of Lieutenant B. Street, commanding the Government armed ship Emma, who were employed for many successive nights in sounding, and (as it has been proved) gained a perfect knowledge of the anchorage on the enemy's coast, and who were equally strenuous in their services in various ways on shore.

I beg also to recommend to their Lordships' notice Lieut. Edward Lloyd, who volunteered his services under the immediate eye of the commander of the forces, and in this, as well as many former instances, has received the most honourable testimonies of his gallantry.

I have the honour to transmit a copy of a letter addressed to me by Captain Montague, of the Royal Navy, who commanded the first division of the seamen landed, as well as two extracts from General Orders issued at head-quarters. From the absence of some of the ships, I have not been able to collect the returns of the number of marines and seamen landed, or of the loss, but I have the satisfaction to know it has been very inconsiderable.

The return of shipping, as correctly stated as I have yet been able to collect it, I have the honour to inclose. Various considerations have impelled me to dispatch the Menelaus, with the least delay possible; and having entrusted these communications to the care of Captain Rowley, who will be the bearer of them to their Lordships, I beg to refer their Lordships to him for every further particular, and to add, that his long and arduous services on this station have established a just claim to any honourable distinction it may please their Lordships or the Country to bestow on him. I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) A. Bertie.

A List of Ships and Vessels of War present and assisting in the Capture of the Isle of France.

Africaine, Captain Graham, acting; Vice-Admiral Bertie.
Illustrious, Captain Broughton.
Boadicea, Captain Rowley.
Nisus, Captain Beaver

Cornwallis, Captain Caulfield.
Clorinde, Captain Briggs.
Cornelia, Captain Edgele.
Doris, Captain Lye.
Nereide, Captain Henderson, Acting.
Psyche, Captain Edgecumbe.
Ceylon, Captain Tomkinson, Acting.
Hesper, Captain Patterson.
Hecate, Captain Rennie, Acting.
Eclipse, Captain Lynne, Acting.
Emma, Government armed ship, Captain Street, Acting.
Staunch, gun-brig, Lieutenant Craig, Acting.
Egremont, Government sloop, Lieutenant Forder.
Farquhar, Mr. Hervey, midshipman.
Mouche.
Phœbe, Captain Hillyer.
Acteon, Lord Viscount Neville.

(Signed) A. Bertie.

Terms of the Capitulation.

We the undersigned major-general Henry Warde, and commodore Josias Rowley, nominated on the part of his Britannic Majesty, by vice admiral Albemarle Bertie, commander in chief of his Majesty's ships and vessels employed at the Cape of Good Hope, and the seas adjacent, and lieutenant general the hon John Abercromby, commander of his Britannic Majesty's forces on the one part; and Martin Vandermaesen, general of division, member of the legion of honour, commandant of the troops of his imperial and royal Majesty the Emperor of France, at the Isle of France, and Mr. Victor Duprere, captaine de vaisseau of his Imperial and Royal Majesty, nominated on the part of Charles de Caen, grand officer of the legion of honour, general of division, captain general of the French Settlements to the Eastward of the Cape of Good Hope, on the other part; being severally and respectively armed with full powers to settle a Treaty for the Capitulation and Surrender of the Isle of France, and all its dependencies, to the arms of his Britannic Majesty, do agree as follows:

Art. 1. The troops of his Imperial and Royal Majesty the Emperor of France, forming the garrison of the Isle of France, the officers and non-commissioned officers, the officers of the imperial and Royal Marine, and the crews of the ships of war, shall not be considered as prisoners of war, neither the civil authorities.

Answer.—The land and sea forces, officers, subalterns and privates, shall not be considered as prisoners of war.

Art. 2. The troops of his Imperial and Royal Majesty shall retain their arms and colours, without ammunition, and all their personal effects and baggage, to the extent of that which, upon honour, shall be declared private property.

Answer.—They shall take away their effects and baggage.

Art 3 The troops of his Imperial and Royal Majesty, and the crews of the ships of the Imperial and Royal Marine, shall be sent, with their families, to a port in European France.

Answer.—They shall be conveyed, together with their families, to a port in the French Empire.

Art. 4. For the above conveyance, I shall keep the four Imperial frigates La Manche, La Bellone, L'Astree, and La Minerve, as well as the Victor and Entreprenante corvettes, with their officers, crews, guns, stores and provisions.

Answer.—Altogether inadmissible. The crews of the ships of war of the Imperial and Royal Marine are provided for by the preceding article.

Art. 5. To the above ships shall be added six transport vessels, to be selected by me, for our conveyance, with the necessary provision for the crews and passengers.

Answer.—Proper vessels shall be forthwith equipped as cartels, at the expence of the British Government, provisioned and stored to convey the French Garrison, and the crews of the ships of war, to European France. The same vessels to be at liberty to proceed to any port of England without delay.

Art. 6. These conditions being agreed to, I shall give up the colony and all its dependencies, the magazines, &c. Inventories shall be taken of all the articles belonging to the Emperor, and to be preserved for him and restored at a peace.

Answer.—The colony and its dependencies shall be ceded unconditionally; no power being vested in the parties contracting to determine its future destination. Inventories shall be taken by commissioners, to be appointed on behalf of the contracting parties, of all public magazines and stores, which shall be given up to the forces of his Britannic Majesty in their actual state, and without deterioration. *(To be continued.)*

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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"If nations must adjust their policy on the prospect of War from abroad, they are equally bound "to provide for the attainment of Peace at home, but there is no Peace in the absence of justice. "It may subsist with divisions, disputes, and contrary opinions, but not with the commission of wrongs. "The *injurious*, and the *injured*, are, as implied in the very meaning of the terms, in a state of "hostility"——DR FERGUSON

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

THE PRESS ——The prospect of seeing the State of the Press fully discussed, encourages me to offer some remarks upon the subject, in the hope, that the public may, in time, see how *they* will be affected by the *freedom* or *slavery* of this great political and moral engine ——Men often spend much time in discussions to very little profit, only for want of having, at the outset, a clear understanding of the matter in discussion If the notion of the thing about which you are in discussion be not very clear in your mind, it is merely by chance if you conduct your reasoning to any useful conclusion How often has it happened to every man to listen to a very well told story, and yet to wonder at the laugh it excited in others, and to stand himself gaping like an oaf, and that merely from not having obtained at the beginning a clear idea as to the point upon which the wit or humour turned?——Indeed, there needs nothing to be said to convince any one, that, unless he has a clear understanding of the thing about which any discussion takes place, it is impossible for him to profit much from the discussion itself, and that he must attribute it to mere good fortune, if he does not come to an erroneous conclusion —— Therefore, in entering upon the remarks that I now propose to offer upon the subject of the *Liberty of the Press*, it is necessary for me to give the best definition or description in my power of *the thing itself;* and I am the more disposed to do this as I am convinced that a great part of what every real friend of freedom laments to see, has proceeded from a want of an universal adoption of such definition ——At the end of this Summary will be found a Letter, signed PUBLICOLA, which I have extracted from the TIMES News-paper I commend the zeal and admire the talents of the writer. But, though a good piece of writing, it is not calculated to produce much impression upon the public, loose as it is in point of definition, and loaded as it is with references to nations and to times, of the facts relating to which even men of reading can have but a very imperfect knowledge ——The writer is to be commended for his researches into ancient history, but, in the application of them to this subject, I cannot applaud his taste; and, he will excuse me if I express my opinion, that such application has a tendency to lessen the force of his argument. ——With men, who have been at great schools, there is, too often, something of the school-boy sticking to them through life Having had their education under *word-mongers*, they are extremely fortunate if they ever get completely rid of the love of dealing in the same ware themselves. Having, for so many years, been accustomed to look upon the knowledge of *words* in outlandish languages as the highest of all human qualifications, it is no wonder that they continue to think so, and, accordingly, to interlard all their writings with references to the history of the countries where those languages flourished, such references affording them an excuse for indulging in a display of their school-boy knowledge.——This fault is seen even in the signature of the Letter of which I am speaking. Why "PUBLICOLA?" The people of England, in general, do not know any thing about Publicola; and, if they did, there would be no good in the using of it. Such *strange* words only serve to *confuse* at the least. Without some *inquiry* the mass of the people cannot understand them, and, if enquiry be bestowed upon the *word*, the thing is lost sight of——And, then, why does this writer go to *Greece* and *Rome* for proofs in favour of the liberty of the press? What did the Greeks and Romans know about printing? Pisistratus and Socrates and Demosthenes and Cicero are fine sounding names, they are very well calculated to make a noise in a sentence, but all these men put together did not know so much about the Liberty of

the Press as my Printer's boy does. It is really ridiculous to see a sensible man going back to times when no man had ever dreamt of such a thing as a press, in order to *bring proofs of the necessity of the press to the support of public liberty!*——I shall be told, that the author does not pretend, that the *press* flourished in Greece and Rome at the glorious times he is speaking of; but that freedom of *speech* was allowed, and that the liberties of the country were preserved by that. But, mark the inference which may be drawn from this: if you lead us back to Greece and Rome, and tell us, that, at such and such times, those countries were *free*, and were indeed *objects of our imitation*, and yet that *they had no press at all*, does it not follow, or, at least, may it not, for any thing that you have shewn to the contrary, be concluded, that *we do not want any press at all?*——Such are the difficulties into which men are led by that school-boy hankering after the "learned languages," as they call them, which induces them to lug in, upon all occasions, something or other about *Greece* and *Rome;* and it would be no matter of surprise with me, if I were to find one of them tracing the breeding of Old Bakewell's sheep back to the Greeks and the Romans.——The whole history of the *Liberty* of the Press belongs to England. It was in this country that it had its origin. Here it has flourished at times, and at times has been almost extinguished. Here have its effects been experienced, and here been born and lie buried the men who have been its champions. It is, upon a subject like this, of PRYNN and LILBURNE and TOOKE, and such men that we should speak, and not of *Socrates* and *Demosthenes* and *Cicero* and *Pisistratus*, who knew as little about *a press* as the people of England know about them. All such attempts to apply this school-boy sort of learning, which, in fact, arise from the vanity of appearing to know more than the people at large; all such attempts are ridiculous, and, when made in a case like this, mischievous; because they inevitably weaken the argument that they are intended to support; it being impossible that the reader, who seeks information, should not doubt of a truth which must appear to him to stand in need of proofs so far fetched and of such uncertain foundation. And, if the reader happens to have read the works of VIRGIL, from whom this writer takes his motto, he must know, that that VIRGIL was one of the basest scoundrels that ever lived; one of the most crawling and disgusting parasites, and a pander even to unnatural passions into the bargain. The books of this man, which are put by parsons into the hands of our youth, are a complete course of villainy. They teach flattery, gross, fulsome, nauseous flattery of an execrable tyrant, who gained his power by deliberate perfidy and murder. They teach every species of vice, and not very equivocally give countenance to that horrid vice which has grown up in England with the introduction of foreigners and foreign manners and foreign effeminacy.——And, yet, it is from this author, that the writer of the Letter in question *takes his motto?* Could he not have found mottos in Lilburne's or Tooke's speeches; or in the speeches of Lord Erskine or Sir Francis Burdett? Why go to the Romans, and to this detestable, this infamous slave, VIRGIL, for a motto to a Letter upon the Liberty of the Press? Why, this miscreant, if he were living in England, would, if the Attorney General ordered him to do it, come with his tongue and lick all the dirt off his feet and off his carcass too; and, one of the reasons why we see so much want of public-spirit, and such a proneness to abject submission, amongst so many of those who have had what is called (as it were ironically) a liberal education, is, that they are, when young, taught to admire the works of VIRGIL and HORACE, two of the basest, most abject, most self-degraded wretches, that ever existed, and whose very names must be hateful to any one who is sincerely engaged in endeavouring to restore Liberty to the Press.——But, there is another part of this Letter, which is still more likely to lead to mischievous consequences. I allude to the passage, where the writer pronounces a *general eulogium* on the Liberty of the Press, and ascribes to it what does by no means belong to it, thereby confusing the notions of the reader, setting his mind upon the wander, and, which is still worse, causing him to believe, that there is a great deal of Liberty of the Press where there is no such thing.——The author says, that "we "owe *every thing* to the Liberty of the "Press; and that our *arts*, our *sciences*, "and our *learning*, have all sprung from "this source." I wonder that he had not added the *grass* and the *trees*.——In the first place, I should be glad to know what *learning* means other than the *arts* and

sciences? This is another instance of the absurdities engendered by the school-boy hankering before spoken of.——But, as to the main point, it is proving, or, rather, *asserting*, too much to ascribe all our *arts* and *sciences* to the *Liberty of the Press*; for, it is very notorious, that, with regard to the far greater part of the arts and sciences, the *Liberty of the Press* has been of no consequence at all. What, for instance, had the Liberty of the Press to do with the discoveries of NEWTON, or with the LOGIC OF LOCKE, or with any of the discoveries and inventions in MECHANICS, in CHEMISTRY, in AGRICULTURE, in MANUFACTURES, in NAVIGATION, or in WAR? What had the Liberty of the Press to do in bringing the New Leicester Sheep to bear all fat and no lean, or in enabling MR. CURWEN to make milk out of stewed straw, and to fatten the poor upon it? What had the Liberty of the Press to do with all, or with any of, these things?——It is not true, that we owe any of the *arts* and *sciences* to the Liberty of the Press. The French and the Germans surpass us in most of the *arts* and *sciences*. There are very few in which they do not greatly surpass us; and, have *they* had such a great deal of the *Liberty of the Press*?—— This question is a *home* one. It is one that must be answered; or the position must be abandoned.——What had the Liberty of the Press to do with the famous *Block-Cutting Machine* in our Dock Yards, or with the not less famous *Paper-Making Machine?* These were both invented by *Frenchmen*. Besides, it is well known, that, at this moment, all the *arts* and *sciences* are at a much greater height in France than they are here. Sir JOSEPH BANKS, the President of our Royal Society, declared, when he was chosen a member of the French Institute, that it was the "*first* "*literary Society in the world.*" And, is this writer prepared to say, that all this excellence in the arts and sciences has arisen from the Liberty of the Press *in France?* Yet, this he must say, or he must abandon the position, that *we* owe our arts and sciences to the *Liberty of the Press.*——But, I may be asked, why I argue against this position, even supposing it to be erroneous, seeing that the *higher* the Liberty of the Press is raised, the greater will be the public attachment to it.——In the first place, I answer, that all error ought to be corrected; and that, if I could succeed in any object by false colouring and representation, I would not employ such means.—— But, I am satisfied, that it is a very great mistake to suppose, that the *Liberty* of the Press is, by such means, raised in the estimation of the public; for, if our *arts*, our *sciences*, and our *every thing* good proceed from the Liberty of the Press, how will the public reason upon the subject of any Attorney General's prosecutions for libel? Will they not say, "aye, "very true, that is a little hard; but yet, "they *leave us a great deal* of Liberty of "the Press; for any man may cultivate "the *arts* and *sciences*. Yes, yes; we have, "after all, a great deal of good out of this "*Liberty of the Press*, which gives us all "our *arts* and *sciences*, and we see them "*flourish exceedingly*, and, of course, we "have a pretty fair share of the *Liberty of* "*the Press.*"——Now, I put it to the reader, whether this is not the course of reasoning, to which Publicola's position, if adopted, must inevitably lead? And, then I ask him, if it be possible for any, the very bitterest, foe to freedom, and especially to the Liberty of the Press, to suggest any thing more likely to do it mischief?——If this notion be adopted, I really see very little reason to complain of what was done by the infernal Court of *Star Chamber*; for they very freely suffered any man to write about the *arts* and *sciences* as much as he pleased. Any body might write against or for oxygen or gas, or carbonic acid, or volatile alkali, or about verbs and nouns, and subtraction and multiplication, or about the changes of the moon, and the rising and setting of the sun, or about draining and watering lands, or about hedging and ditching, and about breeding and fatting of cattle and sheep and hogs and barn-door fowls and ducks and geese and turkies, or about hunting of foxes and hares, and shooting of birds, or about planting woods and orchards, or about making and repairing of canals and roads, and common sewers and gutters and sink-holes. The Court, that infamously tyrannical Court of Star Chamber, whose proceedings so materially assisted in bringing Charles the First to the block, and some of the members of which Court came to the same end themselves; even that succession of insolent and inexorable tyrants, even that Court, which it was one of the greatest and most glorious works of our forefathers to overthrow; even that gang of unjust and base ruffians in power, *freely*, very freely permitted any man to write upon such subjects; very freely indeed.

So that, according to "Publicola," there was a great deal of *Liberty of the Press* under the Court of Star Chamber.——And *now*, what reason is there to complain upon *this score?* Mr. FINNERTY, for instance, might have written *Grammars* and *Spelling-books* and *Primmers* to the day of his death without being brought before one of the SPECIAL JURIES at Westminster. He might have made the whole circuit of the *arts* and *sciences* without giving the smallest offence. He was at perfect *liberty* to do this. So that, according to Publicola, Mr. FINNERTY enjoyed *a great deal of Liberty of the Press.* If Publicola, (I don't like this outlandish school-boy name); If Publicola really thinks that we actually enjoy a great deal of Liberty of the Press, he is right in stating positions calculated to make others think the same; but, if he does not think so, and if his wish be not to make others think so, and if he desires to co-operate with the noble Lord to whom his letter is addressed, he is certainly making use of means destructive of his end.——The whole of this train of errors in this writer arises from his having done what thousands have done before him; namely, confounded the *Art of Printing*, or the *Employment* of the Press, with the *Liberty* of the Press. It is very clear, that the one has nothing to do with the other, any more than the *art of writing*, or the *employment of the pen*, has to do with the Liberty of the Press.——To the *Art of Printing* the *arts* and *sciences* do, indeed, owe much; but, nothing at all do they owe to the *Liberty of the Press*, which is quite another thing; though so often confounded by fools as well as by knaves, nothing being more suitable to the purposes of the latter. ——*Liberty*, actively speaking, means the right, or power of doing with safety to yourself that which is naturally *disagreeable to*, or *contrary to the interests of*, another, be that other who he may.——Turn it as often as you please, this is the true definition of *Liberty* in the active sense of the word. Put the question as often as you will, and you will find, that, wherever the liberty to do a thing is asserted, there is a party against whose wish or interest the contemplated action operates.——So of the *Liberty of the Press*, which means the right, or power, of publishing, with safety and without any risk to one's self, that which is naturally *disagreeable to*, or *contrary to the interests of*, another. The *bounds* of this liberty is a question to be hereafter considered. But, that it is this which is meant by the *Liberty* of the Press will not, I am sure, be denied.——If you are to publish only that which *offends nobody*; if you are to be permitted to publish nothing that *hurts any man's feelings*; if you are to say not a word that any man in power can *take amiss*; would it not be a mockery, a base truckling, to say that you enjoyed *Liberty* of the Press? Yet, you would have *Liberty* to indulge your genius for the *arts* and *sciences*; you would have perfect *Liberty* to ascend amongst the stars, and, as the Latin Poets did, assign some earthly tyrant a place there; you would have oceans of *liberty* of this sort; you would have perfect *liberty* to extol every creature in power; and, if you had lived in the time of the Star Chamber, you would have had as much *liberty* as you pleased to *praise* the corrupt and merciless villains who succeeded each other in that Court; and whose chief object in stifling the Liberty of the Press, was, to prevent the people's coming at a knowledge of the true means by which they were plundered, the members of the Court being always amongst the leading plunderers of the day, and rather than disgorge their plunder they were ready to imprison, whip, pillory, crop, gag, or hang the whole of the people, leaving just enough to be their slaves, to furnish them with the means of luxurious living. Some of these execrable tyrants perished for their misdeeds; and, amongst all those, on whom the just vengeance of our forefathers fell, none deserved it so richly. They had shown no mercy; they, UNDER THE GARB OF LAW AND JUSTICE, had violated all law and all justice; their cruelties were of the most *cowardly* kind; because, while they inflicted them, they put on the affectation of compassion and of piety; all their proceedings was a tissue of chicanery and fraud; they deceived the people into a quiet acquiescence in their abominable decisions. But, at last, the deception, the villainous fraud, could not longer avail them; and down they came, covered at once with curses and with blows.——Yet, even in the time of this corrupt and infamous Court, no man was prevented from writing upon the *arts* and *sciences*; no man was prevented from writing in *praise* of the King or his French wife or any of her crew. There was full *Liberty of the Press*, for all these purposes, even in the time of the Star-Chamber Court. But, when a man accused the Lord Chancellor Bacon of *bribery*,

he was pilloried, whipped, tortured, and imprisoned for life, where he died and his family starved, though the villain Bacon *had been guilty of bribery a hundred times.* There are people, particularly *Lawyers,* who, speak compassionately of this corrupt Judge; but I never heard of any one of them who pitied this poor man and his family.——It would be a most valuable thing to collect together an account of all the *corrupt and tyrannical Judges* that have lived in England, and put it into a small book for the *use of Schools.* The lives and actions of *petty* ruffians are blazoned forth in all manner of ways; why not those of the *great* ones? A very nice and useful volume might be made upon this subject, and it would do a great deal more good than the Book of Martyrs ever did.——This poor man, who, and whose family, were murdered by inches, because he wrote the truth about Bacon's bribery, might have written upon the *arts* and *sciences* for his whole life time. He had full *liberty* to write in *praise* of this corrupt Judge; but he had *no* liberty to disclose his *bribery.* —— Enough has, I hope, now been said to show, that the being able with safety to publish Spelling-books and horn books and farming and planting and sporting and chemical and astronomical and geometrical and arithmetical books; enough has, I hope, been said to shew that the being able, with safety, to publish such books is not worthy of being called *Liberty of the Press.* This is a *Liberty of the Press,* which is now most fully tolerated by the Emperor of France, which was never refused by the Spanish Inquisition, which is not refused by the government of Russia, or even by that of Sicily.——But, this is not *Liberty* of the Press. It has nothing to do with *liberty,* any more than fiddling or whistling has; any more than threshing corn or making shoes has to do with liberty. It is the *using of the press;* it is the using of the same *machine* that is made use of for exercising the Liberty of the Press; the same sort of *types* are made use of to be sure; but, to call it *Liberty of the Press* to be able with safety to publish a spelling book or a psalter or the story of Goody Two Shoes, merely because they are printed by the same sort of machine as a censure upon the conduct of a public man is printed, is as stupid as it would be to insist that oatmeal is the same thing as wheat-meal, merely because both have been ground in the same mill.——No, where there is, *on the part of nobody,* any objection or dislike to the thing that you publish, there is nothing worthy of being called *Liberty* of the Press. It is a farce, and a *despicable farce,* to talk about *Liberty* of the Press, if you are allowed to do nothing that any man can feel *offended* at. Scandalous mockery to call this Liberty of the Press.——There is a distinction between *private* and *public* matters; but, it may safely be asserted, that, as to the bounds to which men ought to be allowed to go as to *private matters* and as to all *persons,* that is no rational and safe boundary but *truth;* and that, as to the *public conduct,* and as to the *character,* of men who are entrusted with the management of *public affairs,* if these cannot be freely discussed; if there be any other limit than that of *truth* to discussions of this sort, there can be no *Liberty* of the Press, though there may be a great deal of writing about mechanics and chemistry. Freely to discuss the *characters,* the *conduct,* and the *measures* of MEN IN POWER; if this can be done, if a *true* picture of them all can be exhibited to the public, if this can be done by the means of the press, and without exposing the person who does it to any risk of loss of property or liberty; if this can be done, there is *Liberty* of the Press; if it cannot, there is *none.* ——In a future Number, I will endeavour to show what has been heretofore, and what must always naturally be the consequence of stifling this liberty.

American States.——The papers, inserted in another part of this Number, will show, that the Americans are not very well contented with the conduct of France, who appears to have been putting on with one hand what she has been taking off with the other.—— But, in the meanwhile the intercourse with England is stopped, and those who have all along supported the Pitt system, will now have to make the best of it.——The last Stoppage did not affect them so much. The Continent was open then. Now it is closed against us. And, with America closed too, we shall be able to see a little what stuff commerce is made of.——The system of the Emperor Napoleon has completely succeeded as to the cutting off of our commerce. He has *done* it; and it is quite useless for us to attempt to swagger any more about it. He will suffer no more commerce between us and the Continent; so that this war, which was begun 19 years ago by "the *great statesman* now no more,"

for the purpose of engrossing all the commerce of the world, has already (and it is not nearly over) cut us *completely off from the continent of Europe and the United States of America.*——What a pity it was that Pitt died so soon! Would to God he could be raised up and kept upon earth for a couple or three years longer!——However, there will be his *monument.* We shall have that to go and look at. That monument is my mark.——I am by no means of opinion, that the loss of commerce will be any injury to England, in the end; but, it will produce a great deal of distress in the meanwhile; and, as to the PITT SYSTEM, it will give it a severe shock ——This system has, indeed, many things to encounter. All its natural consequences, its harvest of evils, are now coming tumbling in. The seeds were sown by Pitt and his worthy associate Dundas. They began with the famous India Bill, 26 years ago. Some were sown sooner and some later, but their fruit are now beginning to ripen and drop in one after another.——The system is in its *agonies.* It reels and plunges and flings about, and exhibits all the signs of dissolution. As its end approaches, its *exacerbations* will be more frequent and more strong; its plunges will become more desperate; but its death will be the more *signal* and the more satisfactory.——For my part, I see no danger to be apprehended from the loss of commerce, which has been one of the *greatest enemies of public liberty* for the last 26 years, and which, as long as this system exists, must and will continue so.——Many people, and indeed, almost every body, would seem to think, that this stoppage to commerce is merely *temporary.* They will find it durable. They will never see things as they have been. The intercourse with America may be re-opened; but, with the continent, which was the great outlet, it will not be re-opened; and, my opinion is, that it will not be re-opened in *peace* any more than in war. I do not see why it should. ——But, again I say, the loss of commerce will produce no injury to the country.

Portugal.—The War.——This is become a very *dull* affair. The news of Serjeant Junot's death gave us a little life for a few days; but, finding him to be alive, we are become very dead again.——The London venal prints have recently been endeavouring to make it out that Serjeant Massena is in a bad state, and, to hear them, one would have no doubt of his soon being compelled to surrender at discretion.——I wonder what they will say, if Viscount Talavera should be obliged to come home with his army and leave Massena and his army in Portugal! I wonder what they will say. Will they tell the "fashionable world" and the old blood-sucking Anti-Jacobins, that Lord Talavera is still "*drawing Massena after him?*" I really should not be surprized if they were; and if they were to add a charge of *cowardice* against Massena because he did not *follow.* There is nothing too gross to be expected. Nothing that ought to excite surprize after what we have heard from these men upon this subject.——There are certain rumours afloat as to the *state of our army;* but, of one thing I am pretty certain, and that is, that we are at *an enormous expence* in supporting it.——Mr. Lambe, in the debate on the Address, observed, that the war had *lagged,* on the part of France, of late years! Really I do not know what this gentleman would have of France. She has, within these six months, since I have been in Newgate, at any rate, united Holland to herself, taken possession of the Hans Towns, put a Prince upon the throne of Sweden, made great progress in the conquest of Spain, and taken possession of nineteen twentieths of Portugal, while, on the other hand, she has fitted out, during the same space of time, many ships of war, and has raised sailors to man them.——Yet, it seems, that this is *not fast enough* for Mr. Lambe. He thinks the war *lags;* he is not contented, it would seem, unless Napoleon conquers a kingdom every month.——Oh, no! It does not *lag,* Mr. Lambe. It is going very rapidly on. Quite rapidly enough for us in all conscience, and so you will think, in a very few years time, or I am much deceived.

Wm. COBBETT.

State Prison, Newgate,
Friday, 22nd Feb. 1811.

LIBERTY OF THE PRESS,

From the Times News-paper of the 20th Feb. 1811.

TO THE
RIGHT HON. LORD HOLLAND.

Semper honos, nomenque tuum, laudesque, manebunt. Virg.

My Lord;—As it is universally agreed, that we are not born for ourselves, nor our

private advantage, but for the general good of civil society; so it is declared by one of the most illustrious characters * that ever lived, that no work can be so great or excellent among men, as that of a statesman who makes the freedom and happiness of his citizens the grand object of all his designs. Such a man as this is, indeed, a Great Man: he is the Great Man whom Sir Samuel Romilly described a short time back, in the House of Commons, when some observations were made upon these words;—he is the Great Man whom your Lordship's ever-to-be-lamented Relative manifested in his life and actions; and, unless others as well as myself are much deceived, he is the great man whom your Lordship, in your own character, will exhibit to the world. This eulogium, my Lord, sincere and merited as it is, need not offend your delicacy. Praise is due to him who exerts himself for the good of his country; and as it is a noble testimony in his favour, so it is a mark of gratitude in those who bestow it upon him. Demosthenes expressed great satisfaction when the old woman at Athens pointed at him and said, "That is Demosthenes:" so Pliny declares, that though he had often been applauded by the Centumvirate for his pleading, yet he never was more highly gratified, than when one of his countrymen pointed him out to a stranger, and said, That is Pliny." "Truly," says he, "I am pleased with it, and I dare own I am: for I am not afraid of appearing vain, when I represent, not what I think of myself, but what others think of me."† —My Lord, the motion which your Lordship has just made in the House of Peers, "for an account of the number of informations filed *ex officio* by the Attorney-general," deserves the thanks and applause of every friend to his country. The great number of informations which of late years have been filed against public writers, cannot but fill us with apprehensions for the safety and freedom of the press. But it is not here that the mischief rests. It is said, that informations are sometimes filed, which are not afterwards prosecuted to effect. The party, who, in the first instance, is supposed to have offended, is put to great expence; he is kept in a state of continual uneasiness and alarm; and, more than this, his mind becomes fettered and restrained. To write again, would, perhaps, be a matter of serious consequence to him. It may afterwards be said that he continued to agitate a subject against which he had been cautioned; and that the repetition of the offence imputed to him calls for a severer punishment. But, suppose after all, that he has not committed any error; suppose he has not written any thing that is "*tangibly*" libellous; what are the consequences both to himself and to the country? The one is prevented from continuing his duty, by the impression of a prosecution hanging over his head; while the other is deprived of the benefit of his labour and services. Nothing, therefore, should be done which may carry the appearance of having been done only *in terrorem*; and, at all events, the innocent party should be compensated for the sacrifices he has incurred. I trust, that your Lordship's motion will produce these benefits: and that your subsequent endeavours will have the effect of establishing and securing the liberty of the press. —My Lord, the liberty of the press is of the utmost importance both to our safety and our reputation. To the exercise of this privilege we owe whatever we possess: our national honour and prosperity, our personal security, our arts, our sciences and learning, have all sprung from this source. Nor are these blessings and results peculiar to ourselves. They have been the same in every country where freedom and letters have been cultivated and revered. It is liberty that cherishes learning, and stimulates the arts; and no longer than the former exists can the latter prevail and flourish. Deeply impressed with the conviction of this great truth, I would venture to address your Lordship, no less as a scholar than as a lover of liberty; and, by taking a brief, but faithful, view of the ancient and present state of Greece and Rome, as well as of this country, I would shew, that as the two former acquired their strength in arms, and reputation in arts, from the toleration and encouragement of freedom of speech; so they lost them again, when they lost that freedom of speech: and hence I would demonstrate, that the same may be expected to be our fate, whenever we are deprived of the liberty of the press—a fate, which, I am sure, your Lordship cannot be too solicitous to prevent.—My Lord, if we look back to the time when learning and science flourished most in Greece, we shall find it to have been when the Athenians had delivered themselves from the tyranny

* Cic. Frag. de Repub. b. v.
† Plin. Epist. lib. ix. ep. 23.

of Pisistratus, and, after this, had defeated the vast efforts of the Persians; and that, against two successive invaders, Darius and Xerxes. Then did they begin to cultivate letters and philosophy: then did they prove themselves the wisest and most polite, as they had just shewn themselves to be the bravest of men. "In the short space of little more than a century," says Mr. Harris, "they became such statesmen, warriors, orators, historians, physicians, poets, critics, painters, sculptors, architects, and (last of all) philosophers, that one can hardly help considering that golden period, as a providential event in honour of human nature, to shew to what perfection the species might ascend."* In this time, we find the parent and prince of moral philosophy, Socrates; who, from his universal benevolence, and extensive knowledge of mankind delivered this admirable saying: "The Sun might as easily be spared from the Universe, as free speech from the liberal institutions of society."† At this time, therefore, liberty of speech prevailed; and we read, that, some time after, when Timoleon found the people of Syracuse greatly oppressed and totally deprived of this liberty, he delivered them from the tyranny of Dionysius, declaring, "That the primary motive to all his painful enterprises had been the security of free speech to the meanest citizen:"‡ and, in consequence of this doctrine, he would not punish a man who presumed to investigate the motives of his conduct. Just at this period shone forth Demosthenes; an orator, who was continually exhorting his countrymen to maintain their freedom of speech, and not to be deceived by the flattery or misrepresentations of venal writers. Happy would it have been for the Athenians had they taken his advice; but some artful and designing politicians found means to corrupt the people, and employed writers to deceive them; that is, to make them believe they were in no danger of losing their liberties, even at the very moment when they were ready to expire. "Whilst sycophants and hirelings," says Demosthenes to his countrymen, "are encouraged and rewarded, the true patriot, who has no other end than your good, is falsely accused and suspected, and delivered up as a sacrifice. Let me tell you (adds he), till some legal redress can be had of this grievance, the

* Hermes, p. 417.

† Apud Stob. ‡ Corn. Nep. xx. 5.

very best of your citizens will be punished for the freedom of his advice, if he is so mad as to give it:—but who will be a friend, when he is sure to be treated like an enemy?"* This language may very justly be applied to ourselves at this day; and it will be well for us, if we pay more attention to it, than the Athenians did. For what were the consequences? Alexander advanced and conquered them. From that time, they were no longer the bold and eloquent, the learned and philosophical people which their ancestors had been. Some few men appeared who possessed superior talents; but then it must be remembered, that even these were born before the time of Alexander's conquest, and had been bred and educated in the principles of liberty. To this alone are we to attribute their genius and their talents; for, some ages after, we find that elegant writer "On the Sublime," declaring, that "it is liberty which produces fine sentiments in men of genius; it invigorates their hopes, excites an honourable emulation, and inspires an ambition and thirst of excelling †." Unhappily, that eminent writer (a singular exception to his age) felt this truth from his own experience; and, therefore, he pathetically exclaims, "But for our parts, we were born in subjection, in lawful subjection, it is true, to arbitrary government. Hence, the prevailing manners made too strong an impression on our infant minds, and the infection was sucked in with the milk of our nurses. We have never tasted liberty, that copious and fertile source of all that is beautiful, and of all that is great; and hence we are nothing but pompous flatterers. Never yet did a slave become an orator. His spirit being effectually broken, the timorous vassal will still be uppermost; the habit of subjection continually overawes and beats down his genius. Thus I have heard (if what I have heard in this case may deserve credit), that the cases in which dwarfs are kept, not only prevent the future growth of those who are enclosed in them, but diminish what bulk they already have, by too close constriction of their parts. So slavery, be it never so easy, is slavery still, and may deservedly be called the prison of the soul, and the public dungeon ‡."—Such, then, were the Greeks in their days of liberty, such in

* Vide 2d Olyn. Or.

† Smith's Longinus, sect. 44.

‡ Ibid.

their days of slavery. At last they were conquered by the Turks. And what are they, at this moment, under the yoke of those barbarous infidels? Let us hear a well-informed eastern traveller:—"The Greeks are never admitted by the Turks to the rights of fellow-citizens or fellow-subjects, unless they abjure their religion and their country. They are slaves; and, as according to their law, the Turks have a right, at all times, to put to death their prisoners, the conquered, and their posterity for ever, are obliged annually to redeem their heads by paying the price set on them. They are excluded from all offices in the State. It is death for a conquered Greek to marry a Turkish woman. They are in every respect treated as enemies. They are still called and distinguished by the name of their nation; and a Turk is never called a Greek, though his family should have been settled for generations in that country. The testimony of a Greek is not valid in a Court of Judicature, when contrasted with that of a Turk. They are distinguished by a different dress. It is death to wear the same apparel as a Turk. Even their houses are painted of a different colour *." Such, my Lord, is the condition of the Greeks; such the miserable condition of men, whose ancestors were powerful, learned, brave, and happy; and whose Poets, Historians, Orators, and Philosophers are, and will continue to be, as long as letters preserve any estimation, the objects of our study, our admiration, and delight. May the hand of Providence speedily deliver these oppressed and wretched people from the iron yoke of their detestable rulers! May some brave and generous nation, lovers of liberty, and anxious for the happiness of their fellow-creatures, restore these descendants of Athens and Lacedæmon to the blessings of liberty and peace †! The cause of Christianity, as well as the cause of liberty and letters, impel me to offer up this prayer. But, alas! the Freedom of the Press does not exist in Turkey. The oppressed and wretched Greeks may grieve in silence, but they dare not speak, perhaps dare not look, what they suffer from the barbarous Mahommedans.—May such never be the fate of Englishmen! However, I will not undertake to answer for it. Had the conquerors of Darius and Xerxes been told, that their posterity would be brought to their present deplorable condition, they would have believed it as little as some may now be inclined to think we shall ever be reduced to a like situation. But as we have seen by what means the Greeks lost their liberty, namely, by losing the freedom of Speech, let us take warning from their example, and be watchful of our rights and privileges. "The example of others," says Tacitus, "is the school of wisdom *." PUBLICOLA.

* Eton's 'Survey of the Turkish Empire.'

† That the Greeks have still before their eyes the images of their ancient heroes, may be gathered from the following anecdote, related by James Harris, Esq. "When the late Mr. Anson (Lord Anson's brother) was upon his travels in the East, he hired a vessel to visit the Isle of Tenedos. His pilot, an old Greek, as they were sailing along, said, with some satisfaction, "There 'twas our fleet lay!" Mr. Anson demanded, "What fleet?" "What fleet!" replied the old man (a little piqued at the question); "why our Grecian fleet at the siege of Troy.""

* Tacit. Ann. l. 4. c. 33.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

AMERICA and FRANCE.—*Papers relating to the Commerce between them. Laid before Congress.* 31*st Dec.* 1811.

Translation of a Decree of the 15 (9) *July*, 1810.

Thirty or forty American vessels may import into France (under licence) cotton, fish-oil, dye wood, salt fish, cod fish, hides, and peltry. They may export wines, brandy, silks, linens, cloths, jewelry, houshold furniture, and other manufactured articles. They can only depart from Charlestown and New York, under the obligation of bringing with them a gazette of the day of their departure (American Gazette); moreover a certificate of the origin of the merchandize, given by the French Consul, containing a sentence in cypher. The French merchants who shall cause these vessels to come, must prove that they are concerned in the fabrics of Paris, Rouen, and other towns.

General Turreau to Mr. Smith, Washington, 27*th Nov.* 1810.

SIR,—Since our last conversation relative to the certificates of origin given by

the Consuls of his Majesty, in the United States, I have collected and read over the different orders of my Court on that subject, and asked of the Consul General of France, those which he might have received directly on this part of the service, so essential for the security of your exportations.—It results from the instructions which I have received directly, and from those that have been sent to the Consul General, that the Consuls of his Majesty in the United States, do not deliver, nor must not hereafter deliver, under any pretext, any certificate of origin to American vessels destined for any port other than those of France; that they deliver them, and will deliver them hereafter, to all American vessels, destined for the ports of France, loaded only with the produce of the United States; that all the certificates anterior to the last instructions, attributed to the Consuls of his Majesty, and which it is pretended were given for colonial produce that evidently came from England, have been challenged as false *(argues de faux)*, inasmuch as the English publicly fabricate papers of this sort at London.—This, Sir, is all that it is possible for me to say to you, at present, respecting certificates of origin.—I cannot doubt but that the Government of the United States will see in these regulations of my Court, an intention, distinctly pronounced, of favouring the commercial relations between France and the United States, in all the objects of traffic which shall evidently proceed from their agriculture or manufactures.—You will readily perceive, Sir, that in giving this latitude to the mutually advantageous relations of the two friendly people, the Emperor cannot depart from the system of exclusion against English commerce, without losing the advantages which his Majesty and the allied powers must necessarily expect from it. I have the honour to be, with high consideration, &c.

(Signed) TURREAU.

The Secretary of State to General Turreau. Department of State, Nov. 28, 1810.

Sir.—I have had the honour of receiving your letter of yesterday, stating that the French Consuls in the United States are at this time authorised to deliver certificates of origin only to such American vessels as are bound to some port of France, and as are laden with the produce of the United States.—It will afford satisfaction to our merchants to know, and, therefore, I have to request you to inform me, whether, in American vessels, having such certificates of origin, they can export to France every kind of produce of the United States, and especially cotton and tobacco.—In addition to the intelligence communicated in your letter, in relation to the certificates of origin, I have the honour of asking from you information upon the following questions;—1st. Have not the French Consuls been in the practice, under the authority of the French government, of delivering in the ports of the United States, certificates of origin for American vessels bound to the ports of France, and of her Allies, and laden with either collonial produce, or the produce of the United States?—2d. Have the French Consuls in the United States lately received from the French government, instructions not to deliver such certificates of origin for American vessels, and at what time did they receive such instructions?—3d. At what time did the French Consuls cease to issue certificates of origin to American vessels, in pursuance of instructions from their government, in cases of destination to ports of the Allies of France?—These facts being connected with questions interesting to our merchants in foreign tribunals, your goodness will pardon the resort to your aid in ascertaining them.—I have the honour to be, &c.

R. SMITH.

General Turreau to Mr. Smith. Washington, Dec. 12, 1810.

Sir; If I have not replied sooner to the letter which you did me the honour to write to me on the 28th of last month, it is because I have sought information from the Consul-general of his Majesty, whether he had not received directly instructions more recent than those which I had transmitted to him; and also to enable me to give a positive answer to the questions contained in the letter referred to above.—I reply, Sir, to the first of your questions, that M. M. the Consuls of his Majesty to the United States have always delivered certificates of origin to American vessels for the ports of France: they did it in execution of a decree of his Majesty of the 1st of Messidor, of the year 11.—M. M. the French Consuls have also delivered them to vessels destined for neutral or allied ports, whenever they have been required of them. This measure was sanctioned and authorised by a circular dispatch of his Excellency the Minister of Foreign Relations, under date of the 20th

April, 1808. This dispatch prescribes the formalities to be gone through for the certificates, delivered in such cases.—I proceed now, Sir, to reply to the second of your questions.—By a dispatch of his Excellency the Duke of Cadore, of the 30th of August last, received by the "Hornet," the 13th of last month, and of which information was given the same day to the Consuls and Vice-Consuls of his Majesty, they are expressly prohibited from delivering certificates of origin for merchandize of any kind, or under any pretext whatever, if the vessels are not destined for France.—This reply to your second question, Sir, furnishes you with a solution of the third. The Consuls and Vice-Consuls of his Majesty will have ceased to deliver certificates of origin to vessels for any other place than France, immediately on the receipt of this circular, which will reach them a few days sooner or later, according to the greater or less distance of the places of their residence.—Concerning cotton and tobacco: their importation into France is at this moment specially prohibited; but I have reasons to believe (and I pray you, meanwhile, to observe, Sir, that they do not rest upon any facts) that some modifications will be given to this absolute exclusion. These modifications will not depend upon the chance of events, but will be the result of other measures, firm, and pursued with perseverance, which the two governments will continue to adopt, to withdraw from the monopoly, and from the vexations of the common enemy, a commerce, loyal (loyal) and necessary to France as well as to the United States.—Accept, Sir, the renewed assurance of my high consideration.

TURREAU.

The Secretary of State to General Turreau. Department of State, Dec. 18, 1810.

Sir; I have had the honour of receiving your letter of the 12th inst. in reply to my enquiries in relation to certificates of origin, as well as to the admission into France of the products of the agriculture of the United States.—From your letter it appears, that the importation into France of cotton and tobacco, the produce of the United States, is at this time specially and absolutely prohibited.—From the decree of the 15th July, it moreover appears that there can be no importation into France, but upon terms and conditions utterly inadmissible; and that, therefore, there can be no importation at all of the following articles, the produce of the United States, namely, fish-oil, dye-wood, salt-fish, cod-fish, hides, and peltry.—As these enumerated articles constitute the great mass of the exports from the United States to France, the mind is naturally awakened to a survey of the actual condition of the commercial relations between the two countries; and to the consideration, that no practical good, worthy of notice, has resulted to the United States from the revocation of the Berlin and Milan decrees, combined, as it unexpectedly has been, with a change in the commercial system of France, so momentous to the United States.—The Act of Congress of May last had for its object not merely the recognition of a speculative legitimate principle, but the enjoyment of a substantial benefit. The overture therein presented obviously embraced the idea of commercial advantage. It included the reasonable belief, that an abrogation of the Berlin and Milan decrees would leave the ports of France as free for the introduction of the produce of the United States, as they were previously to the promulgation of those decrees.—The restrictions of the Berlin and Milan decrees had the effect of restraining the American Merchants from sending their vessels to France. The interdictions in the system, that has been substituted, against the admission of American products, will have the effect of imposing upon them an equal restraint. If, then, for the revoked decrees, municipal laws, producing the same commercial effect, have been substituted, the mode only, and not the measure, has undergone an alteration. And, however true it may be that the change is lawful in form, it is, nevertheless, as true, that it is essentially unfriendly, and that it does not at all comport with the ideas inspired by your letter of the 27th ult. in which you were pleased to declare the "distinctly pronounced intention of his Imperial Majesty, of favouring the commercial relations between France and the United States, in all the objects of traffic which shall evidently proceed from their agriculture or manufactures."—If France, by her own acts, has blocked up her ports against the introduction of the products of the United States; what motive has this Government, in a discussion with a third Power, to insist on the privilege of going to France: Whence the inducement to urge the annulment of a blockade of France, when, if annulled, no American cargoes could obtain a

market in any of her ports? In such a state of things, a blockade of the coast of France would be to the United States as unimportant as would be a blockade of the coast of the Caspian sea.—The British edicts may be viewed as having a double relation: 1st, to the wrong done to the United States; 2d, to the wrong done to France: and it is in the latter relation only that France has a right to speak. But what wrong, it may be asked, can France suffer from British Orders, which co-operate with her own regulations.—However sensible the United States may be to the violation of their neutral rights under those edicts, yet if France herself has by her own acts rendered it a theoretical instead of a practical violation, it is for this Government to decide on the degree in which sacrifices of any sort may be required by considerations which peculiarly and exclusively relate to the United States. Certain it is, that the inducements to such sacrifices are weakened, as far as France can weaken them, by having converted the right to be maintained into a naked one, whilst the sacrifices to be made would be substantial and extensive. —A hope, however, is indulged, that your instructions from your Government, will soon enable you to give some satisfactory explanations of the measures to which reference has been made; and that their operation, in virtue of modifications, which have not yet transpired, will not be as has been herein represented.

The President has received with great satisfaction, the information, that the Consuls of France have been heretofore in the official and authorized practice of furnishing certificates of origin to American vessels, as well as to those destined to neutral ports, as to those whose Sovereigns are in alliance with France; and that this practice, sanctioned by the French Government, did not cease in any part of the United States, before the 13th of last month, and then only in consequence of a dispatch from the Duke of Cadore, bearing date the 30th of August preceding. This satisfaction arises from the hope, that similar information may have been given to the Danish Government, and from a sense of the happy influence which such a communication will have had on the American property, that had been seized and detained by the privateers of Denmark, upon the supposition that these certificates of origin were spurious, and not authorised by the French Government. It is, nevertheless, to be regretted, that the functionaries of France in Denmark had not made known to the Danish authorities, during the occurrence of such outrages on the American trade, the error of denouncing, as illegitimate, authentic documents, which had been lawfully issued by the accredited Agents of his Imperial Majesty.—I have the honour to be, &c.

R. SMITH.

Translation of a Letter from General Turreau, Minister Plenipotentiary of his Imperial and Royal Majesty, the Emperor of the French, &c. to Mr. Smith, Secretary of State. Washington, Dec. 25, 1810.

SIR,—I have received the letter you have done me the honour to write to me the 18th of this month, and I hasten to transmit a copy of it to his Excellency the Duke de Cadore.—This dispatch, Sir, being an answer to the letters which I had the honour to write to you on the 27th of November and 12th of this month, naturally takes me back to their object, to which I believe it is my duty again to call your attention.—I pray you to observe, that the last instructions I have received from my Court, relative to the new directions the commerce of France with the United States must follow are of a very old date; the official dispatches from which I have taken them are of the 12th and 28th of April last. It is the more probable that the regulations of my Government in regard to this commerce have undergone some modifications, as the Consul General received by the "Hornet," dispatches of the 10th of July, 22nd and 30th of August last, in which it is specially stated, that cottons may be imported into France in American vessels, and under certain regulations; whereas according to the instructions which were addressed to me on the 12th and 28th of April; preceding, cotton and tobacco are specially prohibited.—I will add to these data *(ces Donnes)*, that according to the orders transmitted to the Consuls of his Majesty, respecting certificates of origin, and under the date before cited (30th of August last), they may deliver them to all American vessels destined for France, observing that these certificates are not applicable *but to the products of the United States.* If these certificates of origin cannot be applied but to the productions of the United States, and cannot be given to any vessels but those

destined for France, the introduction of these productions is not then prohibited there.—You will be pleased especially to observe, Sir, that the dispositions which were announced to me by the dispatches of the 12th and 28th of April, are of course anterior to the repeal of the decrees of Berlin and Milan, and are necessarily without an object the moment the said decrees are no longer in force. I do not know of any subsequent acts which modify this repeal; for the instructions already cited, sent to the Consul-General the 30th of August last, relative to the certificates of origin, are only a consequence of it, and formally exclude only colonial productions.—Furthermore, Sir, I have before me the letters of the duke of Cadore to General Armstrong, under date of the 5th of August and 12th of September, of which copies have been sent to me by order of my Court. These are the only documents on which it seems to me reasonable to fix the attention *(s'arrêter)*, and I see in them nothing which can cause it to be supposed that the French Government may have had an [illegible] to modify or to restrict th[illegible] of the before cited decrees. [illegible] contains no reserve; it [illegible] not exact any guarantee. The declaration of the Duke of Cadore is formal; and it is the provisions themselves of the act of the Hon. Congress of the 1st of May last, which have dictated to him the consequence.—I seize this occasion, with eagerness, Sir, to renew to you the assurance of my high consideration. TURREAU.

General Armstrong to Mr. Smith. Washington, December 27.

SIR,—The enclosed documents, marked 1 and 2, were intended to have made part of my last communication. The paper entitled *Avis au Commerce*, &c. contains a tariff of the new duties payable in France, and shews, besides, what are the articles of commerce, admissible there. If this paper has no other value, it will be found important from the illustration it gives to that passage of the Duke of Cadore's letter to me of the 12th of September last, in which he says, that *American vessels loaded with merchandise, the growth of the American States, will be received without difficulty into the ports of France.* It is also in perfect concert with the practice of the French Custom-house, in the case of the ship Ida, coming from Boston, with a cargo of cotton. I am, &c. JOHN ARMSTRONG.

General Armstrong to Mr. Smith: Washington, Dec. 29.

Sir,—In giving the few papers I brought with me another examination, I have found the enclosed extract from the minutes of the French Council of Commerce of the 12th of September last. Having a connection with the subject of my letter of yesterday, I have the honour of transmitting it to you. JOHN ARMSTRONG.

ISLE OF FRANCE.—*Articles of Capitulation.*

(Continued from page 448.)

Art. 7. The property of the inhabitants shall be respected.

Answer.—All private property shall be respected.

Art. 8. The inhabitants shall preserve their religion, laws, and customs.

Answer.—The inhabitants shall preserve their religion, laws, and customs.

Art. 9. The colonists shall have the option, during two years to come, to quit the colony with their respective private property.

Answer.—They shall enjoy, during two years, the liberty of quitting the colony with their property in order to proceed to any place they may wish.

Art. 10. The wounded or sick that it shall be necessary to leave in the hospitals shall be treated the same as the subjects of his Britannic Majesty; French surgeons shall be permitted to remain with them, and they shall afterwards be sent to France at the expence of the British government.

Answer.—The wounded who may be left in the hospitals shall be treated in the same manner as the subjects of his Britannic Majesty.

Additional Instructions.

Art. 1. The public functionaries of the French government of the Isle of France shall be permitted to remain in the colony for a reasonable period, to regulate and discharge their public accounts with the colonists.

Art. 2. The morning of the 3d of December instant at six o'clock a. m. possession shall be given to the troops of his Britannic Majesty of the forts of Du Mas, and the lines of the town of Port Napoleon, down to the Bastion Fanfaron.

Art. 3. The morning of the 4th of

December instant, at six o'clock, a. m. the Isle of Tonnelien, Fort Blanc, and the whole of the batteries of the Harbour of Port Napoleon, and all the shipping, both ships of war and privateers, and merchant or other shipping of every description whatsoever, shall be given up to the naval and military forces of his Britannic Majesty; and all shipping lying in any other creek, port, or harbour of the Island, shall equally be considered as the property of his Britannic Majesty.

Art. 4. The troops of his Imperial and Royal Majesty, and the crews of the ships of war and privateers, shall retire to the barracks of the town, where they shall continue until their final embarkation.

Art. 5. That the subsistence of the French garrison, both officers and men, as well as of the officers and crews of the ships of war, so long as they shall remain here, shall be assured and provided for by the British Government; the expences arising therefrom shall be considered as an advance for which the French Government is pledged.

Art. 6. That on the surrender of the Port, as stipulated by the third additional article, all English prisoners of war, of whatever description, now in the Isle of France, shall be liberated.

Art. 7. That if any difference shall arise in the interpretation of any part of the foregoing, it shall be interpreted in favour of the French Government.

This done and agreed at the British head-quarters at Pamplemonus, at one o'clock A. M. the 3rd day of Dec. 1810.

VANDERMAESEN, Gen. of Division.
HENRY WARDE, Major-General.
JOSIAS ROWLEY, Commodore.
J. DUPRERE, Capit. de Vaisseau.
Approuvé et ratifié, la presente,
DE CAEN, Capit. General.
CHARLES DE COETLOGON,
Sec. to the Commissioners.

A List of Ships, &c. &c. in Port Napoleon, at the reduction of the Isle of France, Dec. 1810.

French frigate L'Astrée, of 44 guns and 1,100 tons.
French frigate La Bellone, of 48 guns and 1,050 tons.
French frigate La Manche, of 44 guns and 1,050 tons.
French frigate La Minerve, of 52 guns and 1,200 tons.
English frigate Iphigenia, of 36 guns and 950 tons.
English frigate Nereide, of 36 guns and 900 tons.
French sloop Le Victor, of 22 guns and 400 tons.
French brig L'Entreprenante, of 14 guns and 300 tons.
A new French brig, name unknown, of 14 guns and 300 tons.
English Indiaman Charlton, prison ship, of 30 guns and 900 tons.
English Indiaman Ceylon, prison ship, of 30 guns and 900 tons.
English Indiaman United Kingdom, prison ship, of 30 guns and 900 tons.
French ship La Ville d'Auten, of 1000 tons.
French ship La Severam, of 250 tons.
French ship L'Adele, of 220 tons.
French ship L'Aurora, of 150 tons.
French ship Le Prudent, of 250 tons.
French ship Le Robuste, of 700 tons.
French ship Le Wellesley, of 700 tons.
French ship Le William Burroughs of 1000 tons.
French ship Le Philip Dundas, of 300 tons.
French ship Le Trafalgar, of 800 tons.
French ship [illegible]thea, of 1,000 tons.
French ship [illegible]ope of 400 tons.
French ship Le Marie, of 300 tons.
French ship Le Fannie, of 280 tons.
French ship Le Forth, of 200 tons.
French brig L'Eclair, 250 tons.
French brig L'Active, 300 tons.
French brig L'Orient, 250 tons.
French brig Le Favourite, 180 tons.
French brig L'Illusion, 180 tons.
French brig Le Jeune Armond, 100 tons.
French brig Le Zephyr, 100 tons.
French brig L'Ant, 70 tons.
French brig L'Amiable Creole, 60 tons.
American ship Hermes, 300 tons.
American ship Thomas, 300 tons.
American brig Angilika, 220 tons.
American schooner Spy, 150 tons.
Five gun boats.

A. BERTIE.

Clorinde, Dec. 4, 1810.

Sir; On delivering up the command which you did me the honour to confide in me, I feel it my duty to acquaint you, that every officer and man conducted themselves in a manner most perfectly answerable to your expectations, and I beg to inclose a Paragraph of the Public Order issued by General Abercromby, expressive of his sentiments on the occasion. The zeal and ability of Lieutenant Loyd, senior lieutenant on the service, are too well known to you to render any encomium from me necessary; and I also beg

to recommend to your notice Mr. John Gosland, master's mate of his Majesty's ship Cornwallis, who acted as my aid-de-camp, and who having passed his examination for lieutenant, is worthy of promotion.

I feel much indebted to Captains Yates and Nesbit, of the City of London and Huddart Indiamen, who handsomely volunteered to serve with me, and who brought a proportion of seamen to assist in the laborious duty of dragging the cannon; the former, I am sorry to say, died of excessive fatigue the first day's march. Our loss has been trifling, consisting of five men wounded, although, I am sorry to say, most of them are seriously. I have the honour to be, &c. N. F. MONTAGUE.

Vice-Admiral Bertie, &c. &c. &c.

Paragraph of General Orders issued by General Abercromby, on the 1st of December, 1810, before Port Louis.

Paragraph 3.—Major-General Abercromby is happy also to acknowledge the steadiness shewn by the 12th and 22d Regiments, and he feels himself particularly grateful for the zealous exertions of a detachment of seamen landed from the squadron, under the command of Captain Montague; and he requests to offer him, the officers and men under his command, his sincere acknowledgments for the service which they have rendered to the army.

Extract from General Orders, Head-Quarters, Camp before Port-Louis, Dec. 5, 1810.

Major General Abercromby, in the name of the army, feels an inexpressible degree of pride and satisfaction in acknowledging the powerful and cordial cooperation which has been received from the naval force under the command of his Excellency Vice-Admiral Bertie, which has been heightened by the cordiality and unanimity subsisting to a degree, perhaps without example, between the two branches of the service. The commander of the forces feels it his particular duty to offer his most sincere thanks to Captain Beaver, for the able and judicious manner in which he conducted the disembarkation, as well as for the indefatigable exertions he has since used in discharging the duty confided to him by the Vice-Admiral, in supplying the wants of the army; and Major-General Abercromby is equally indebted to Captains Briggs, Lye and Street, and to the officers and seamen employed under their orders in the disembarkation of the troops.

The exertions and able assistance received from Captain Montague, of the Royal Navy, and the officers and seamen with the army on shore, have been too conspicuous not to have attracted the observations and acknowledgments of every individual.

Major-General Abercromby must, however, request that Captain Montague will be pleased to convey to those who were under his command the impression which their conduct has made on his mind.

W. NICHOLSON, Dep. Adj. Gen.

Africaine, in Port Louis, Dec. 6, 1810.

Sir; I have the honour to transmit herewith, for the information of their Lordships, a copy of a General Memorandum issued by me this day to the captains and commanders of the ships and vessels of the squadron under my command. I have the honour to be, &c. A. BERTIE.

Africaine, Port Louis, Dec. 6, 1810.

General Memorandum.

The Commander in Chief congratulates the officers and crews of the ships of the squadron under his command, on the successful issue of the attack of this valuable and important colony, which has placed it under his Majesty's protection.

He feels he has a duty to acquit in thus publicly communicating the sense he entertains of the zealous and unremitting exertion of all ranks throughout the squadron, and he requests that the captains and commanders of the ships and vessels will more immediately make known to the officers and crews under their command respectively these his sentiments.

A. BERTIE.

SUPPLEMENT *to the London Gazette Extraordinary, of Wednesday, Feb. 13.—Published Friday, February 15, 1811.*

A Dispatch, of which the following is an Extract, has been received from the Honourable Major General Abercromby, by the Earl of Liverpool, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, dated Port Louis, Isle of France, December 7, 1810.

I have the honour to inform your Lordship, that the Isle of France surrendered by capitulation, on the 3d inst. to the united force under the command of Vice Admiral Bertie and myself.

I must refer your Lordship for the particulars of the operations which led to this fortunate event to the copy of my official Letter to the Right Honourable the Governor General, which, together with other documents, I have now the honour to transmit to your Lordship

In conformity with the instructions which I had the honour to receive from Lord Minto, I have placed Mr Farquhar in charge of the government; and I confidently trust, that, in having adopted this measure, I shall not incur the displeasure of his Majesty's Government.

This Dispatch will be delivered to your Lordship by Captain Hewitt, my Aid de Camp, and I believe your Lordship will find him perfectly qualified to afford you every information which you may require in respect to the late operations of this force

To the Right Honourable Gilbert Lord Minto, &c. &c. &c

MY LORD,

I had the honour to inform your Lordship in my dispatch of the 21st ult that although the divisions from Bengal and the Cape of Good Hope had not arrived at the rendezvous, it had been determined that the fleet should proceed to sea on the following morning, as from the advanced season of the year, and the threatening appearance of the weather, the ships could no longer be considered secure in their anchorage at Rodriguez, and I did myself the honour to state to your Lordship, the measures which it was my intention to pursue, even if we should still be disappointed in not being joined by so large a part of the armament.

Early on the morning of the 22d, Vice Admiral Bertie received a communication from Capt. Broughton, of his Majesty's ship Illustrious, announcing his arrival off the Island with the convoy from Bengal.—The fleet weighed at daylight, as had been originally arranged, and in the course of that day a junction having been formed with this division, the fleet bore up for the Isle of France.

The greatest obstacles opposed to an attack on this Island with a considerable force, have invariably been considered to depend on the difficulty of effecting a landing, from the reefs which surround every part of the coast, and the supposed impossibility of being enabled to find anchorage for a fleet of transports.

These difficulties were fortunately removed by the indefatigable exertions of Commodore Rowley, assisted by Lieutenant Street of the Staunch gun brig, Lieutenant Blackiston of the Madras Engineers, and the Masters of his Majesty's ships Africaine and Boadicea.—Every part of the leeward side of the Island was minutely examined and sounded, and it was discovered that a fleet might anchor in the narrow passage formed by the small Island of the Gunner's Coin and the main land, and that at this spot there were openings through the reef, which would admit several boats to enter abreast. These obvious advantages fixed my determination, although I regretted that circumstances would not allow of the disembarkation being effected at a shorter distance from Port Louis

Owing to light and baffling winds, the fleet did not arrive in sight of the Island until the 28th, and it was the morning of the following day, before any of the ships came to an anchor

Every arrangement for the disembarkation having been previously made, the first division consisting of the reserve, the grenadier company of the 59th regiment, with two six-pounders, and two howitzers, under the command of Major Gen Warde, effected a landing in the Bay of Mapon, without the smallest opposition, the enemy having retired from Fort Marlastri, situated at the head of Grand Bay, and the nearest port to us which they occupied

As soon as a sufficient part of the European force had been formed, it became necessary to move forward, as the first five miles of the road lay through a very thick wood, which made it an object of the utmost importance, not to give the enemy time to occupy it.

Lieutenant Colonel Smyth having been left with his Brigade to cover the landing place, with orders to follow next morning, the column marched about four o'clock, and succeeded in gaining the more open country, without any efforts having been made by the enemy to retard our progress, a few shot only having been fired by a small picquet, by which Lieutenant Colonel Keating, Lieutenant Ash, of his Majesty's 12th Regiment, and a few men of the advanced guard, were wounded.

(To be continued)

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. XIX. No. 17.] LONDON, WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 27, 1811. [Price 1s.

THE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS.

In my two last Numbers, I opened what I intended to become a series of Articles upon this subject, which, as I have frequently before observed, and as I now repeat, and as every man of common sense will soon be convinced, is of far greater importance to the people of England than all the wars and negociations and commerce in which the government is, or ever can be engaged. This is a matter that comes *home* to us. It is, in short, a question upon which depends all that is valuable in life.——At page 427 I explained the nature of that notable thing called an INFORMATION EX OFFICIO; at page 449, I continued the subject in an examination into what had been said about the *Liberty of the Press;* I endeavoured to shew what *was* and what *was not* Liberty of the Press, and, I think, I clearly demonstrated, that the Liberty of the Press is a mere name, and has no existence in reality, where any man cannot, without harm or risk to himself, publish the *truth* respecting the public character, conduct, and measures of men in public office, men paid for conducting or managing the affairs of the nation, let those men be whom they may, in what office they may, whether in the state, the law, the church, the army, or the navy, or any other department.——I should, in this Number, have gone on to shew the utility of this Liberty, and, indeed, its necessity for the purpose of preventing the people from suffering wrong; but, I as well as the public, have had my attention called off by a TRIAL, which has just taken place in the Court of King's Bench, and of which trial I am called upon to speak fully, not only by the great importance of the trial itself, but by the figure which *my name*, was by the Attorney General as well as by the defendants' Counsel, made to make in the proceedings.——The trial, to which I allude, is that of two Gentlemen of the name of HUNT, who, I believe, are brothers, and who are proprietors of a very excellent Weekly news-paper, called THE EXAMINER.——Against these Gentlemen an INFORMATION EX OFFICIO was laid by the Attorney General, GIBBS; and, on the 22nd instant they were brought to trial, having Mr. BROUGHAM, a member of Parliament, for their Counsel.——The prosecutor had called for a SPECIAL JURY; but, only TWO out of the twelve appearing, the other TEN were taken from the COMMON Jury List.——It may not be amiss to stop here for a moment, to explain the difference between a *Special* and a *Common* Jury.——A Special Jury consists of persons summoned for that special occasion. It is found thus: forty-eight men are NOMINATED BY THE MASTER OF THE CROWN OFFICE, of these each party strikes off *twelve*, which leaves *twenty-four*, and the *first twelve* who answer to their names when called on in Court are the jury to try the cause. So that the defendant as well as the plaintiff may strike out twelve, he may strike out twelve of the forty eight, ALL OF WHOM ARE NOMINATED BY THE MASTER OF THE CROWN OFFICE.——A COMMON Jury consists of the first twelve men who answer to their names when called on in Court, their names being taken PROMISCUOUSLY OUT OF A BALLOT BOX, and THE WHOLE HAVING BEEN WARNED PROMISCUOUSLY BY THE SHERIFF FOR THE TRIAL OF ALL CAUSES PROMISCUOUSLY.——When the whole of the special jury do not attend, the parties may move the Court to have a jury made up from the common jury list; and then the Clerk of the Court goes to the ballot box, and, taking out a ballot at a time, promiscuously, calls over names till he gets enough to make up the twelve men.——Thus it happened in the case of Messrs. HUNT, of whose Special Jury only TWO attended. The Jury was, then, composed as follows:

SPECIALS.

SAMUEL BISHOP, Upper Grafton Street.
GEORGE BAXTER, Church Terrace, Pancras.

COMMON JURYMEN.

3 ROBERT MAYNARD, Glass-house Street, Oilman.
4 WALTER ROW, Gt. Marlborough Street, Stationer.
5 RICHARD BOLTON, Silver Street, Porkman.
6 JOHN RUTTON, Vigo Lane, Cutler.
7 HENRY PERKINS, Gt. Marlborough Street, Grocer.
8 WILLIAM LONSDALE, Broad Street, Cabinet Maker.
9 JOHN SEBROOK, Rupert Street, Cook.
10 THOMAS RIXON, Carnaby Street, Victualler.
11 JOHN NUNN, Gt. Crown Court, Victualler.
12 DAVID MILLER, Carnaby Market North, Baker.

I have, further on, inserted, from the Times News-paper, a report of this trial; and I beg leave to press upon the reader the necessity of reading it all through with great attention. I have there inserted the Jury list; but, it cannot be too often repeated.——The jury upon MY trial were more *punctual in their attendance*. ELEVEN out of the twelve were special jurymen, that is to say, from the list of the forty-eight, as I observed before, nominated by the Master of the Crown Office, so that I had but ONE common juryman, namely, HENRY FAVRE of Pall Mall, Watchmaker. My List was as follows:

Thomas Rhodes,	Hampstead Road
John Davis,	Southampton Place
James Ellis,	Tottenham Ct. Road
John Richards,	Bayswater
Thomas Marsham,	Baker Street
Robert Heathcote,	High St. Marylebone
John Maud,	York Pl. Marylebone
George Baxter,	Church Ter. Pancras
Thomas Taylor,	Red Lion Square
David Deane,	St. John Street
Wm. Palmer,	Upper St. Islington
Henry Favre,	Pall Mall.

Having given these explanations, without which it would be impossible for many readers to understand this talk about *Special* and *Common* juries, or to account for a jury being made up with two sorts of men, I shall state further in the way of introduction, that it *rests with the Attorney General*, whether he shall call on common jurymen to make up a jury, or whether he shall *put off the trial*. He has the power of doing as *he pleases* in this respect.——When the Jury is ready, the Attorney General begins addressing them, and when he has gone through his charge and called his witnesses, the defendant is heard. In all cases between man and man the parties stop here, unless the defendant calls witnesses. The prosecutor makes his speech, and the defendant answers him; then comes the Judge with his speech, or charge. But, the Attorney General has the *privilege* of having a speech *after* the defendant as well as *before* him, and, if he has assistants, they speak too.——Now, having the mode of the proceeding clearly before us, let us see *what* it was that Messrs. HUNT were tried for, and then let us examine a little into what was said upon this occasion, in which the reader will, I am sure, excuse me, if I discover an uncommon degree of interest, seeing that my *name*, and not only my name, but my conduct, my character, and my cause, were introduced and formed no inconsiderable topic in these proceedings, as, indeed, was very natural: for the publication now prosecuted manifestly grew out of that for which I was prosecuted, and in consequence of which prosecution I am now here.——Soon after my imprisonment, the editor of a most admirable country newspaper, called the "STAMFORD NEWS," published an article upon the subject of FLOGGING SOLDIERS, in which article he severely reprobated that mode of punishment. This article was copied by Messrs. HUNT into the EXAMINER; consequently they became *publishers* of it, and for their having so become they were prosecuted by the Attorney General in the way before described of an INFORMATION EX OFFICIO.——The part of the publication, for which, according to the report of the trial, Messrs. HUNT were prosecuted, was introduced by two *mottos*, as follows:

"ONE THOUSAND LASHES."

"The Aggressors were not dealt with "as Buonaparté would have treated his "refractory troops."—*Speech of the Attorney General.*

"Corporal Curtis was sentenced to re- "ceive ONE THOUSAND LASHES, but, "*after receiving two hundred*, was, on his "own petition, permitted to volunteer "into a regiment on foreign service. William Clifford, a private in the 7th Royal *Veteran* Battalion, was lately sentenced to receive ONE THOUSAND LASHES, for repeatedly striking and kicking his superior officer. He under- "went part of the sentence, by *receiving*

" *seven hundred and fifty lashes*, at Canterbury, in presence of the whole garrison. " —A Garrison Court Martial has been " held on board the Metcalf transport, at " Spithead, on some men of the 4th Regiment of Foot, for disrespectful behaviour to their officers. TWO THOUSAND SIX HUNDRED LASHES were " to be inflicted among them.—Robert " Chilman, a private in the Bearstead and " Malling regiment of *Local Militia* ; who " was lately tried by a Court Martial for " disobedience of orders and mutinous " and improper behaviour while the regiment was embodied, has been found " guilty of all the charges, and sentenced " to receive EIGHT HUNDRED LASHES, " which are to be inflicted on him at " Chatham, to which garrison he is to be " marched for that purpose.—*London Newspapers*."—Such were the two *mottos* to the paper, which are of great consequence, because, as the reader will see, the Attorney General traced, through these mottos, the *continuation* of the publication *for which I was prosecuted*.—The passage for which Messrs. HUNT were prosecuted was, according to the report of the trial, as follows, and I beg the reader to pay great attention to it, and to compare it with the article, *for which I was prosecuted*. This is of great consequence, not only to me, but to the public at large, to the cause of truth, the cause of freedom, the cause of justice.—" The Attorney General said " what was very true ;—these aggressors " have certainly not been dealt with " as Buonaparté would have treated his " refractory troops ;—nor indeed as refractory troops would be treated in any " civilized country whatever, save and except only this country.—Here alone, " in this land of liberty, in this age of refinement—by a people who, with their " usual consistency, have been in the " habit of reproaching their neighbours " with the cruelty of their punishment,— " is still inflicted a species of *torture*, at " least as exquisite as any that was ever " devised by the infernal ingenuity of the " Inquisition.—No, as the Attorney General justly says, Buonaparté does *not* " treat his refractory troops in this " manner : there is not a man in his ranks " whose back is seamed with the lacerating cat-o'-nine-tails ;—*his* soldiers have " never yet been brought up to view one " of their comrades stripped naked,—his " limbs tied with ropes to a triangular " machine,—his back torn to the bone by " the merciless cutting whipcord, applied " by persons who relieve each other at " short intervals, that they may bring the " full unexhausted strength of a man to " the work of scourging. Buonaparté's " soldiers have never yet with tingling " ears listened to the piercing screams of " a human creature so tortured : they have " never seen the blood oozing from his " rent flesh ; they have never beheld a " surgeon with dubious look, pressing the " agonized victim's pulse, and calmly " calculating to an odd blow, how far suffering may be extended, until in its extremity it encroach upon life. In short, " Buonaparté's soldiers cannot form any " notion of that most heart-rending of all " exhibitions on this side hell,—*an English* " *Military flogging*.—Let it not be supposed that we intend these remarks to " excite a vague and indiscriminating " sentiment against punishment by military law :—no ; when it is considered " that discipline forms the soul of an " army, without which it would at once " degenerate into a mob ;—when the description of persons which compose the " body of what is called an army, and the " situations in which it is frequently " placed, are also taken into account, it " will, we are afraid, appear but too evident, that the military code must still " be kept distinct from the civil, and distinguished by greater promptitude and " severity.—Buonaparte is no favourite of " ours, God wot—but if we come to balance accounts with him on this particular head, let us see how matters will " stand. He recruits his ranks by force " —*so do we*. We *flog* those whom we " have forced—*he does not*. It may be " said he punishes them in some manner ; " —that is very true. He imprisons his refractory troops——occasionally in chains—and in aggravated cases he puts them to death. But any of these severities is preferable to tying a human " creature up like a dog, and cutting his flesh to peices with whipcord. Who " would not go to prison for two years, or " indeed for almost any term, rather than " bear the exquisite, the almost insupportable torment, occasioned by the infliction of seven hundred or a thousand " lashes ?—Death is mercy compared with " such sufferings. Besides, what is a man " good for after he has had the cat-o'-nine-tales across his back ? Can he ever " again hold up his head among his fellows ? One of the poor wretches exe-

"cuted at Lincoln last Friday, it is stated, "had been *severely punished* in some regi- "ment. The probability is that to this "odious, ignominious flogging, may be "traced his sad end; and it cannot be "doubted that he found the gallows less "cruel than the halberts. Surely, then, "the Attorney General ought not to "stroke his chin with such complacency, "when he refers to the manner in which "Buonaparté treats his soldiers. We "despise and detest those who would tell "us that there is as much liberty now en- "joyed in France as there is left in this "country. We give all credit to the "wishes of some of our great men; yet "while any thing remains to us in the "shape of free discussion, it is impossible "that we should sink into the abject "slavery in which the French people are "plunged. But although we do not envy "the general condition of Buonaparte's "subjects, we really (and we speak the "honest conviction of our hearts) see "nothing peculiarly pitiable in the lot of "his soldiers when compared with that of "our own. Were we called upon to "make our election between the services, "the *whip-cord* would at once decide us. "No advantage whatever can compensate "for, or render tolerable, to a mind but "one degree removed from brutality, a "liability to be lashed like a beast. It is "idle to talk about rendering the situa- "tion of a British soldier pleasant to him- "self, or desirable, far less honourable, in "the estimation of others, while the whip "is held over his head—and over his head "*alone*, for in no country in Europe (with "the exception, perhaps, of Russia, which "is yet in a state of barbarity) is the mili- "tary character so degraded.—We have "heard of an army of slaves, which had "bravely withstood the *swords* of their "masters being defeated and dispersed by "the bare shaking of the *instrument of* "*flagellation* in their faces. This brought "so forcibly to their minds their former "state of servitude and disgrace, that "every honourable impulse at once for- "sook their bosoms, and they betook "themselves to flight and to howling. "We entertain no anxiety about the cha- "racter of our countrymen in Portugal, "when we contemplate their meeting the "*bayonets* of Massena's troops,—but we "must own that we should tremble for "the result, were the French General to "dispatch against them a few hundred "drummers, each brandishing a *cat-o'nine-* "*tails.*"——Now, reader, if you turn to the Attorney-General's Speech, you will find him saying, that this publication, or *libel*, as he called it, was a *continuation* of that, for which I had "*received the sentence* of the Court;" yes, the sentence of TWO YEARS IMPRISONMENT IN NEW-GATE, A FINE OF A THOUSAND POUNDS TO THE KING, AND BAIL FOR KEEPING THE PEACE FOR SEVEN YEARS, IN 3,000 POUNDS MYSELF, AND TWO OTHERS IN 1,000 POUNDS EACH. Here are NINE YEARS in all, and, if the imprisonment were so to impair my mind as to disable me from supporting a large family, and, at the same time, retaining the means of indemnifying my bail, I must be IM-PRISONED FOR LIFE.——Why did not the Attorney-General state this? Why did he not, since he thought proper to rip up my name; why did he not tell the jury of this, and tell them besides, that NINE YEARS is two years beyond the calculation of the average life of man, even the most hale and in the prime of his life, unaccompanied with any of the dangers to be apprehended from imprisonment and trouble of mind? Why did he not tell the Jury all this?——He told them very truly, however, that this was a *continuation* of my publication; for, it really was so; and, he further told them truly, that I took up a *particular instance* of military punishment, while the present publishers took a general view of the matter, and *passed a general condemnation on the whole system of flogging*. This was very true, and I wonder how Mr. Brougham could think of controverting it; I wonder how he could think of representing my publication as better calculated to excite discontent in the army than this.—My publication referred to a flogging of certain persons in the Local Militia at Ely, and not to the flogging system, or practice, *generally*, upon which I offered *at that time* my opinion at all.—My complaint was, at that time, not that soldiers generally were flogged, not that flogging was practised, not that it was this or that to tie men up and whip them with cats-o'-nine tails; in short, there was not a word said or insinuated, in that particular publication, *against the English military punishments*, but merely against the infliction of punishment in that particular case, where the cause was a disobedience of orders in the Local Militia arising from a quarrel about their pay.——But, besides this, there was

another peculiarity in my case, and that was the *employment of German Troops* to cause this punishment to be inflicted; and, surely, that circumstance must weigh a great deal in estimating the feelings of the man who was commenting upon the transaction.——I did indeed, in my defence, say, that I disapproved of this mode of punishment, as I had often done before, and not the less so for having myself seen a great deal of it inflicted; but, upon the occasion referred to, I expressed no such opinion; and, at the utmost, all that could be gathered from my publication was, that I disapproved of such punishment being inflicted upon *Local Militia* men, and that *under the superintendance of German Troops*.——Then, as to the comparison between the punishments in our army and those in the army of the Emperor of France, how does Mr. BROUGHAM make it out, that this article of his clients was less likely to excite discontent than mine was? What did I say? Why, merely this, that I hoped that, while these things were (namely the things above mentioned), I should hear no more about the manner in which Napoleon treated his conscripts. But, here, in this article of Messrs. HUNT, the comparison is fully gone into, and I leave the candid reader to judge, whether the French system is not PREFERRED to the English. It certainly is; but, then, as Mr. BROUGHAM very judiciously shewed, that might be done without any evil *intention*; aye, and without any evil *effect*, as was very well illustrated by an appeal to the publication of Sir Robert Wilson and that of Sir John Stuart.——If Mr. BROUGHAM had said, that there was "*no comparison*" between this article and mine in point of *force* and *effect*; if he had said, that "they were as *widely different* as light "and darkness" in point of talent; if he had said, that this was a most ably and correctly written article, while mine was a mere hasty effusion, a mere burst of honest indignation; if he had said this, I should have been the last man in the world to find fault; but it was to do me great injustice, and which was of much more importance, it was to do great injustice to the cause of truth and freedom and humanity, to say, or to insinuate, that my publication was of a criminal cast while this was not; and, of course, to rob me of the effect, which an acquittal of his clients would naturally tend to produce.—— I do not accuse him of an *intention* to do this; but, certainly such was the natural tendency of what he is reported to have said.——Let us now, (deferring till another time Mr. BROUGHAM's lawyer-like attack upon what he called the *licentiousness* of the press), take a view of some of the arguments made use of by the Attorney General on this occasion.—He said, that the defendant had collected together an account of *all* the military punishments and represented them in a mass. He then said, that our militia alone amounted to 270,000 men, besides regular troops; and then he asked, if it was "fair to pick out *all* the punish- "ments which had been sentenced on the "soldiery, without at the same time stating "the number of offenders who had been "pardoned, and the *number of persons sub-* "*ject to commit the offence*."——In the first place, does the Attorney General mean to say, that the above two mottos did really contain an account of *all* the punishments inflicted upon the soldiers in England? And, does he suppose, that *the number of men liable to such punishments being great* can, in the mind of any man, make the punishment itself *less* objectionable? It was the *sort* of punishment that the defendant inveighed against, and, was it to show that he was wrong, to show that he was criminal, was this effect likely to be produced by stating that some hundreds of thousands of our countrymen were liable to this punishment?——If, indeed, the defendant had actually collected a report of *all* the military punishments inflicted in any given time, then this reasoning would have been worth something. But, was it not utterly impossible; does not all the world know that it was impossible for the defendant to make any such collection; and is it not well known, that motion made in parliament by SIR FRANCIS BURDETT, *for the purpose of obtaining an account of them all*, within a certain time, was rejected?——No; it was the *kind* of punishment that was the object of censure with the defendant, as it had been with Sir Robert Wilson, and had he not as good a right to find fault with it as Sir Robert Wilson had? But, at any rate, it is, I think, consummately absurd to argue, that the punishment is more tolerable because *so many* persons are liable to it. With full as much reason might it be argued, that such and such punishments on publishers and writers ought to excite the less feeling for them, because there are *so many* of them liable to these punish-

ments. At this rate, the people of *a numerous* nation ought to think nothing of punishments which would be deemed horribly savage in petty states.——Why were the jury reminded, why was it "*necessary* to inform the jury, that there "were *Sixty* different news-papers pub-"lished in London?" What was this to the matter? How did it apply? Were the defendants either more or less guilty for that? And, if it was meant to convey the idea, that the defendant had *all* these papers to pick his list of punishments out of, of what consequence was that? How was that to augment the mass of his collection, unless he stated the *same facts sixty times over*, or, at least, more than once?——Indeed, this piece of knowledge, communicated to the jury in so marked a manner, might lead them to compare *the number of Informations Ex Officio for Libel* with the *number of news papers*; but, what of that? How was that to affect Messrs. HUNT? And, at any rate, the same course of reasoning, if worth a straw, will tell pretty well, I believe, on the other side; for, why should not Messrs. HUNT have said: "we have published *several hundreds* of EXAMINERS, and only this one passage (not making the 20th part of one Examiner) can be even *called* a libel, and will you, therefore, find us guilty?"——The Attorney General contended, that the defendants' publication was calculated to excite *discontent* and to *produce* mutiny in the army.——Now, supposing it likely for the soldiers to read this publication, *why* should it have this tendency? Either the description of the flogging, given by the defendants, was true or it was false. If the former, was it likely, nay was it possible, for any writing, however eloquent (and very eloquent this writing was) to make the soldiers dislike the thing more than, in case of its existence, they must already dislike it? The tendency was, the Attorney General said, "to alie-"nate the soldier's *love* of his *profession*;' but, if the writing stated *truths*, was it possible for it to produce this effect? Was it *possible* for the pen to produce an effect which the cat-o'-nine tails had failed to produce? Was it possible for the man, who remained attached to his profession, after feeling the cat o'-nine tails or seeing it at work upon the backs of his comrades; was it possible for any *pen* or any *tongue* to alienate the "*love* of such a man from "his *profession*?" And, if the description of flogging, given by the defendants, was *false*, the soldiers upon reading it would know it to be false; they would, at least, think that the writer was speaking of some corps to which *they did not belong*; and, of course, instead of goading them on to mutiny, such a writing would tend to make them contented and happy, and to increase their "*love* for their *profession*." The same reasoning applies to those who are likely to become soldiers; this reasoning was well put by Mr. BROUGHAM, in which, however, I must say, that he did no more than repeat, with more eloquence, perhaps, precisely what I had said in my defence, though it was not then so fortunate in being reported in the news-papers, nor, which was more material, in producing conviction in the minds of the jury.——It appears to me to be a most groundless fear, that the soldiers are to be stimulated to discontent and mutiny by descriptions of *the treatment they receive*. If, indeed, any one were to hold forth to them the prospect of *bettering their condition by resisting the commands of their officers*, it might reasonably be said, that he called upon them to mutiny, which is no other than a resistance of the commands of their superiors. Or, if any man were to tell them, that there was *an intention to use them ill*; or, that, *in case of their being sent upon such or such a service they would be exposed to great and unnecessary sufferings*, as was done by the MORNING POST in the publication, for which that paper was informed against by SIR ARTHUR PIGOT, and which case I referred to in my defence. Here are manifest incitements to mutiny; and they might well be expected to produce such an effect; to tell soldiers what they may *get* by resistance, or what they may *avoid* by it may be very dangerous; but, to tell them what *is*; to tell them how they *are* treated; to suppose that this can be productive of mutiny is, to me, the strangest idea, the most "chimerical fear," as Mr. Brougham called it, that ever entered the mind of man. When I am well is it in the power of any human eloquence to persuade me that I am sick? And when I feel, or, if I were to feel, the torture of the gout or the stone, would it be in the power of any human eloquence to persuade me that I was well?——Therefore, though a publication relating to the flogging of the soldiers, may be very false and very malicious, it seems to me quite impossible, that it can tend to produce either mutiny or discontent.——Even Sir ROBERT WIL-

son seems to have gone a little too far in this way for the Attorney General, who is reported to have observed, that it might be a question, whether it was *prudent* in the gallant officer to enlarge upon "the *corporal punishment* of the *soldiery*," that is to say the carcass punishment, or flogging of them "in such ardent and glowing "language." But why not? if *true*, as was observed before, the pen could not possibly speak more home to the soul than the cat-o'-nine tails; and, if *false*, though the falshood would be very base, it would not be believed by the soldiers, and would, of course make no evil impression upon them. ——But, for *what reason* was Sir ROBERT WILSON, or any other knight or any lord or any body else to be allowed to go farther in this way than the Messrs. HUNT? Why were they to be debarred from that use of the press that was made by others? "It "was truly *laughable*," the Attorney General said, to *rank* Sir Robert Wilson and "Brigadier General Stuart with the Pro-"prietors of the Examiner." But it was not *rank* that Mr. Brougham had been talking of, it was *right*; not military right, but *civil right*, of which, I hope, I may say, that the Messrs. HUNT have as great a portion as the two "gallant officers," and as to *powers of writing* they have a million times as much. Had they possessed no more powers of this sort, than the two "gallant officers," I am strongly disposed to believe, that they would never have been honoured with the attention of the Attorney General. Indeed he said, that he had never till that moment, *seen* either of the pamphlets of the two "gallant officers," which I can readily believe; but, what is that to the purpose? Were they to be looked upon as less criminal than the Messrs. HUNT because they had not the gift of writing in such a way as to induce the public to read what they wrote. The intention (which constitutes a libel) must have been the same; for, of all the authors I ever met with, and they have not been few in number, I never yet met with one, who was not smitten with the folly of hoping that *all the world* would be eager to read what he wrote; and, as a woman is seldom offended at praise bestowed on her beauty even by the dirty and deformed creature that clears away the mud from the track for her feet, so have I never known an author disdain the encomiums of any reader, however low in rank or in mind; therefore, if these gallant authors have not been read through the ranks of the army, the Attorney General may safely take the will for the deed.——Besides, did it escape so acute a person (even *he* will read that phrase with complacency;) did it escape him (if it did it should not have escaped Mr. Brougham), that there was, if possible, *less* reason to suspect Messrs. HUNT of *improper motives* than the two officers. The Attorney General said, that "the Officers *could have* "*no improper object in view*. Not so the "*defendants*." What *proof* was there of this, either positive or presumptive? Positive proof there was none; and, as to the presumptive proof, as to any conclusion to be drawn from probabilities, the leaning is decidedly in favour of Messrs. HUNT. For, it is possible to suppose the existence of an improper object in the officers. Mind, *I do not suppose it*; I firmly believe, that they were actuated by a sincere desire to do good to the military service and to the country. But it is, in them, possible to suppose an improper object; for, any man may easily conceive how much their writings were calculated to gain them the hearts of the soldiers, and to give them, in the service, a stock of love and attachment greater than that possessed by their brother officers, which, to carry the supposition a little further, they might possibly make use of to their own private advantage and aggrandisement. But, with Messrs. HUNT (as with myself), there could be no such object in view; there could be nothing of a selfish kind. All the world knows that soldiers, or "the *soldiery*," are not our readers, except, perhaps, a few of the Commissioned Officers, who if they did not see good reason to approve of what we said, would naturally be our readers no longer. How, then, would this Gentleman have made it out, that the two officers *could have no improper object*, and that Messrs. HUNT *must have had such object*? The *act* was of exactly the same sort. There was not the least difference in it in any part. The Officers as well as the Public Writers expressed *their disapprobation of flogging*, and both parties appealed to the *military punishments of the French*, drawing a comparison *disadvantageous to the English system*. Why, then, let me ask, should it be presumed, that the object of Messrs. HUNT was *bad*, while that of the officers was *good*? It is easy to assert that this was so; but where was the *proof*, where was the *reason* on which to ground such an assertion?——Here I

must stop for the present, lest I should not have room for the whole of the proceedings upon this important TRIAL, to which I again beg leave to solicit the reader's most serious attention.——There has appeared in the COURIER of last night, a most atrocious article upon the subject, but that I cannot notice it till my next. It plainly, and in so many words, says, that "*the soldiers are out of the pale of the English Constitution;*" and says that *no man ought to be suffered to endeavour to soften their lot.* Never, I believe, was any thing so outrageously insolent and wicked as this published in England, or any where else.

W^M^. COBBETT.

State Prison, Newgate, Tuesday, February 26, 1811.

LIBEL CASE.

FLOGGING SOLDIERS.

The KING against MESSRS. HUNT.

Trial before the Chief Justice, Lord Ellenborough, in the Court of King's Bench, at Westminster, on Friday, 22 *Feb.* 1811, *on an* EX OFFICIO *Information, laid by the Attorney General,* GIBBS, *against Messrs. Hunt, the Proprietors and one of the Printers of a Weekly News-paper, called the Examiner.*

A SPECIAL JURY had been called for by the Prosecutor, and were, of course, summoned; but, only TWO of them appeared.--Of course the Trial was obliged to be put off, or TEN men were to be taken from the COMMON jurors.—The Attorney General chose this, and thus the Jury was formed.

SPECIALS.

1 SAMUEL BISHOP, Upper Grafton Street.
2 GEORGE BAXTER, Church Terrace, Pancras.

COMMON JURYMEN.

3 ROBERT MAYNARD, Glass-house Street, Oilman.
4 WALTER ROW, Gt. Marlborough Street, Stationer.
5 RICHARD BOLTON, Silver Street, Porkman.
6 JOHN RUTTON, Vigo Lane, Cutler.
7 HENRY PERKINS, Gt. Marlborough Street, Grocer.
8 WILLIAM LONSDALE, Broad Street, Cabinet Maker.
9 JOHN S[illegible]OOK, Rupert Street, Cook.
10 THOMAS RIXON, Carnaby Street, Victualler.
11 JOHN NUNN, Gt. Crown Court, Victualler.
12 DAVID MILLER, Carnaby Market North, Baker.

Mr. RICHARDSON opened the pleadings, by stating, that this was a criminal Information filed against John Hunt and Leigh Hunt, the printer, and two of the proprietors of the Examiner, Sunday newspaper, for a seditious libel, to which the defendants had pleaded Not Guilty.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL then rose, and said, that he had thought it incumbent on him to prosecute the defendants for a Libel; the tendency of which was not only to excite the disaffection of the soldiery, by representing that they were treated with improper and excessive severity, but (what was still more mischievous) to represent the treatment of Buonaparté towards his troops, and the means which were used to enlist them, as infinitely preferable to the system employed in Great Britain. The effect of this libel was obviously to excite discontent and dissatisfaction in the minds of the soldiers who had already entered the British service, and to disincline others from entering into that service. How fatal such efforts were to the country, it was unnecessary for the Attorney-General to state. The defendants had chosen to select for their motto, what they supposed him to have said upon the occasion of a former trial of this nature, when it became necessary for the Attorney-general to prosecute Mr. Cobbett for animadversions of extreme severity and injustice, upon an occasion of a mutiny in the Local Militia, which was punished by a Court-martial, with a sentence of lashes, the infliction of part of which was remitted. The defendant on that occasion chose for his motto, or text, a statement of the circumstance from the news-papers; to which he subjoined a libel of extreme malignity, upbraiding those who endeavoured to suppress the mutiny, and insulting those who stood by to see it punished. On that occasion, too, the defendants took an opportunity of speaking of the manner in which Buonaparté was supposed to recruit his army, taunting and reviling those who talked of his severity, and telling them it was ridiculous to animadvert on his cruelty while so much greater existed in our own army. After observing in that case upon the mild sentence and still milder infliction which attended the mutiny of those men who had risen upon their officers, the Attorney-General supposed he did use the sentence which the present de-

fendants had selected for the motto of their libel—" The aggressors were not dealt with as Buonaparté would have treated his refractory troops." Speech of the Attorney-General. He repeated this assertion now; he verily believed it: in Buonaparté's army the offenders would not have escaped with their lives. Mr. Cobbett having been convicted for this libel, the present publishers took up the subject; and, whereas Mr. Cobbett took up a particular instance of military punishment upon which to comment, the present writers took all they could collect from all the papers, and presented them in a mass in the most aggravating manner, evidently for the purpose of inflaming the minds of the soldiers, rendering them disaffected to the service, and subjecting the public to all those calamities which would follow the effect which this publication was calculated to produce. The Attorney-General assumed it as a fact, that wherever there was an army, it was absolutely necessary that that army should be governed by laws which were not applicable to the rest of society. In families, it was necessary that children should be obedient to their parents, servants to their master; and where this obedience did not obtain, the most serious domestic evils were found to ensue. But there the evil ended. In the army it was otherwise. If once the army was let loose from its code of laws, not only would follow the destruction of the military system, *but the downfall of the whole state.* It was unnecessary to state the consequences which would ensue. It could not be said, that this publication had not a tendency to these consequences; for what could tend to that end more directly than to represent the military code as cruel and oppressive, and administered with unnecessary severity? Could such a representation as this be exceeded in atrocity? Yes, it could. The English army could be brought into comparison with the French army, and the preference given to the latter. Having thus opened the principles, upon which the Attorney-General was sure the Jury would decide this publication to be a libel, he proceeded to read and comment upon it as follows:—ONE THOUSAND LASHES!!—(*From the Stamford News.*)—" The aggressors were not dealt with as Buonaparté would have treated his refractory troops." —*Speech of the Attorney-General.*

This was the first motto, and implicated the libel which followed it so closely, that the Attorney-General took it to be a continuance of that libel for which Mr. Cobbett had received the sentence of the Court. The second motto consisted of the reports of military punishments, collected from all the London newspapers (of which it might be necessary to inform some of the Jury, that 60 different ones were published every week) and represented in one mass. The number of troops subject to these punishments consisted of 180,000 local militia, and 90,000 original militia, in all 270,000, besides all the regular troops in the service; and was it fair to pick out all the punishments which had been sentenced on the soldiery, without reporting, at the same time, the number of offenders who had been pardoned, and the number of persons subject to commit the offence? Was this the course of proceeding of a fair discusser of the policy of military flogging?—" Corporal Curtis was " sentenced to receive ONE THOUSAND " LASHES; but, *after receiving two hun-" dred,* was, on his own petition, permitted " to volunteer into a regiment on foreign " service.—William Clifford, a private in " the 7th Royal *Veteran* Battalion, was late-" ly sentenced to receive ONE THOU-" SAND LASHES, for repeatedly strik-" ing and kicking his superior officer. " He underwent part of the sentence, by ' *receiving seven hundred and fifty lashes,* at ' Canterbury, in presence of the whole ' garrison.—A Garrison Court-martial has ' been held on board the Metcalf transport, ' at Spithead, on some men of the 4th Regiment of Foot, for disrespectful behaviour to their officers. TWO THOUSAND SIX HUNDRED LASHES were to be inflicted among them.—Robert Chilman, a private in the Bearstead and Malling regiment of *Local Militia,* who was lately tried by a Court-martial for disobedience of orders, and mutinous and improper behaviour while the regiment was embodied, has been found guilty of all the charges, and sentenced to receive EIGHT HUNDRED LASHES, which are to be inflicted on him at Chatham, to which garrison he is to be marched for that purpose." —*London Newspapers.*—This was the second motto; and now the libel commences at once:—" The Attorney-General said " what was very true;—these aggres-" sors have certainly not been dealt " with as Buonaparté would have treated " his refractory troops;—nor indeed as re-" fractory troops would have been treated

"in any civilized country whatever, save "and except only this country.—Here "alone, in this land of liberty, in this age "of refinement—by a people who, with "their usual consistency, have been in the "habit of reproaching their neighbours "with the cruelty of their punishments— "is still inflicted a species of *torture*, at least "as exquisite as any that was ever devised "by the infernal ingenuity of the Inqui- "sition.—No, as the Attorney General "justly says, Buonaparté does *not* treat his "refractory troops in this manner; there "is not a man in his ranks whose back is "seamed with the lacerating cat-o'-nine- "tails;—*his* soldiers have never yet been "brought up to view one of their com- "rades stripped naked,—his limbs tied "with ropes to a triangular machine,—his "back torn to the bone by the merciless "cutting whipcord, applied by persons "who relieve each other at short intervals, "that they may bring the full unexhausted "strength of a man to the work of "scourging. Buonaparté's soldiers have "never yet, with tingling ears, listened to "the piercing screams of a human crea- "ture so tortured: they have never seen "the blood oozing from his rent flesh;— "they have never beheld a surgeon, with "dubious look, pressing the agonized "victim's pulse, and calmly calculating, "to an odd blow, how far suffering may "be extended, until, in its extremity, it "encroach upon life. In short, Buona- "parté's soldiers cannot form any notion "of that most heart-rending of all exhi- "bitions on this side hell—*an English Mi- "litary Flogging.*" Now, why, in his out- set, did this writer compare the treatment of our soldiers with that of Buonaparté's? Did he mean to recommend our govern- ment to abolish the present military code, and substitute that of Buonaparté? Did our system drag men from their homes, and oblige them to enter the army against their will, as that of Buonaparté does? If it did, the Attorney-General could not have dared to stand up this day against any publication which execrated such a plan. Military punishments were severe: but was it the interest of the inflicters of them to render them more so than was necessary? And was it not necessary to insure prompt obedience, by prompter justice than could be sought for in any other than the military code? The whole of the above paragraph was comparison with the French; and the obvious ten- dency of it was to elevate their conduct, and to debase our own.—"Let it not be "supposed that we intend these remarks "to excite a vague and indiscriminating "sentiment against punishment by mili- "tary law:—no: when it is considered "that discipline forms the soul of an army, "without which it would at once dege- "nerate into a mob; when the description "of persons which compose the body of "what is called an army, and the situations "in which it is frequently placed, are "also taken into account, it will, we are "afraid, appear but too evident, that the "military code must still be kept distinct "from the civil, and distinguished by "greater promptitude and severity.—Buo- "naparté is no favourite of ours, God wot; "but if we come to balance accounts "with him on this particular head, let us "see how matters will stand."—The At- torney-General then pointed out with what extreme reluctance the enormities of the French system were mentioned. "He "recruits his ranks by force,—so do we:" as if by the same degree of force! The imprisonments and deaths to which he has recourse were slightly passed over.— "We *flog* those whom we have forced— "*he does not.* It may be said he punishes "them in some manner;—that is very "true. He imprisons his refractory troops, "occasionally, in chains; and in aggra- "vated cases, he puts them to death. But "any of these severities is preferable to "tying a human creature up like a dog, "and cutting his flesh to pieces with whip- "cord. Who would not go to prison for "two years," [as Buonaparté sent his mi- litary offenders, the Attorney General supposed] "or indeed for almost any term, "rather than bear the exquisite, the al- "most insupportable torment, occasioned "by the infliction of seven hundred or a "thousand lashes? Death is mercy com- "pared with such sufferings. Besides, "what is a man good for after he has had "the cat-o'-nine-tails across his back? "Can he ever again hold up his head "among his fellows? One of the poor "wretches executed at Lincoln last Fri- "day, it is stated, had been *severely pu- "nished* in some regiment. The proba- "bility is, that to this odious, ignominious "flogging, may be traced his sad end; "and it cannot be doubted that he found "the gallows less cruel than the halberts. "Surely, then, the Attorney-General ought "not to stroke his chin with such com- "placency, when he refers to the manner "in which Buonaparté treats his soldiers.

"We despise and detest those who would "tell us that there is as much liberty now "enjoyed in France as there is left in this "country. We give all credit to the "wishes of some of our great men; yet "while any thing remains to us in the "shape of free discussion, it is impossible "that we should sink into the abject sla- "very in which the French people are "plunged. But although we do not envy "the general condition of Buonaparté's "subjects, we really (and we speak the "honest conviction of our hearts) see no- "thing peculiarly pitiable in the lot of "his soldiers when compared with that "of our own. Were we called upon to "make our election between the services, "the *whipcord* would at once decide us.— "No advantage whatever can compensate "for, or render tolerable to a mind but "one degree removed from brutality, a "liability to be lashed like a beast. It is "idle to talk about rendering the situation "of a British soldier pleasant to himself, "or desirable, far less honourable, in the "estimation of others, while the whip is "held over his head—and over his head "*alone*, for in no country in Europe (with "the exception, perhaps, of Russia, which "is yet in a state of barbarity), is the "military character so degraded. We "have heard of an army of slaves, which "had bravely withstood the *swords* of "their masters, being defeated and dis- "persed by the bare shaking of the *instru- "ment of flagellation* in their faces. This "brought so forcibly to their minds their "former state of servitude and disgrace, "that every honourable impulse at once "forsook their bosoms, and they betook "themselves to flight and to howling. We "entertain no anxiety about the cha- "racter of our countrymen in Portugal, "when we contemplate their meeting the "*bayonets* of Masséna's troops; but we "must own that we should tremble for the "result, were the French General to dis- "patch against them a few hundred drum- "mers, each brandishing a *cat-o'-nine-tails*." —If there were to be made any alteration in our military code, it must be by increasing the number of those offences punishable by death; and if a proposal were made to this effect, the Attorney-general should like to know in what terms of severity the writer of this libel would attack the proposer of such a measure. The writer struck his balance between the supposed hardships of our army and the real ones of Buonaparté's, and gave the final preference to the Corsican. Could the jury hear this without indignation? Was it possible not to see that the tendency of the libel was to alienate the soldier's love of his profession, and disincline every body else from embracing it? Could any thing be more pointedly mischievous? The whole libel was equally offensive: every sentence had the same tendency. Of this tendency there could be no doubt; and the jury would therefore hear from his Lordship that this was a most mischievous and seditious libel.

Mr. Brougham then addressed the Court and the Jury on behalf of the defendants, to the following effect:—"In rising to support the cause of these defendants, I am abundantly sensible of the difficulties under which I labour, not merely on the score of unequal talents and learning, or on account of the high influence of the office of the Attorney-General; not merely because I am defending the cause of those prosecuted by the Crown, a circumstance which throws an odium upon defendants, in whose favour, in civil prosecutions, the presumption is; but because this charge of libel is brought forward at a time when the licentiousness of the press has reached a height, which it certainly has not attained at any former time even in this country; a licentiousness, whereby every boundary is removed, and every obstacle overwhelmed. I will not say that no character is so exalted, because it is not of the attacks upon exalted characters that I complain; but I will say that no character is so humble and so private, as to have escaped the libels of those who seek to gratify an idle curiosity, or to flatter a still less excusable malignity. To point out as an object for the tongue of slander the man who is endeavouring to enter into private life, is with some the road to popularity—with hundreds the means of a base subsistence. It is unnecessary for me to state the nature, consequences, and grounds of this licentiousness of the press; and I am far from saying there is nothing to extenuate it. It arises in a great degree from that love of publicity with which many are seized, to a degree which leads them to value their existence only in proportion as it is passed before the gaze of the world, and to care not what they do, so as they be but talked of. In this particular the public at least are liberal, and never fail to reward him who panders

to their gluttonous appetite. The consequences, however, are fatal to the press itself, tending to alienate the minds of the fastest friends to its freedom, and to lead them to doubt whether its abuse were not greater than its use; till at last, instead of blessing its light, they come to consider it as a source of certain mischief and of doubtful good. Instead of confining public discussion to the characters of great men, and of public actions, the press is occupied in private scandal, and in ripping up the secret histories of humble individuals. It is no small hardship in the present case, too, that the defendants come into court after the judgment of several general libels; because, the subject of the libel being only stated, it is natural to conclude, that this is of the same species with that of which Mr. Cobbett, or Mr. Any-body-else has been convicted. The Attorney General has endeavoured, indeed, to draw a parallel between this case and that of Mr. Cobbett, in which it is unnecessary to follow him; for I trust I shall not proceed far before I shall have convinced you that the light is not more different from darkness, than the present case is from all and each of those that preceded it. The consequence, however, of all these prejudices is excessively hurtful to my case; and, indeed, I have to withstand a tide and torrent of prejudice directed now-a-days to almost every thing which comes in the suspicious shape of being printed. But I should not have counselled the present defendants to make a struggle to-day, unless their case had merits of an individual nature, and of such a nature as will, I trust, induce the court and the jury, to stretch forth their friendly hand to prevent them from utterly sinking. If I can shew that the intention of the defendants was good (whether it was laudable or not is another question,) then are they innocent and not blamable. In whatever light the composition may be considered critically, and as a piece of writing, although it be not an original article belonging to the paper, I am content to consider the defendants on the footing of its authors; and if you should not attribute guilty intentions to them as its composers, it will be your duty to acquit them. This will be the question you will have to decide; but at the same time, I will not disguise to you that you have now to try a far more important question—whether from this time an Englishman shall have the privilege of free discussion; and, if discussion, of expression of his opinions against, as well as for any political measure, or statistical system. The present is not an instance of the canvass of individual character, of a particular error of policy, or abuse of system; (I do not deny that an Englishman has that privilege of discussion, too; but that it is not now the question;) the present question is as to his right of discussing a general, I had almost said, an abstract, question,—of giving his own opinion as to a particular cast of policy, which it has pleased the legislature to adopt. It is a question whether we have a right to endeavour to make that perfect, which we all so greatly admire; the constitution of our army; it is a question. whether a man, vehemently anxious for the glory of the army, may promote the good of the service, by shewing wherein its system is hurtful, and by pointing out those flaws which prevent its attainment of a greater degree of perfection. Upon the soldier's feelings of honour depend the safety of these kingdoms; and, with this consideration before him, is not that man the benefactor of his country who endeavours to refine those notions of honour to the uttermost pitch of perfection? These are the questions in this case; and these your verdict will decide. It is well known that for many years the attention of the legislature has been almost exclusively called to the importance of military policy. It is not necessary for me to go into a detail of all the plans which have been at different times proposed; it is sufficient to state, that all of them have had one object in view—that of bettering the condition of the soldier. To some of these plans it is, however, necessary that I should direct your attention. The first I shall mention is that of shortening the term of military service. Upon this subject, Sir Robert Wilson, whose presence in Court prevents me from saying, that, as there is not one officer in the service more distinguished for gallantry and skill, so there is none more distinguished by an ardent, almost amounting to a romantic, attachment to the profession of arms; not one in whom Buonaparté has a deadlier (I had nearly said a more personal) enemy, or this country and its allies a faster friend. This gallant officer, in the year 1804, published a tract upon the subject of improving and re-organising the military system. It was addressed to Mr. Pitt, whose attention was then directed to the subject; and men-

tions, among a variety of causes operating to deter men from military enlistment, the length of the term of that enlistment. The writer is, perhaps, warm in much of his language; and I should have held that author cheap indeed, who could have touched upon such a subject with all the coldness of a regimental return. "Is not this enlistment for life," the gallant writer asks, "declaring to the world that the military service is so ungrateful, that it is necessary to secure the soldier, otherwise he would never stay in it?" He then talks of the liability to service in the West India Islands as another great drawback to enlistment. I may not agree with the writer in every one of his arguments; but God forbid that I should impute a libel to the gallant officer. He proposes that the West Indies should be given up: "that charnel-house," says he, "must be closed for ever against British troops." Did Sir Robert Wilson mean by all this to disincline the regiments already there, or about to embark thither, from the military service: Far be it from me to impute any such intention to him. This is the language of free discussion, and the gallant writer speaks warmly because he thinks strongly. Honour is the nature of the tenure by which the soldier holds his sword; and upon the subject of military punishments, the writer enters at once in language certainly not weaker than that of the publication before you. "The second and equally strong check to military enlistment," says he, is the frequency of military punishment. "The late Sir R. Abercrombie," he adds in a note, "was an enemy to it for light offences; and Lord Moira, and almost every General in the service, are universal enemies to it." And how is there any chance of subverting the system, unless, by facts and reasoning, the country and the legislature are convinced of its error? Sir Robert Wilson does not represent a picture of military punishment, too frightful as it is for patient examination; but he does say that there is no mode so disgraceful as that of punishment by flogging, and more inconsistent with the military character; and is justly severe when he sees that punishment, which should be awarded only to crimes of the blackest die, inflicted upon petty breaches of the military law. He attributes his early respect for the army to the circumstance of his having been educated in a regiment, in the fact of which the triangles were never planted, and of which every man therefore walked erect and conscious of the dignity of a soldier. "There is no maxim, (he observes,) more true, than that cruelty is a mark of cowardice—humanity of bravery. To a commanding officer possessing the latter qualities, a thousand methods of commuting the punishment of flogging for a better mode of punishment would suggest themselves." He then proceeds to say, that if a return were made of the number of soldiers punished, the astonishment of the public would be excited; and relates an instance of an Irish Commander who once flogged 7[illegible] men in one day, and resumed the employment the next morning. "Corporal punishments (he concludes) never reform a corps; they break the soldier's spirit, without mending his disposition; the cat-o'-nine-tails defeats every end of punishment, only rendering the soldier despicable in his own eyes, and the object of opprobrium in those of others." I admit that this is *a topic of delicacy;* but it was the gallant officer's duty to touch upon it, from which, as an upright man, he was not deterred by the fear of having attributed to him motives, by which he was never actuated. He afterwards remarks the melancholy truth, that military punishments subdue every amiable disposition, and familiarize gentlemen by every right of education and birth, to scenes with which no other civilized nation is acquainted. "Why (he asks,) should England be the last to adopt the humane system? France allows of flogging only in her marine; and in no other country, save and except England alone, is that system constantly resorted to." It is not by the writings of Sir Robert Wilson only, that I defend the opinions of the paper before me: I have others on the same side; but I shall only mention one more, that of Brigadier General Stuart, the object of whose publication (dated 1806) is to shew the defects in our present military establishment, and to urge the necessity of its reform. "Without a radical change, (he says), the British army will never continue formidable abroad, and respected at home;" and he then mentions the very same defects, which are pointed out by Sir Robert Wilson. He too has recourse to that topic, which it seems no man can write upon this subject without adverting to—the system of France. The French soldiers, he says, are often shot, but seldom punished corporally; and in no service have I seen dis-

cipline preserved upon truer principles. Gentlemen, I like not an over-proneness to praise every thing French; but in men who have beaten the French, there is an additional merit in giving their adversaries their due praise; it adds the grace of liberality to the value of truth; it shews them to be above little petty paltry feuds, and that their way of fighting their enemies is in the field, and not by upbraidings. This gallant General has seen other service; he has served with Austrians, Russians, and Swedes; but in no service did he see discipline preserved on truer principles than in the French. Do I mean, Gentlemen, to argue from all this that because these gallant officers have done improperly, the defendants have a right to do so too? Do I know so little of your understandings, or have I so little regard for the interruptions of the learned judge, as to offer the absurd, the insane proposition, that the fault of one man excuses that of another? Did I bring forward one libel to screen another, that circumstance would be only an aggravation of the offence. No, Gentlemen; I quote the words of these gallant officers to you, because you and I must hold them incapable of sowing dissensions among their men, or deterring others from entering the army. Of all men in the country, there were no two who more eminently adorned their profession, or were more enthusiastically fond of it; and there cannot be a natural pretext for charging them with a libellous intention in the publication of their respective pamphlets; and it is, therefore, I argue, (with great submission to his Lordship) that if these gallant officers could publish what they had published without any libellous intention, the mere fact of the publication of my client's paper is no evidence of a libellous intention. With this statement of my argument, I shall now proceed to the consideration of the alledged libel itself. Upon its first motto, I shall not detain you long. Nothing surely can be made of a fashion, which has been the commonest device of an author, at least from the time of the Spectator; and it surely is too much, because a quotation is made from the Attorney General's speech upon a former trial, to implicate the quoter in the libel of which that was the trial. In case, then, it should be said that the present writer proceeded upon no facts, he collects a body of such facts, and places them at the head of his argument, as so much the stronger ground for agitating the question. It had been enough for his argument to have said, that "Corporal Curtis was sentenced to receive one thousand lashes;" but he fairly adds, "but, after receiving two hundred, was permitted to volunteer on foreign service;" and in the same spirit of candour, he states that the offence of William Clifford was that of "repeatedly striking and kicking his superior officer." It is thus through the article, he qualifies and guards his expressions, in the true temper of an impartial arguer. After some warm and vehement writing on the subject of these floggings, equally warm with that of Sir Robert Wilson, (and who should say the writer, feeling warmly, was not to express himself so?) he is afraid that his readers may be led into the mistake, into which it seems the Attorney-General has actually fallen, and therefore cautions them lest they should suppose he was too generally fond of French systems. [The learned Counsel then read the beginning of the second paragraph of the libel.] It has been objected, that the writer has not sufficiently guarded his military reader (supposing him to have one) from an idea that there was no difference between the English and the French military codes; but the writer expressly states that "Buonaparté imprisons his refractory troops, occasionally in chains; and in aggravated cases he puts them to death." Is this not stating both sides fairly? Is this keeping out of sight the severities of Buonaparté? Had the writer any reason to mention the French punishments? But though the conduct of his argument does not demand it, he admits that Buonaparté punishes with chains and death. Many of our first statesmen, on the agitation of the question, have maintained that the punishment of death should supersede that of flogging in our army; and it is not out of compassion to the soldier, that the argument in the paper before me is held, as much as to say to him, "Mutiny! that's right! You are liable to have your back tortured, and your revolt is justifiable!" The argument is, that the punishment of death is less horrible and disgraceful than that of whipping; and the writer's address to the soldier is, "don't think you are to get off for your offences; my notion is, that instead of being flogged, you should be chained for life, or put at once to death." The writer's tenderness was exercised towards the military character

in general, and not to the soldier in particular; and, instead of exciting them to mutiny, he addressed them in the language of severity; he was aware of the strictness necessary in military discipline, and where others would flog he would shoot the soldier. "We despise and detest those who would tell us, that there is as much liberty now enjoyed in France, as there is left in this country." Is this the language of him who would fix the eye of blame only upon what happens at home? The whole gist of the argument is, that the French discipline being superior to ours, as Sir Robert Wilson and Gen. Stuart had testified it was, we ought to suffer ourselves in that particular to be taught even by our enemies. The topic of comparison with the French, delicate as it is, was necessary to his argument, which could not be conducted without it. At the same time he guards his reader against any erroneous impression which the preference he was compelled to give in this comparison might make upon him; and I pray you, gentlemen, not to be led away by any appearance of warmth or violence, with which his remarks may be made. He might have made these remarks without the qualification which he has annexed to them, and yet I should not have been afraid of his defence; he *has* qualified them, and his defence is sure. The points he has urged, he had a right to press, unless free discussion mean a free choice of topics, but a fettered use of them, a selection of subject, but a restriction of language. If there is one subject upon which we may be allowed to think more strongly than another, it is the present; and every body above the level of a stock or a stone will write in proportion to his feelings on this subject. If he have not the power to do this, to what is the privilege of discussion reduced? To something like a free selection of what another prescribes—to a rule eaten up with exceptions; and he who tells you you have the privilege, has either a small acquaintance with the language, or a slight regard to truth. The present writer has stated facts; a system itself is impeached, and it is part of his argument that that system leads to unavoidable cruelty, and cruelty which cannot fail to be exercised. He who has a right to hold this opinion, has a duty to communicate it; and as for the fear of exciting mutiny in the soldiers, it is idle and chimerical. But laying out of your view, gentlemen, my former argument and the high authorities upon which I grounded, namely, that evil intention was no more imputable to my clients, than to the gallant officers I have quoted to you, is there any visible limit to the Attorney-general's argument? Is there any safe subject for discussion, if we are to be told that our arguments tend to excite revolt? What are the most common of all political subjects? Taxes, wars, and expeditions. If I object to the imposition of taxes, the Attorney-general says to me, "what are you about? you are exciting a resistance of the imposts of your country. Can any thing be more dangerous?" If I were to complain that our expeditions send armies to perish, not by the sword of the enemy, but by the yellow fever; not by the cannon, but by the pestilence of Walcheren, would any body dream that my intention was to excite mutiny? Must an Englishman have the privilege of Parliament before he can discuss public measures? Was such a thought ever entertained? I shall only advert to one other subject; I mean, the eloquent efforts which were made on behalf of the West India slaves. Could there be a more delicate subject than that, or one which required to be more cautiously handled? Were not all the masterly speeches of Mr. Pitt on that subject, pictures of horrors from beginning to end; and did any one impute a wish to excite insurrection in him, although he was addressing islands peopled with blacks? This privilege, if it is good for any thing, is good for all; and I have a right to discuss any subject. But is there no danger of mutiny to be apprehended from the infliction of these military floggings, in the sight and hearing of thousands of soldiers and peasantry, although the danger which the mere narrative of them is to produce be great? Is this fund of peasantry, out of which your future soldiers are to be drawn, to hear with their own ears, and see with their own eyes, the horrors of a military flogging without thinking twice before they enter this army? All this is a chimerical fear; let their eyes feast on the sight, let their ears be glutted with the sound; all is safe, there is no fear of their being moved; but have a care how you describe or comment upon all this (we have scarcely and very inadequately done either the one or the other), but of all things take care how you argue on the policy of this system; for a single word of

argument will occasion those troops to re volt, and that peasantry to turn their attention to some other way of life, who saw and heard a military flogging with the coolest satisfaction. Gentlemen, I have done; the whole case is before you; and you will now decide, whether an Englishman has any longer the privilege of discussing public measures."

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL replied: he agreed with the Learned Gentleman in his remarks upon the licentiousness of the press; and perhaps it fell more in the Attorney-General's way than in that Gentleman's to know the number of weak nerves which were affected by this dread of libel It was now a question with publishers, not whether this or that line of opinion was the result of their conviction, but whether it would sell their paper best, and the Court had an affidavit to this effect upon its records, (alluding to the late case of The Day newspaper.) It had been said, that this was a free and liberal discussion of a public measure; and that its arguments were justified by the example of two gallant officers: but to rank Sir Robert Wilson, and Brigadier-General Stuart, with the proprietors of the Examiner, was laughable. It might be a question whether it was adviseable in these officers to make their thoughts on the army (which the Attorney-General had not before seen) public, when they had a private opportunity of communicating them where they might have been more efficacious; and it might be also a question whether it was prudent in one of these gallant officers to enlarge upon the corporal punishment of the soldiery, in such ardent and glowing language. But the officers could have no other object in view. Not so the defendants; and the question was, what was the object of Messrs. Hunt, Proprietors, of the Examiner? He protested against any invasion of the liberty of the press.

Lord ELLENBOROUGH then charged the Jury. It had been stated by the Counsel for the defendant, in a speech of great ability, eloquence and manliness, that the question was, whether it were lawful to an [illegible]lishman to comment on any particular [illegible] Of this there could be no doubt, and [illegible]hether privately or through the press, provided it were done decently and with a true regard to public and private interests. This was an anxious and awful moment, when the personal liberty of every man depended upon our resistance to Buonaparté, and all the powers of Europe who were combined with that formidable foe. It therefore became doubly necessary to see that he had no auxiliary from within us, and that he had not the aid to his ambitious tyranny of the British press. The *freedom* of discussion was in proportion to its *delicacy*; and he could not help thinking, that the gallant officer on the Bench would have done better to have made a communication of his sentiments *in a more private form*. The soldiery were now a class of men upon whose fidelity to the banners of their country *every thing depended*; and it could not be *supposed* that the subject of their punishment had not undergone the consideration of those *who were supposed to be full of all honourable feeling*.——His lordship then read, and commented upon, the libel. The title, "One thousand lashes," was printed in capitals to catch the eye; and the lashes were in one instance added together, and not apportioned to each offence, for the purpose of aggravation. The words, "with their usual consistency," were a fling at the country. Was this fair discussion? Do we use *force* to recruit our armies? The duty of being ballotted for militias played upon every body alike, *with certain exceptions*; and yet it was meant to be represented that equal force was used in recruiting our army with what was employed in France, where every man was drawn out and sent from Holland to Spain, *fighting for a territory to which he had no title*, and merely subserving the views of a tyrant. By the French Code of Conscription, the punishments inflicted on those relatives who concealed objects of conscription were truly horrible; they were condemned to linger out their lives in the gallies, and to other severities. If the writer had been really actuated by a feeling for the soldiery, why did he not *make a private representation to some member of the legislature*, instead of drawing a picture calculated to harrow up the souls of his readers, and to attract the attention of the military, and render them disgusted with the service. In the conscientious discharge of his duty, his Lordship had no hesitation in pronouncing this a seditious libel.

The Jury, after some consultation, withdrew for an hour and an half, and then returned their verdict—NOT GUILTY.

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THE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS.

I shall now continue and conclude (from my last, page 495) the observations which suggest themselves to me on the proceedings in the case of Messrs. HUNT.——The Attorney-General dwelt much and heavily upon the comparison that was made, in this publication, between the punishments inflicted on the French soldiers and those inflicted upon the English soldiers; and he said, that the writer "struck his ba-"lance between the *supposed* hardships of "our army and the *real* ones of Buona-"parté's, giving the final preference to the "CORSICAN."——Now, I have looked carefully through this eloquent article, and I do not find the word "*Corsican*" in it from the beginning to the end. And, indeed, why should it be there? What signifies in what part of the French dominions, or of the world, Napoleon Buonaparté was *born?* There is nothing peculiar, either in goodness or badness in the soil of Corsica as affecting the morals or mental powers of the inhabitants. The system of punishment in the French army is neither better nor worse from the circumstance of its Commander having been born in the island of Corsica. The lash is neither more nor less bearable on account of the birth-place of the drummer that lays it on, or of the officer who commands it to be laid on. This *Corsicanship,* therefore, seems to me to have had nothing at all to do with the matter in question; and, if it was introduced merely as an *appellation,* I cannot help saying, that I do not think the *taste* good, especially when I reflect, that, in the Convention of Cintra, Napoleon was recognized, by name, at least, *Emperor of France;* and that, in this same court of King's Bench, upon the trial of MR. PELTIER, the same judge declared him to be the *sovereign of France,* even while he was First Consul, and directed the jury to find a verdict of guilty against MR. PELTIER for *libelling him.* We were then at *peace* with him, to be sure; but, so we may be again; and, at any rate, that can make no difference as to the *name* of the person.——To return now to the charge of the Attorney-General against the "*balance* struck in fa-"vour of the Corsican;" where, I should be glad to know, was the *crime* of doing this? The ATTORNEY-GENERAL exclaimed: "can the jury hear this *without indignation?*" Why not? What was there in it to excite their indignation, or the indignation of any body else? The opinion of the writer might be *erroneous;* his reasoning might be *fallacious,* or *inconclusive;* nay, his facts might be *false* (though he was not allowed to prove them true if he could,) and if they were false, they might be so from the *misinformation* of the writer; but, in all this put together there is nothing to excite *indignation* in any sober and impartial mind.——Is it meant to maintain, that, in no case, the measures and institutions of Napoleon are to be held up as an example to us? Is it meant to exhibit every man as a criminal, and almost as a traitor, who prefers any measure or any institution in France, to a measure or institution of the same sort in England? Why, then, was not SIR JOSEPH BANKS, upon being chosen a member of Napoleon's Institute, called a seditious libeller, and almost a traitor, for declaring that Society to be *preferable to the Royal Society of England?*——This would be carrying things to a fine pass indeed. The writer in question was not calling upon his readers to believe any thing that tended to produce a seditious disposition in them, and to cause them to join or assist the enemy. He was merely pointing out what the enemy did as being, in one instance, wiser than what we did; and how many times, how many scores of times, has it been said, by those who profess exclusive loyalty, that we failed in certain things, *only because we did not imitate the enemy?* How many times has it been said, that we ought to take *a lesson* from him?——If this reason of the Attorney General were to be regarded as conclusive, to what a pretty state we should be reduced! No man would dare to express his approbation or admiration of any measure that was adopted in France, however manifest the wisdom of it, and however beneficial its application to this coun-

try.——Push the same reasoning into other matters, and how would it suit? What is more common than to hear preachers make comparisons between the conduct of Christians and that of Pagans, and to give the preference to the latter? But, are we thence to conclude that they wish to make us Pagans, who knew nothing of tythes?——In common life (since the Attorney General talked of *correction* in the government of a family) what is so frequent as for parents to point out to their children the superior wisdom or virtue of other peoples children? But is it thence to be concluded, that they love those children better than they do their own? Is it not well known, that, in all ranks of life, one of the most powerful arguments that friendly admonition resorts to, is, the example of those whom the admonished party is known most to dislike, to grudge, or to envy? And, pray, where is the *reason*, that this sort of argument should not be used in the case of governments as well as in the case of individuals? Why should the party admonishing be regarded as an *enemy*, as a seditious libeller, in the former, and as a *friend* in the latter?——As to the *fact* appertaining to this comparison between Napoleon's system of punishment and ours, we do, perhaps, know little about it, further than that his soldiers are *not flogged* and that ours *are flogged*; but, it does not follow, that his punishments are not as *severe* as ours. They may be, for any thing that I *know* to the contrary, much severer; but, if they were, what has that to do with the matter? That circumstance would not justify any mode of punishment here or elsewhere.——But, when the Attorney General said, that, "if there were to be "made *any alteration* in our military code, "it must be by *increasing* the number of "those offences punishable by *death*," I must believe, that he had not recently looked at that code. That code has in it the following enactment: "That if "any Person who is or shall be com-"missioned or in Pay as an Officer, or "who is or shall be listed or in Pay as "a Non-commissioned Officer or Soldier, "shall, at any Time during the Continu-"ance of this Act, begin, excite, cause, or "join in any Mutiny or Sedition in any "Regiment, Troop, or Company, either "of his Majesty's Land or Marine Forces, "or shall not use his utmost Endeavours "to suppress the same, or coming to the "Knowledge of any Mutiny, or intended "Mutiny, shall not, without Delay, "Information thereof to his Commanding "Officer; or shall misbehave himself "before the Enemy; or shall shamefully "abandon or deliver up any Garrison, "Fortress, Post, or Guard committed to "his Charge, or which he shall be com-"manded to defend; or shall compel the "Governor or Commanding Officer of "any Garrison, Fortress, or Post, to de-"liver up to the Enemy, or to abandon "the same; or shall speak Words, or use "any other Means to induce such Go-"vernor or Commanding Officer, or "others to misbehave before the Enemy, "or shamefully to abandon or deliver up "any Garrison, Fortress, Post, or Guard "committed to their respective Charge, "or which he or they shall be commanded "to defend; *or shall leave his Post before* "*relieved; or shall be found sleeping on his* "*Post;* or shall hold Correspondence "with, or give Advice or Intelligence to "any Rebel or Enemy of his Majesty, "either by Letters, Messages, *Signs* or "*Tokens* in any Manner or Way whatso-"ever; or shall treat, or enter into any "Terms with such Rebel or Enemy, "without his Majesty's Licence, or Li-"cence of the General, or Chief Com-"mander; *or shall strike or use any Vio-"lence against his superior Officer,* being "in the Execution of his Office; *or shall* "*disobey any lawful Command of his su-"perior Officer*; or shall *desert his Majes-"ty's Service;* all and every Person and "Persons so offending in any of the "Matters before mentioned, whether such "Offence shall be committed within this "Realm, or in any other of His Ma-"jesty's Dominions, or in Foreign Parts, "upon Land, or upon the Sea, *shall suffer* "*DEATH*, or such other Punishment as "by a Court-martial shall be awarded." ——Now, the question is not, whether this code be too severe or not; and perhaps it would be difficult to settle such a question upon military principles. It is very hard to say, how a line of distinction could be drawn so as to guard effectually powers like these from being abused; and, perhaps, in order to keep a large military force together, and to insure the performance of duties such as they necessarily have to perform, and the endurance of hardships such as they necessarily have to endure, do require this latitude of power. ——But I should be glad to hear *how* an *increase* could be made "to the number of "offences punishable with *death*." Ac-

cording to this code a man *may* be punished with death for going off his post, though but twenty yards, to warm his feet or get a glass of gin; he *may* be put to death for falling asleep when nature compelled him to do it; he *may* be put to death for giving a corporal a slap in the face, or shaking him by the collar, when he is taking him drunk to the guardhouse or black-hole; he *may* be put to death for not conforming to an order for queuing his hair or cleaning his buttons. I do not say that any soldier in the English army ever *has* been put to death for such offences, and, God forbid, that it should be thought likely for any man to be so punished for any such offence in our army or in any other. But, the thing is *possible;* the *power* exists; such is *the law;* and, again I ask the Attorney General *how* the number of offences punishable with death, in our army, could be "*increased,*" seeing that, exclusive of the provisions in this code, the soldier is liable to the law of the land *for all capital offences?* Therefore, the Attorney General's question, "in what terms the writer of this libel," as he called it, would attack the "proposer" of an *increase* of offences punishable with death, seems to have been not very well suited to the occasion; and, indeed, it had no bearing at all upon the question, except in reference to the comparison between our military code and that of Napoleon; and, then, the question was, not which *code,* as to punishments with death, was most severe, but which was most *rigidly enforced,* which question we want *a knowledge of facts* to enable us to settle with accuracy; but, there can be little doubt, I think, that, in *this respect,* the French code is more, and a great deal more, rigidly enforced, than ours is, or it would be impossible to enforce obedience in so large an army as that with which Napoleon has changed the face of Europe and of the world.——But, there is one great feature in the comparison, which has been wholly overlooked; namely; that which presents itself in the *sources of promotion* in the two armies. The French is a system of *rewards* as well as *punishments.* I shall be told that ours is so too, and I know very well, that, as far as the promotion in the several ranks of *non-commissioned* officers goes, merit, with us, has generally its reward. Indeed, it almost always has, and for this reason amongst others, that a regiment could not be kept together unless the most active, intelligent, and honest men were selected to be put in authority over their comrades. But, in the French army the rewards are so great; there are such powerful, nigh irresistible, inducements to good behaviour and to exertion, that there is the less necessity for the operation of the fear of punishment. Men are induced to behave well, to be prudent and honest and faithful, either by the hope of reward, in the shape of honour or emolument; or by the fear of punishment, in the shape of disgrace, poverty, or suffering of some sort or other; and, it follows of course, that the greater is your stock of rewards, the smaller need be the stock of your punishments.——Whether it be best to entrust our commissions in the army to none (with a few exceptions) but persons who *begin* as commissioned officers, is a question that I leave to be discussed by others; but, I think, that when a comparison between our military code and that of Napoleon are made the subject of comparison, this is a point that ought never to be left out of sight, and I have digressed into a notice of it here, because I do not recollect having seen it noticed by any of the many military officers who have thought proper to tender their thoughts to the public on our military code and system.——I now return to the arguments of the Attorney General, who said, that it was "absolutely necessary, that an army should be governed by laws which were not applicable to "the rest of society," and added, that, "in "families it was necessary that *children* "should be obedient to their parents, and *servants* to their masters, and that "where this obedience did not obtain, the "most serious evils ensued."——With his leave, the illustration was quite inapt; for, servants *cannot be punished by their masters;* and yet we see that the affairs of families, if the *heads* are wise, go on very well. Servants are held to their duty by the prospect of emolument, or by gratitude, or by the fear of poverty from the loss of employment which attends the loss of character; and though they may be punished for breach of contract, the power of punishment *does not lie in the master's own hands.* So this was wholly inapplicable to the case.——As to *children,* there is no truth more clearly established, than that those who are punished *least* behave the *best;* and I have never in my life met with the whipping, or even the frequent scolding, of children in a well-regulated or happy family. In whatever family *fear*

and not *love* is the principle of obedience, in that family there is no confidence, no mutual trust, no bond of union, no happiness. The children may *obey*; but their obedience will be little better than that of a common servant; formal, cold, reluctant, having in view rather the securing of impunity to themselves, than the giving of pleasure to their parents. Elephants are brought to love one keeper who does not beat them by being beaten by another keeper; and, is it any wonder, that beaten or scolded children should like the society of servants or of neighbours better than that of a parent by whom they are treated like slaves? Hence it is, that, when children thus treated advance towards the age of maturity, the parent loses all his authority with them. The rod, or the whip, has lost its terrors, and, while they have legs they will not remain within hearing of a rating tongue. They now revenge themselves for their former involuntary submission; and the parent, when too late, perceives all his authority gone, and sees his son going forth into the world without a friend to guide his steps; whereas, had the rod, or the whip, been spared, had not the ties of blood been broken by the hand of chastisement, those ties would have given to every word of the parent a power of persuasion stronger than the voice of all the rest of the world united. There are some parents so *tender-hearted* as to delegate the task of flagellation to others called *tutors* or *school-masters;* and is it any wonder, that beaten boys, that flogged boys, should, when they grow up, be crawling slaves towards those above them, and insolent tyrants towards all those over whom they chance to obtain power? Yet, this makes a part of what is called *liberal* education! This, this source of all that is base, cowardly, corrupt, and tyrannical; this is an established part of what they call *liberal* education! ——Thus, then, I think, it is plain, that this double-handed illustration of the Attorney-General, drawn from the government of a family and the rule of children and of servants, was apt only inasmuch as it made *directly against his argument.* ——There remains to be noticed two more observations of the Attorney General, one relating *to the vast importance of the army at this time;* and, the other, pointing out *the way in which people ought to make their complaints of the kind stated in the alledged libel.* ——As to the former, he said, that, "if "once the army was let loose from its "code of laws, not only would follow the "destruction of the military system, but "*the downfall of the state.*" The judge said, upon the same topic, that "the *Soldiery* "were now a class of men, upon whose "fidelity to the banners of their country "*every thing depended.*" And, Mr. Brougham said, that, "upon the soldier's "*feelings of honour* depended the *safety of* "*these kingdoms.*"——This is comfortable intelligence! The wars, then, against the Jacobins and Levellers have already produced this cheering effect! In England, in that country where, formerly, the sheriffs' wand, and the constable's staff were all that were required for the country's defence on shore, is now come to depend wholly for its safety upon the fidelity of soldiers! This, then, has been, thus far, the effect of the system of the last 20 years! ——Well, but be it so; and then is it not the strongest argument that can be found out for free discussion upon the subject? The more *importance* the soldiers are of to the country, the more important is every matter connected with their treatment; and, if the safety of the country depends wholly upon their fidelity, if *every thing depends upon it*, was not the writer of the Stamford News and of the Examiner to take an interest in the soldier's treatment as well as any body else? For what reason were they to be cut off from the right of expressing their sentiments upon the subject? If our *all*, if *every thing* depends upon the army, surely, we may be allowed to give our opinions about the proper, or improper way of treating that army; and, surely, our earnestness and strength of expression may naturally be expected to keep pace with the importance of the object?——As to the *fact* of our safety *wholly depending upon the soldier's sense of honour*, I shall not attempt to inquire into it; but if this be the case, if *every thing* depends upon the *fidelity of the soldiers;* if this be all in all; if England has, at last, *nothing else to trust to;* if this be the state to which she is come; if this be the result of the system and measures of "the *great* "*statesman* now no more;" if all this be so, pray what *liberty of the press* have we left, unless we can *freely* write and print upon this subject? If the army be our *only* defence, our *only* ground of reliance, or rather hope, what a state is the *liberty* of the press in, unless a man can *freely* write and publish his thoughts upon the subject of that army?——The judge said

(and the passage was omitted at the close of my last number for want of room,) "Upon the subject of enlistment for life, "his lordship himself knew that the opi- "nions of all the general officers had been "collected. There were a variety of pu- "nishments, which would not bear de- "tail; suppose that capital punishment "were described *in an inflammatory way*, "no man could say to what extent juries "might be led by their feelings, in trying "capital issues, or even judges, in pro- "nouncing upon their criminality."—— What can make hanging *more* than hanging? And, really, I do not see how it is *possible* to say any thing *inflammatory* upon the subject, unless one accuses somebody of hanging people *unjustly*.—— Hardships and sufferings, if described *at all*, must be described in a way to move the feelings; and, the natural effect and object is to move the feelings. With what other object can they be described? LORD HOLLAND's description, for instance, of the death of the poor creature in the *Marshalsea Prison* is enough to harrow up one's soul; but, was he, therefore, to hold his tongue? LORD HOLLAND and LORD MOIRA have, for years, been labouring in the cause of suffering debtors. The thanks of every man are due to them, and the thanks of every good man they have; but, have they not frequently gone into great detail upon the sufferings of debtors; and did any body ever blame them for this? Nay, has not LORD ERSKINE proposed a law to prevent the ill-treatment, by *beating, whipping*, &c. of *beasts;* and, however any one might think that this was going a little too far with legal interference, no one ever, that I have heard of, accused him of *inflammatory* descriptions. Therefore, unless the description be accompanied by some *false* charge of *injustice*, it does not appear to me that it can be called *inflammatory;* and in the article of the Stamford News I can discover no such charge.——Now, as to the other point, namely, the *mode of making complaint* suggested by the Attorney General. He said, that even Sir John Stuart and Sir Robert Wilson had "a *private opportunity* of communicating their thoughts, "where they might have been *more efficacious*." That is, of course, to the *ministers*. And the judge said, that it "could not be *supposed* that the subject of "the soldier's punishment had not undergone the consideration of those who "were *supposed to be full of all honourable feelings*."——But, it seems, that the two officers were not content with this mode of communication; they thought it more likely to obtain their end and effect the reform they had in view by addressing their thoughts to the public; and, why were not the Stamford Writer and the Messrs. Hunt, to think the same, and act in the same way accordingly? That which was *no crime* in the officers could not be a *crime* in the news-paper proprietors.—— The judge, however, pointed out another mode of communicating our thoughts upon this subject. He said (at least, so it is in the report), that, "if the writer had "been *really* actuated by a feeling for the "soldiery, why did he not make *a private "representation to some member of the legislature?*" But, will not this reasoning apply to *all* subjects of complaint as to public measures? May it not equally well be said, that, if a man *really* feels for the suffering of his country arising from *heavy taxes*, from *unwise expeditions*, from the *issuing of bank paper*, from *grants or loans to the East India Company*, from *contracts, pensions, sinecures*, from *seat-selling*, or from any thing else; may it not, in all these cases, equally well be asked, "why he "does not make *a private communication to "some member of the legislature?*" And, then, I should be glad to know in *what* the *liberty* of the press is to consist? I should be glad to know *what* there is, or can be, that he is to be at *liberty* to write about?——Well, but suppose this Writer had communicated his thoughts to some member of the legislature? He must *know* one first. But, suppose him to be able to get at one *personally* (for *letters* may be *libels);* and suppose the member were to differ from him in opinion; or were to tell him he would have nothing at all to do with the matter? What is he then to do? Is he to hold both his pen and his tongue? What, in the meanwhile, would he be doing with his *press*, his *free* press? What would he be at with that?——However, suppose him to find some member like MR. WARDLE to listen to his communication, and to bring the subject of his thoughts before the honourable House. What then, he would hear the said member told, as Mr. WARDLE was by MR. PERCEVAL, that "every man *who wished well to the country*, must be aware how "very much the bringing forward *military "charges* in that House *ought to be avoided;*" and, further, he would in all likelihood see the said member most furiously

abused the next day, in the venal prints, as Mr. WARDLE was by the COURIER, who, on the 28th of February accused that Gentleman and Sir Francis Burdett of an intention to stir up mutiny in the army, who accused them of every species of vile and base motive, because the former made, in his place, a regular complaint respecting the treatment of Corporal Curtis, and because the latter seconded and supported and voted for his motion for an INQUIRY, which the House rejected by a majority of 93 against 3.——This debate has an intimate, a close connection with the subject before us; and, therefore, I have inserted it here, just as I find it in the TIMES newspaper; and all that I desire of the reader is, that he would go carefully through the *whole* of it.——The COURIER says that this, too, was *inflammatory*. Good God! *Where* and *how* is a man, then, to utter his thoughts? Mr. WARDLE did, in this case, as in that of the Duke of York, act in the most *open* and *manly* manner. He plainly stated his case. He said, give me *inquiry* and I will prove at your bar all I have asserted. You say, that all that I have asserted is *false*; I say it is true; let us, then, come to the PROOF, for by that I am ready to stand or fall. The House *refuse the inquiry*. Very well, there it rests. He cannot prove what they will not let him prove; but, is it not too much, after such a decision, for the venal writer to fall on upon him and accuse him of uttering inflammatory falshoods? Is not this too impudent? The House *rejected the motion for inquiry*; they would not hear what, in proof of his charge, he offered to bring to their bar; they did not, as in the case of the Duke of York, *rejoice* that the charge had assumed a "*tangible shape*;" they said the charge was *not true*, and that they would have *no inquiry into it*. Very well. There that ends. The thing stands there upon its own bottom; and the public have, in the report of the debate, the means of judging for themselves; but, is it not most atrocious in this venal man to attack Mr. WARDLE, to exhibit him as the author of a *false charge*, and that, too, invented for the most mischievous purposes as to the army?——Nay, he goes further, and accuses him of a design, by the means of this motion, to *blacken* the character of the honourable House itself. His words are these: "Not a member was found to support them" (Mr. Wardle and Sir Francis Burdett), "and the *disgust* felt by *every* man at *so unfounded a charge* will be converted into *an accusation against the Legislature;* another argument for the *necessity of Reform*."——Oh, oh! then your are not, it seems, quite sure, that the public will see the thing in the same light that you do? But, venal as you are, can you be so stupid as not to perceive the inconsistency in asserting, that the charge was so flagrantly unfounded as to excite "*disgust* in *every* man," while at the same time you assert, that the *rejection of inquiry* will be converted into an accusation against the Legislature, and become another argument for the necessity of Reform? If *every* man was convinced that the charge was *unfounded*; if *every* man was *disgusted* at it, how is it possible that the rejection of inquiry can become an accusation against the honourable House, and another argument for the necessity of Reform? But, thus it always happens. *Consistency* and *truth* go together, and so too do their opposites.——Here I should have closed my observations upon the proceedings in the charge against Messrs. HUNT; but, as I noticed in my last, there appeared, in the COURIER of the 25th of February, an article upon the same subject of so shameful a description, that I cannot refrain from bestowing some remarks upon it; especially as it appears to me to come from a hand superior to that which is generally employed in that paper, and as the outset contains an attempt at apology for the editor's departing from *his usual practice* with regard to prosecutions for libel.——Having thus promised, and having given to the article the title of "MUTINOUS LIBELS," he accuses the jury of having found a *false verdict* in the case of Messrs. HUNT; and he asserts, that the publication was intended for the express purpose of producing a mutiny in the army.——Having perceived, that there was two strong points in the defence, he sets himself to work with a view of doing what the Attorney General did not succeed in, namely, persuading the public that those points were insufficient for the defence.——The first was, the reasoning upon *analogy*, by which the writings of Sir John Stuart and Sir Robert Wilson became so useful and so powerful and efficacious in the defence of Messrs. HUNT.——Upon this point the venal man, or, rather, his coadjutor upon this occasion, has the following remarks.——"Reasoning by analogy is, at all times, dangerous: on *this occasion* it was most delu-

"sive and *mischievous.* What if *General* "*Stewart* and Sir *Robert Wilson* have writ- "ten against the punishment of *flogging?* "Does it follow as a consequence that on "the same side and subject any other man "is justified in writing the most seditious "libels malice can invent? Was *Cobbett* "acquitted because many *good men* have "resisted, in Parliament, the admission of "foreign troops, and the volumes of De- "bates contain their speeches? Was "*Thomas Paine* acquitted because *Locke* "and *Sydney* and *Chilton*, with the highest "characters in the kingdom, at the æra of "the Revolution, had defended the *Rights* "*of Man* before him, their sentiments "being printed and existing in every "library? Though *Mr. Pitt* and *Earl* "*Grey* have contended for *Parliamentary* "*Reform,* does it follow that any thing, "however *atrocious,* may be written against "Parliament?"——All through, you see this venal man, or his coadjutor, *assumes* that those whom he would deny the liberty of publishing their thoughts, have, or would publish *seditious* and *atrocious* libels. He assumes this, and it is a mere assumption.——No: we do not say, that we have a right to publish any thing "*atrocious*" against the parliament, or against any body else; we only say, that we have a right to publish the TRUTH about the parliament and about every thing and every body, and especially about whoever or whatever belongs to the *public affairs* of our country. No, we do not contend that we have a right to publish any thing "*atrocious*" against the parliament; but, if we merely repeat the opinions of Lord Grey and Pitt upon the subject of Reform, we hold it to be most "*atrocious*" that any one should accuse us of seditious intentions on that account; or that he should call us *rabble;* and call our complaints *clamour.* What, are we to have dinned everlastingly in our ears praises of "the *great statesman* now no more;" are we to see measures of the greatest importance adopted merely because similar measures were proposed by *him;* and, if we repeat his opinions about the House of Commons, are *we* to be called *enemies of the country and friends of the French?* What impudence is this.——The only difference between those whom this writer would *prevent* from publishing their thoughts and those whom he would *permit* to publish them is this: that the former were and are calculated to *produce effect,* and that the latter are now out of *sight* and out of *hearing;* and this was the only difference between the writings of the Stamford News and the Examiner and those of Sir John Stuart and Sir Robert Wilson.——But, this venal writer says, further on, that subjects of this sort should be treated with "great "TENDERNESS" (a very apt phrase for the subject, to be sure!), and "should be left *exclusively* to *military men.*" So that, according to him, no man without a red coat upon his back is to write and publish a word about the treatment of the soldiers! Several hundred thousands of our countrymen are thus to be cut off from any sort of feeling in common with us. We are not to move our pens, nor, of course, our tongues, let us know what we will respecting the treatment of those who are to shed their blood in our defence. This is truly the most abominable doctrine that ever was promulgated.——But, I must give this whole passage; for every word of it should be read by every man in every part of the King's dominions and in every country in the world: "Very little ingenuity is necessary to dis- "cover topics of discontent for the sol- "diery; still less to discover such topics "for our sailors. LORD COCHRANE'S "speeches at the Westminster election, "asserting that the sailors were fed on "salt meat till they were eaten up with "the scurvy, and then, as a cure, were "drenched with lemon juice into a con- "sumption, were heard of *with horror and* "*alarm.* JURIES MAY ACQUIT, BUT "THE ATTORNEY GENERAL IS "BOUND TO PROSECUTE WITH "MORE THAN ORDINARY EAGER- "NESS, all libels tending to the discon- "tent and disorganization of our military "force. Soldiers are edged tools, and "should not be played with by every "baby who sets up for a political writer. "Let them discuss *laws* and *politics* as "much as they please, but let them not "interfere with the [illegible] "of an army, of which [illegible] to "know little. Such [illegible] discussed "at all publicly, should not only be treated "with great tenderness, BUT SHOULD "BE LEFT EXCLUSIVELY TO MILI- "TARY MEN. Civil immunities are in- "consistent with military duties. The "man who becomes a soldier, *renounces* "*the English constitution* as far as respects "his military service. *The private soldier* "*is unlikely to have any interest or connection* "*but what are military.* Martial law is

"the only law affecting him; HE IS "OUT OF THE PALE OF THE CON-"STITUTION, and it is either absurd or "wicked to apply it to his state."——Here again we have a notable instance of this writer's consistency, who, while he is generously disposed to permit *military men* to treat of the sufferings of the *soldiers*, hears with "*horror and alarm*" LORD COCHRANE treat of the sufferings of *sailors*. The truth is, you see, he will suffer no one to treat of *sufferings*. Any body may write *against* either soldiers or sailors; but nobody *for* them, according to this base and mercenary man. What Lord COCHRANE did say, I do not recollect; but, I am quite sure, that whatever he asserted, as having come to his own knowledge, was TRUE. That I am quite sure of; and I am quite sure of another thing, and that is, that he spared no pains, of any sort whatever, to cause to be rectified the things which he complained of. And, is it not exceedingly base in any one to attack him thus in his known absence from the country, and while, too, I'll engage, he is, every hour of his time, most zealously and disinterestedly employed, or, rather, employing himself, in endeavours to serve that country in which he is thus vilely misrepresented and abused. Lord COCHRANE is not less distinguished for his humanity than he is for his bravery and skill; and, it would be hard to say, for which he is most hated by men entertaining the principles of this writer, of whom there are but too many.——What an accusation would it be against either service, to say that the treatment of the men in it is *not to be spoken of*! Why, what an imputation this conveys against the service altogether! How is it possible to suggest any thing more suspicious of it? And yet, at nothing short of this does the venal man's doctrine stop.——But, *we* may, it seems, be allowed to discuss *laws* and politics. And, pray, what are we, in discussing military flogging, doing more than discussing the provisions of an *act of parliament*; and is not that discussing *a law*? It is in virtue of an *act of parliament* that the flogging is inflicted; and yet this man would not allow us to say one word about it. We may, he says, discuss *laws* as much as we *please*; but, this law we must not so much as mention, except, perchance, to *praise* it. We have free liberty, I dare say, according to him, to *praise* flogging; but, if we find fault of it, then we are guilty of what he calls a "*mutinous libel*." Military men he will allow to discuss the subject with *tenderness*; but, does he mean to say, that he will permit the *private soldiers* or the *non-commissioned officers* to do it? Let him answer that question. Oh, no! he means no such thing; and yet they are "*military men*" as well as the commissioned officers. Oh, no! he means no such thing; for, he plainly declares, that when an Englishman becomes a soldier (whether in the militia or in the regulars) *civil immunities are gone from him*; and to exercise freedom of the press is a civil immunity. Nay, he says flatly and plainly, that the "*private soldier* is unlikely "to have *any interest* or *connexion* but with "the military." What! is it, then, now openly avowed, that the English soldier is cut off from the nation?, And not only from society, but from all community of interests and of feelings with former friends and even with kindred? Is this now openly and publicly maintained? And, observe, there is no distinction at all made here between the man who voluntarily enlists into the army and the man who is by *ballot* compelled to serve.——Nay, this writer goes farther, and tells the *private* soldier, in so many words, that "HE IS OUT OF THE PALE OF THE "CONSTITUTION." Mark, that the article in the *Examiner* as well as *mine* related chiefly to the *militia*, and particularly the *Local Militia*; and, in answer to us, this man says, "THE PRIVATE SOL-"DIER IS OUT OF THE PALE OF "THE CONSTITUTION." He proclaims to all the men in military service, of whatever sort, that they are excluded from the Constitution, and that it is absurd to apply it to their state. The Attorney General stated the Local Militia at 180,000 men and the other Militia at 90,000 men, making 270,000, besides the regular army, making in the whole, including Ireland, more, I believe, than 400,000 men. And, according to this writer, all these our countrymen, who are liable to shed their blood in defence of the country, are "OUT OF THE "PALE OF THE CONSTITUTION." We have seen before, that the Attorney General and the Judge represented *every thing* as now depending upon the fidelity of the soldiery; and here comes a man to tell us, that the private soldiers are "OUT OF THE PALE OF THE CONSTITUTION;" and that they have *no interest or feeling in common with* the rest of the nation. He proclaims

to 400,000 of our countrymen, with arms in their hands, that they are cut off from society, and that the *constitution*, that is to say, *the laws and institutions of their country* are a dead letter as to them.——Talk of publications to excite *mutiny* indeed! Here is a publication, which, if read by soldiers, must infallibly have the effect of making them *abhor* the service in which they are engaged. This is, indeed, a "*mutinous libel;*" for, if this has not a tendency to make the private soldiers desperate, to make them hate the authority by which they are held together, to fill them with indignation and rage, nothing that ever was said or written could possibly have such tendency.——This writer and others have, upon innumerable occasions, drawn a comparison between the *objects of war* on the part of Napoleon and of war on our part. And, in this comparison, the *soldier's motives* have been included. With us, it has been said, that the soldier *fights for his country;* with Napoleon, merely for the ambition and aggrandisement of the ruler. This, I am sure, the reader will bear me witness, has been said a thousand and a thousand times over. And, even upon the present Trial, the judge observed, that *in France* men were drawn out and sent to fight for objects in which they had *no interest*, merely "*subserving the views of the tyrant.*" Very well. But, here comes the COURIER, or his coadjutor, and tells us, that *our* private soldier is cut off from society; that he has *no interest* or *connexion* in common with his countrymen; that "HE IS OUT OF "THE PALE OF THE CONSTITUTION." And, let me ask, is there any thing like this said, by me or by the writer of the Stamford News? Have we published any thing which so completely does away, if it be believed, all that has been said in order to place our service in a light more advantageous than that of France? For my part, who have been a soldier, and who know as much of the feelings of soldiers as any man in the English army, and know as much about the internal œconomy of a regiment, and know as much of the motives that operate with soldiers, I can form an idea of nothing so mischievous as this declaration, that is to say, in the way of rendering the army totally regardless of the welfare of their country. It might be suspected, perhaps, that there *were men* to *entertain* this notion of the state of the soldier; but, I must confess that I did not expect to see it openly avowed.——I repeat, that the avowal, the open declaration has been made in the COURIER newspaper, I desire the reader, be he who he may, to bear in mind *what paper that is*, and with this I dismiss the subject for the present.

In my next I shall offer some remarks upon the state of affairs with regard to the *American States*. I should do it here, for the subject is a very important and interesting one; but, I have not room, as I wish to omit no part of the debate upon Mr. WARDLE's motion.

WM. COBBETT.

State Prison, Newgate, Friday, March 1, 1811.

CORPORAL CURTIS.

Debate in the House of Commons, upon a Motion of MR. WARDLE, *on Tuesday, the 26th of Feb.* 1811.

(From the Times News-paper.)

MR. WARDLE rose, pursuant to notice, to submit to the House a motion with respect to Corporal Curtis, late of the Oxford militia. He should begin by stating, that the individual to whom his motion related was unknown to him; and he had never spoken to him or seen him. The officers who composed the regimental Court-martial were also unknown to him; but with respect to the Colonel of the Oxford militia, he would say that no man possessed a higher character (Hear! hear!) Several of his friends were well known to the Colonel, and thought most highly of him. He was convinced that no blame was to be imputed to him, but he conceived that he had been much misled by the misrepresentations of others. As this subject appeared to him worthy of being submitted to the consideration of the House, he would have wished for an opportunity to have conversed with the man: and went down to the sea-coast, in November last, for the purpose of visiting the man, who was then confined in the hospital at the Isle of Wight. The wind, however, blew so hard, and was so foul, that he could not get over to the Island. Some of his friends, however, had asked to see Corporal Curtis, and they were told that neither they nor himself (Mr. Wardle) would be permitted to see him without an order either from the Commander in Chief or the Adjutant General. He wrote to the Commander in Chief for

permission, but was refused unless he could produce proofs that were not then in his possession. He was at a loss to know what there was in the military law which could justify a Commander in Chief, after a man had been cruelly flogged, to place him in a much worse situation than a condemned felon, who is allowed to see his friends and acquaintances.—The case of Corporal Curtis, (as he understood it) was as follows. He was a young man of very respectable parents, and was brought up with superior expectations, but was induced in the year 1808 to enter into the Oxford militia for a large bounty. In 1810, he was a corporal in the regiment, and a clerk to the paymaster. On the 23rd of June in the last year, he made complaints to his Colonel of abuses in the regiment. He complained, 1st, that an order for giving the men three pair of shoes in two years had not been executed; and 2dly, he complained of the improper detention of pay from the men, under the pretence of stoppages on account of some articles of clothing (or regimental breeches) which had never been delivered. These stoppages had been for five months, and the clothing was not given. The stoppages for these five months had no other authority but the verbal order of the Lieut.-Colonel. He believed it was a thing almost unprecedented, that a whole Regiment should be under stoppages for articles which Government were to furnish. At the end of eight months the only excuse for not giving the clothing was, that the men did not want them. The 106th clause of the Mutiny Act expressly stated "that if any paymaster, agent or clerk, should unlawfully detain or withhold any pay due to the Regiment for more than one month; or if any officer, having received the pay, should retain it in his own hands, such officer, on being found guilty thereof by a Court-martial, should, besides what other punishment the Court-martial should inflict, pay a penalty of 100*l.* to the informer, who, if a soldier, was also to be entitled to his discharge." This clause was quite explicit, and did not leave the Colonel or the General of the district any discretion upon the subject. He had received an account of what had happened from a gentleman who was introduced to the General Court-martial, for the purpose of taking the depositions, and who was ready to verify the same at the bar of that House, or any where else. It appeared from those depositions, that when Corporal Curtis first made his complaint, the Colonel was excessively angry, and threatened to try him for mutiny; to which Curtis replied, that as he came up alone to make his complaint, he could not be tried for mutiny. On the 23d of June, he attended the Colonel and Lieutenant-Colonel, and the Book of Orders being produced, he was called upon to shew the Order with respect to the shoes or the breeches. As he knew nothing of their books or the manner of keeping them, he was unable to do this. On the 26th, he was confined for improper conduct in having been seen in brown clothes, at a mile distance from head-quarters. For this offence, he was by the sentence of a Court-martial reduced to the ranks. It appeared, however, that he was the clerk to the regiment, and in that capacity had been accustomed to wear coloured clothes. As to his being a mile from the head-quarters, he was returning from the post-office, where he had just put in a letter to Lord C. Somerset, the Lieutenant-General commanding the district. In this letter, he stated that he had a complaint to make against the Quarter-master for improper detention of pay, and that he had stated it to his Colonel, who refused to give him satisfaction. He stated further, that he wished to take the advantage of the 106th clause of the Mutiny Act. It appeared to him (Mr. W.) that this statement was not improper, as the Colonel had not given Curtis the opportunity of proving his complaints before a Court-martial, as he was entitled to do. This letter was sent by Lord C. Somerset to the Colonel of the regiment. The Colonel, in answer to it, said that he was not aware that any charges could be made out against the Quarter-master; and that as to the breeches, the men were aware that they were ready to be delivered, but that they did not then want them. He also stated, that Curtis came up to him in a very improper manner to make his complaint. The fact, however, turned out to be, that the breeches were not ready for delivery at that time, nor even so late as July. As to the impropriety of manner in which Curtis made his complaint, the Colonel was walking on the drill-ground, when he came up and mentioned it to him. In the case of Governor Wall, the Lord Chief Justice was of opinion, that the man who died of the punishment he received in Africa, had done no more than he had an undoubted right to do, in complaining to his officers

of a detention of pay; and it then appeared to the Lord Chief Justice, that if a Colonel was to check such complaints, it would have the appearance of his being a partaker in the plunder. Curtis had made his complaint regularly to his Colonel and his General. His Colonel was applied to by him to try these charges by a General Court-martial instead of a Regimental Court-martial, but he refused. In a regimental Court-martial, it was well known that the officers were more connected with each other than they were in regular regiments, and this might produce a sort of bias (*No! no! from the Ministerial Bench*). That they were more connected was evident, and there was no accounting for feelings on such a subject. A General Court-martial, on the other hand, was composed of men who were chiefly strangers to each other, and therefore it was a Court which appeared more suitable for trying charges against an officer. The prisoner was refused the usual intercourse with his witnesses and with his Counsel, previous to the trial; and even a great coat which he before had, was taken from him, and he was obliged to lie on the bare boards. Two other privates, Bellis and Reeve, also gave a statement of other abuses, but the Colonel said he would take care of them too. They were brought before a Court-martial, and threw themselves on the mercy of the Court. They were sentenced to 500 lashes, which was remitted on their volunteering for foreign service. It appeared that at the time of the trial of Curtis, the Quarter-master, Serjeant Fox, publicly threatened and endeavoured to intimidate the witnesses of Corporal Curtis; and on the steps of the court publicly swore, that Curtis was a d—d rascal, and so was every one who took his part. Another Serjeant publicly held out the expectation of twenty guineas and their discharge to any soldier that would prove that Curtis had spoken disrespectfully of his Colonel. The charges were, first, for endeavouring to excite discontent and mutiny in the regiment; of this charge he could not find a single tittle of evidence. The next was that of his having spoken disrespectfully of his Colonel; it must, however, be allowed, that if he had spoken improperly of his Colonel, his mind was under considerable irritation at the time. He considered that he had been refused the satisfaction to which the military law entitled him. He had conceived himself to be entitled to 100*l.* and his discharge. The language, however, he had used concerning his commanding officer, was not a thousandth part as bad as what had been said of his Commanding Officer by a gallant Admiral (Admiral Harvey) who had since been restored to the service. He thought some similar allowance ought to be made in the present case.—It was in the recollection of all, *that some German soldiers had been taken in the act of desertion, having stolen a boat for the purpose of going over to the enemy. They were taken and tried: but were they sentenced to be flogged? No! he believed they never did, nor never dared to put a lash on the backs of German soldiers; and he saw no reason why British soldiers alone should be exposed to that severity.* It was on the 5th of August that Curtis received his punishment. He was at that time so sick and weak, that he was obliged to be supported while they tied him to the halberts. During his punishment he fell into frequent fainting fits; and having received 200 lashes, he got his election either to take the remaining 800 lashes, or to rot in the West Indies. He, of course, preferred the latter. Although he had only received a fifth of his punishment, he was confined from it in the Hospital, from the 5th of August to the 14th of November. Col. Wardle then read a letter from Curtis, written 12 days after the flogging, wherein he mentioned, that "he would have been very glad if he had been able to bear the remaining 800 lashes, instead of being sent to the West Indies, but the 200 had been administered with such extraordinary severity, that it was not possible for him to bear more. His back was one complete sheet of corrupted matter, which drew from him all his strength, and made him almost unable to stand." Having stated so much, he thought it was unnecessary to detain the House with many observations. He trusted, that if the House would grant him a Committee, he would be able to substantiate by proof those facts which he had stated. *He concluded by moving for a Committee to take into consideration the case of Corporal Curtis.*

Sir FRANCIS BURDETT seconded the motion.

Colonel LANGTON was anxious for every species of enquiry. He was ready to meet all that could be brought forward against his conduct as Colonel of the Oxfordshire militia. Thoroughly convinced as he was of the danger of allowing insubordination to creep among the soldiery, he had done nothing that was not necessary for the

preservation of discipline. At this time, when every thing depended upon the fidelity and obedience of the army, it was not to be held out as a crime, that men sowing the seeds of disunion in the army, should be brought to a court martial (*Hear !*) Neither he, (Colonel Langton,) nor any of the officers of the regiment wished to evade the strictest enquiry, because they knew the more strict it was, the more clear the character of the Oxford regiment would come out before the country (*Hear ! Hear !*) He was not accustomed to speak in that House, and would beg permission to refer to some papers. (Here he read the evidence of the two men already alluded to, as to the offer of the twenty guineas for proof against Curtis, which offer they positively denied.) [Colonel Langton then read a letter from Curtis himself, acknowledging his error, and thanking the Colonel for his generosity, in allowing the punishment to be commuted for service abroad. This letter was signed by Curtis and the Adjutant, with the declaration of the latter, that Curtis signed it with every mark of sincere regret for the part which he had taken.] He (Colonel Langton) had been thirty years in the Oxford Regiment, and during that time he had never refused a soldier his fair demand. Curtis said, he was entitled by the regulation to three pairs of shoes in two years: the regulation actually was, that three pair in two years were allowed. Another of his demands was relative to the stoppages for breeches. Curtis required that he should have two pair of breeches in the year; if he wanted breeches at the time, he should have got them for asking, but he had actually a good whole pair on him at the very time of his complaint. (*Hear, and laughing.*) After some further details, Colonel Langton apologized for taking up the time of the House. He had been in it for sixteen years, and he had never presumed to address them before; he hoped he should never have reason to trespass on them again (*Hear !*)

Mr. MANNERS SUTTON (*Judge Advocate General*) courted all enquiry on any subject that could with propriety be brought into discussion; but it would be only on a case that would have some ground of probability stronger than the one before the House. On the present subject, however, a very simple statement would, in all likelihood, be satisfactory to every man who came with an unprejudiced judgment to the debate. The first complaint of Corporal Curtis related to shoes and breeches. He demanded three pairs in two years, or as he termed it, three shoes a year. This he stated to be the regular allowance and uniformly made. It had happened, that in 1804, two pair of shoes were given in the year. It was the year of entering from the supplementary militia. The men received a pair as supplementary, and a pair as militia-men. They thus had two pairs. But it was found that one pair was sufficient, and five shillings was allowed for the pair, which money was not given immediately to the men, but put to the account of other articles, which were paid for out of the soldier's stoppages. Curtis applied to the Colonel as to the stoppages for shoes and breeches. On the subject of shoes, the regulation shewn to him proved, that he was wrong, and he went away seemingly satisfied. He demanded the second pair of breeches, and was told, he should have them if he wanted them. He got them, without informing the pay-serjeant who was to make the stoppage; and it was only when he was refused the third pair, that he demurred. (*Hear !*) Government allowed a stoppage of eighteen pence a month to be made, taking the breeches at seven and sixpence a pair, and if the breeches were not required, as was in many instances the case, the money was returned to the soldier. (*Hear !*) Curtis was brought to a Court-martial, for being found a mile from his quarters, and in coloured clothes. He had the conversation with his Colonel on the 25th, but lost all memory of it on the 26th. But this was nothing; for nothing was more natural than for a man to forget this day, that he had seen a particular person the day before (*Hear, hear !*) or that he had altogether forgot the conversation which he had held the day before (*Hear !*) The Hon. Member (Colonel Wardle) could not have so far forgotten the habits of his military life, as not to know, that in a regiment of the line, at least, the commanding officer might reduce an offender to the ranks without any court-martial. In the mean time, Curtis was arraigned of other charges, charges not relative to clothing, but incurred previously to the sitting of the Court. It might be almost said, that it was fortunate that the Hon. Member had fixed upon the Oxford regiment for his peculiar attack; for nothing could better bear sifting to the bottom than

the conduct of the Officers in the whole transaction. Curtis demanded a General Court-martial. As to the circumstance of the trifling tumult which was said to have taken place on that occasion, and which the Hon. Member (Wardle) mentioned to the House, as merely a slight stir; he (Mr. M. Sutton) would say, that the person who acted as Deputy Judge Advocate on that occasion wrote to him, to know how the Court was to be relieved from the confusion which was taking place. His (Mr. M. Sutton's) answer to the letter was, that the Court must make itself respected; that if any military man disturbed the Court, he should be committed, and any other should be taken before a Magistrate; and he (Mr. M. Sutton) would be pledged to have him prosecuted at the next Sessions. Yet this was the slight stir which merely flashed across the Hon. Member's recollection, and which he mentioned to the House as a piece of accidental information. On the Court Martial, Curtis was acquitted of the first of the three charges. He was found guilty on the second and third. The second was, for saying, that "He would tear the coat off the Colonel's back," and "that he would cashier the heads of them." When he was advised to consider what he was about, he said "that he wanted no counsel, he had good advice." The charge was not laid as mutiny, and therefore the punishment was not capital; but it was quite proper that the sentence of such a Court should be no matter of lightness. They had exercised a sound discretion in awarding a severe punishment for so serious an offence. The Hon. Member might think that such a punishment ought not to be inflicted; but it was eminently wrong, for any purpose of popularity, to come down to that House with a string of unfounded statements which must go forth from the House to the public. The Hon. Member went so far as to demand of the Commander in Chief, leave to put written queries to the prisoner. *(Hear, hear!)* Perhaps the Hon. Member forgot that *(Hear!)* But if he had any doubts on the subject, perhaps the simplest mode of removing them would be to read his own letter. (Here Mr. M. Sutton read a letter from Colonel Wardle to the Commander in Chief, mentioning that he had come to Portsmouth to see the person who had been punished, and finally requesting that a gentleman might be allowed to go over to the Isle of Wight, to put written questions to Curtis.) The Commander in Chief answered him, that he would be obliged by the Colonel's statement of any grounds of inquiry, as nothing could give him greater satisfaction than to do justice. *(Hear!)* Colonel Wardle wrote back, that he would give no statement; that he demanded, as a Member of Parliament, nothing more or less than that the Commander in Chief should actually stay proceedings on the subject, during Colonel Wardle's pleasure. *(Hear!)* If it were really that Honourable Member's object to do good to the service, his judgment was most lamentably deficient. Did he actually think, that he was doing good to the army by standing forward as the advocate of every open, avowed, convicted culprit? The House had apparently made it a rule, not to interfere with military matters, except in cases of obvious importance. But the Honourable Gentleman seemed to think it his best privilege to hunt out and bring those unsuitable subjects perpetually before the House. He seemed to think, that he had a kind of roving commission for all charges of that nature. *(Hear!)* With respect to Bellis and Reeve, the two soldiers who were stated to have been sent abroad for their testimony in favour of Curtis, the plain truth was, that on the trial, they brought forward written calumnies against their officers, that they were tried for those calumnies, that they were found guilty, and their sentence of 500 lashes each was commuted into foreign service. This was called, sending them away for their testimony on the trial. If there ever was a case of a court-martial which would bear the most minute and intimate examination, it was the present one. Mr. M. Sutton concluded his speech by declaring *that it was impossible he should assent to the motion, under all its circumstances.*

Sir Francis Burdett observed, that if the Honourable Gentleman would be *advocate, judge,* and *witness* in the *same cause;* as the Honourable and Learned Gentleman, who had just spoken, appeared to be, it could not be surprising that he should carry every thing before him by the force of his own assertion. This, without meaning any disrespect to that Hon. and Learned Gentleman, seemed to him to be precisely his situation. To the facts stated by the Hon. Gentleman who brought forward this motion, which were represented as founded only in assertion, the Hon. and Learned Gentleman had replied only by assertions. So that in this

respect both that Hon. and Learned Gentleman and the Hon. Member who made the motion, were placed exactly on the same ground, with this exception, that the latter undertook to prove and make good all his assertions. It had been said, indeed, that what had been stated by the Hon. Gentleman, near him (Mr. Wardle) was not founded in fact; but how could that be known, unless he were to be at liberty to prove the correctness of his statements? By the reasoning of the Hon. and Learned Gentleman opposite, all was to be taken for granted which was asserted on his part, whilst every thing was to be questioned which was advanced by the other Honourable Member. With respect to the Honourable Colonel who had been adverted to (Colonel G Langton) he would be the last man whom he would suspect of being guilty of the oppression, or of the other charges implicated in this case. But as far as he could collect from the statement of the Hon. Gentleman, the charges were directed not so much against the Colonel or the Lieutenant Colonel, as against the Quarter Master of the Oxfordshire regiment. It appeared to him, however, that when charges were preferred by Corporal Curtis against a commissioned officer, the Colonel had no discretion, but to grant it. When this was refused, it was natural for the man to say that he had not justice done him. The next step was the appeal made to the Commander of the district, which had been represented as mutiny. How an appeal to a superior officer could be construed into an act of mutiny, he was at a loss to conceive. When Curtis had preferred his charges and thought he was to go to trial for having them, he found he was to be tried for another offence. The being absent in coloured clothes more than a mile from quarters might be a military offence, but as not only Corporal Curtis but all the men in the regiment were in the habit of going to Arundel, it was not to be expected by him that he should be tried for such an offence. This seemed to him to be a mere trick. What was the consequence? He was deprived of his appeal to a General Court-martial, which he would have had if his charges had been tried. He believed from the statement, that the Colonel, in refusing the Court-martial on the charges preferred by this man, had been guilty of a breach of the articles of war. As to the severity of the punishment and the cruelty of its nature, though fit topics to be discussed on another opportunity, they formed no part of the question under discussion, and it would be unfair to make them a part of this case. He however knew of no law human or divine that authorised the infliction of a punishment which human nature was unable to bear. It appeared in this case, that twelve days after one fifth of the punishment had been inflicted, the individual was scarcely able to stand. It had been objected to the Hon. Member that he had dealt in insinuations: but it appeared to him, on the contrary, that the Hon. and Learned Gentleman opposite had thrown out some heavy insinuations against the Hon. Mover of this question. It was strange, that, when it was admitted that there was no objection that this matter should be sifted to the bottom, the Hon. Gentleman should not be allowed to go into the proof. Under these circumstances he could not content himself with giving a silent vote after the unfair treatment which the Hon. Gentleman had received *(Hear, hear, hear!)* The Hon. Gentleman, too, had said, that the individual had undergone a series of cruelties, that many of the witnesses had been tampered with, and others intimidated, and these facts he offered to prove. Such a statement was not to be met by a laugh, or aspersions on the character of the individual who made it. But it had been said that this proceeding was likely to create discontent in the army; but what discontent could be excited if the statement were not true, and proved not to be well founded? Would it not be a satisfaction to men, placed in the glorious and honourable situation in which British soldiers were now placed, to know that if they suffered any grievance, there was one place at least to which they could look with confidence for justice. Upon all these considerations he should vote for the inquiry.

Lord Charles Somerset, as the Honourable Member had charged him, as General of the district, with a breach of the articles of war, felt it necessary to trouble the House with a very few words. There was one part, and only one part of the statement of that Hon. Gentleman, in which he concurred, viz. that in which he bestowed praise on the Hon. Colonel of the Oxfordshire regiment. It did not, perhaps, become him to say what he felt on that occasion relative to that Honourable Officer, but he must remark, that the Honourable Gentleman could not say too

much of him, as a zealous, correct, attentive, and humane officer as any in the service. (*Hear! Hear!*) This opinion he had expressed in the General Orders as strongly as he could, both with respect to the Colonel and Lieut.-Colonel of that regiment. The Hon. Gentleman had accused him of not having listened to the appeal of Corporal Curtis: he certainly had not listened to that appeal, because that person had not a right to make it. The Article of War (which the Noble Lord here read) took away the appeal from a person found guilty of a military offence by a regimental Court-martial. The General Court-martial was for the trial of heinous offences: the Regimental for petty offences. When the person, whose case was referred to, was charged with a heinous offence, he appointed a General Court-martial, but at the same time, took care that no officer, who had served on the Regimental Court Martial, indeed that no officer of the regiment should serve upon the General Court. He trusted after what he had stated, that the House would consider him clear of the charge of having committed a breach of the articles of war. As to this man, he believed he went away from his Colonel on the 25th of April, perfectly satisfied that his complaint was unfounded. On that day he signed his return, "all well." In the following May, Major General Houston [we believe] proceeded on his half-yearly inspection through the district. It was part of his duty to ask, whether any individual in the regiments inspected had any complaints to make. This duty he knew was performed by that officer, and not a word of complaint was heard from any individual in the Oxfordshire regiment. As to what had been said about Bellis and Reeve having been forced out of the country, he should only say, that there was no foundation for the charge. When their conduct was known, he did not order a Court Martial. He directed the Major General to inquire into the circumstances, and on his report had brought the men to a Court Martial. With respect to the treatment of the man in prison, he had certainly ordered the mob, for mob he would call them, not to be admitted to him; but he at the same time directed that his friends and witnesses should have free access to him, and that he should be allowed the use of pen, ink, and paper. But to shew more clearly with what indulgence and lenience he had been treated, he need only say, that on the 8th of July the mob having entered into a subscrip[tion] to enable him to employ Counsel, he applied to the Court for time to procure Counsel, when the Court adjourned to one o'clock; and on its being re-assembled, the Judge Advocate offered to the Counsel the proceeding for his perusal. The Honourable Baronet had said, that the man was entrapped into a trial for one offence when he was prepared to expect the trial for another. The fact was, that on the 4th of July a list of the charges had been given to the prisoner; on the 6th the Court met, when he was called upon for a list of his witnesses; and even on the 7th and 8th he called fresh witnesses. With respect to the charge of intimidation of witnesses by Serjeant Cox, as stated by the Hon. Gentleman, if any such thing had taken place, it must have been mentioned in the Defence; and yet not one word was said of it on the trial. If there was any thing to be remedied, the Commander-in-Chief had offered to have the matter inquired into. The course proposed by the Hon. Member was therefore not the only means of investigation. He returned thanks to the House for its attention, and should vote against the motion.

Mr. LOCKHART knew both the unfortunate man and his father, they being both his constituents. The impression upon the mind of this man's family was not that he had been treated with severity. He had received a letter from the father of the man, begging him to apply, not for a revision of his sentence, but for mercy. He had written upon the subject to the Dukes of Kent and Cumberland, and made application to the magistrates, who humanely exerted themselves to obtain the execution of justice in mercy. The father of this man knew nothing of the motion of the Honourable Gentleman. The speech of the Honourable Gentleman was deserving of the severest criticism. If popularity was the object of the Honourable Member, he would recommend to him to court it by other means, by means which, as Lord Mansfield well observed, would make popularity follow him instead of his pursuing popularity.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER would not rise except in justice to Sir David Dundas, to shield him against some imputation which seemed to have been insinuated. He did not mean to infer that the Honourable Gentleman who brought forward those charges took advantage of his situation as a Member of

Parliament to propagate inflammatory and mischievous harangues. (Hear, hear, hear!): he rather supposed he came down to seek redress for some supposed injury. He was the more ready to believe this, as every man who wished well to the country must be aware how very much the bringing forward military charges in that House ought to be avoided (Hear, hear!) The Right Honourable Gentleman here read a correspondence between Sir David Dundas and Mr. Wardle, in which Mr. Wardle desired that the condemned Corporal Curtis should not be sent abroad, as he, as a Member of Parliament, was determined to make the matter the subject of investigation (Hear, hear!); and in which Sir David uniformly answered, that he would be ready to accede, provided Mr. Wardle stated the grounds of his application. (Hear, hear!) This, however Mr. Wardle declined doing. He must state this in justice to Sir David Dundas. But Mr. Wardle broached a principle which would go to convert the freest country under heaven into the most wicked and abominable tyranny which ever existed. He, denying all information, demanded, as a Member of Parliament, the suspension of the Law. What, was he to arrogate to himself the right of becoming a walking Committee of the House of Commons? (Hear, hear!) He seemed also to insinuate that the military could not have fair play under a Regimental Court-martial! He could not conceive a viler or more unfounded insinuation; but though he was ready to give the Honourable Gentleman every allowance as to the purity of his views, still he was sure the House would allow he could not have chosen a worse way, or adopted a more injudicious course towards their accomplishment. (Hear, hear!) He should now conclude, having made these few remarks on a speech which he was sure all men in that House must regret, and which none should regret more than the person who delivered it. (Hear, hear!)

Colonel Wardle very briefly replied, and the House divided:

For Colonel Wardle's Motion......	1
Against it..............................	91
Majority	—90

There were, besides the *one*, who voted for the motion, the two Tellers, who were Mr. Wardle and Sir F. Burdett. The one was Colonel Langton!

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

Isle of France.——*Dispatch from Maj. Gen. Abercromby.*

(Continued from page 448.)

Having halted for a few hours during the night, the army again moved forward before daylight, with the intention of not halting till arrived before Port Louis; but the troops having become extremely exhausted, not only from the exertion which they had already made, but from having been almost totally deprived of water, of which this part of the country is destitute, I was compelled to take up a position at Moulin á Poudre, about 5 miles short of the town.

Early the next morning Lieutenant Colonel M'Leod, with his Brigade, was detached to seize the batteries at Tombeau and Tortue, and open a communication with the fleet, as it had been previously arranged that we were to draw our supplies from those two points.

The main body of the army, soon after it had moved off its ground, was attacked by a corps of the enemy, who, with several field pieces, had taken a strong position, very favourable for attempting to make an impression on the head of the column, as it shewed itself at the end of a narrow road, with a thick wood on each flank. The European flank battalions, which formed the advanced guard, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Campbell, of the 33d regiment, and under the general direction of General Warde, formed with as much regularity as the bad and broken ground would admit of, charged the enemy with the greatest spirit, and compelled him to retire with the loss of his guns, and many killed and wounded. This advantage was gained by the fall of Lieutenant Colonel Campbell, a most excellent and valuable officer, as well as Major O'Keefe, of the 12th Regiment, whom I have also every reason sincerely to regret.

In the course of the forenoon the army occupied a position in front of the enemy's lines just beyond the range of cannon-shot; on the following morning, while I was employed in making arrangements for detaching a corps to the southern side of the town, and placing myself in a situation to make a general attack, General de Caen proposed to capitulate.

(To be continued.)

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

Liberty of the Press.——The present article will conclude the Series, which I intended to write upon this subject. The former articles will be found at pages 427, 449, 481, and 453.——The two last contain remarks upon the *particular* case of Messrs. Hunt. The two first relate to the Liberty of the Press *generally*, to which subject I now return.——At the close of the article, which began at page 449, I described *the Liberty of the Press;* I gave the reader my notion of *what it really was;* and I had before shewn *what it was not.* But, in a sort of supplement to that article, I insert, in the present Number, a Letter to Lord Ellenborough, which I published two years ago, and which contains, as the reader will see, my reasons, more at large, upon this branch of the subject. It is there shown, even upon the principles laid down by this judge himself, in the case of Carr against Hood and Sharpe, that the *Liberty of the Press,* if it have any real existence, must mean the right of publishing, without risk to one's self, a *true* account of the *character, actions,* and *measures of all men employed in managing the affairs of the nation.*——This letter appears to me to embrace all the reasoning that can be offered upon the part of the subject to which it relates. No one has ever attempted to answer it; and my conviction is, that it is wholly *unanswerable.*——To that letter I have little to add; and should add nothing, did it not appear to me necessary to offer some remarks applicable to the opening of Mr. Brougham's defence of Messrs. Hunt, in which that gentleman is, in the report, stated to have uttered a strong and sweeping censure upon *the present licentiousness of the press.* (See p. 507.)——This may not have been reported with perfect correctness; but, it is not likely, that it should be wholly unfounded. Indeed, that is almost impossible; but, at any rate, the speech is *in print,* it is gone forth to the public, and, therefore, whether the words really came from him or not, the observations deserve an answer.——He says, that the licentiousness of the press has "reached a height, which it certainly has "not attained at any former period in this "country, a licentiousness whereby every "boundary is removed, and every obsta-"cle overwhelmed."——Now, admitting this to be true, Mr. Brougham must excuse me, if I look upon it as the worst possible opening to a defence of the sort that he had to make. It was calculated to prepossess the minds of the jury against the press *in general;* it was calculated to give a *broad and general sanction to the proceedings of the Attorney General,* who failed not to avail himself of that sanction; and it certainly was calculated to give the minds of the jury a bias against the defendants as belonging to a class *generally licentious.*——It may be said, that by his subsequent explanations, he discriminated between his clients and the licentious parts of the printers; but, if he once put them into the class; if he once succeeded in persuading the jury, that the press was *generally* thus monstrously licentious, he might well be expected to fail in establishing *an exception* in favour of his clients, and of the soundness of which exception he had no proof to produce. If he once succeeded, as his words clearly meant, in persuading the jury, that, at *this particular time,* licentiousness was got to such a monstrous height; that it was now arrived at a pitch higher than at any former period; that it had *passed all bounds, and was overwhelming every thing;* if he once succeeded in persuading them, that this was *generally* the case, was it likely that his after-explanations would get this impression out of their minds? No: and, it is my firm conviction, as it is, I believe, that of the public, that if the jury did not suffer their minds to be worked up to a verdict of guilty, the defendants had to thank the jury themselves much more than their advocate.——Supposing, therefore, the fact to have been *true,* it would, in Mr. Brougham's situation, have been injudicious to state it.——But, it was *not true;* it was the reverse of the truth; for, an appeal to the publications of the day will prove, that the press never was *less licentious;* never was *more tame;* and, that it is impossible for it

to become more tame, to possess less spirit and boldness, to be a more insipid and cowardly thing than it is, unless it were subjected to a *previous licencer.* Let any man look back through the last century; let him view the publications in the reign of QUEEN ANNE, which was called the *Augustan Age of English literature,* and then say, whether we now possess as much of the liberty of the press as was possessed then. Let him only look at the writings of SWIFT and POPE and GAY, and consider what would have been the sentences which they would have received, had they written now. There was a man prosecuted, some few years ago, for a story about a *dunghill Cock;* what would GAY have said, if he had been prosecuted for his "*Ant in Office.*" Talk of *licentiousness,* indeed! Look at Swift's *Legion Club,* and at scores more of his poems; and look at his *Drapier's Letters.* In short, look into almost any page of his writings. Look at Pope's satires, if you talk of *licentious* attacks upon private characters and public characters too. He begins one of them with saying that the *Solicitor of the Treasury* bribes witnesses, in cases of libel, with "*double pots and pay.*" And, is it, while these works are extant, while we have these writings in all our houses, while we have these to look back to; is it that while we have all these before us, that we are to be told, that the press, the poor, tame, cowed down press of the present day is more than ever licentious?——That there are very base creatures now-a-days, who live by blackening private characters I know as well as any body. I know, that such men deal in all manner of falshoods. I know, that they are the very basest of mankind. I know, that as in the proved case of the DAY news-paper, some of the proprietors of the public prints are actuated by the basest of motives. But, it should be borne in mind, that the proprietors of the DAY news-paper are not men who follow printing and publishing as *a profession;* that they are, in fact, men who have engaged in the thing upon the avowal of its being an article of *trade;* that they have, indeed, proclaimed an hostility to the Daily Press in general; and that the publication, instead of being a *fair specimen* of the Daily Press, is an instance *of its opposite.*——Mr. BROUGHAM, therefore, if he must have his philippic against the licentiousness of the press, in order to follow the example of almost all other lawyers, from the time of NOY and the STAR-CHAMBER downwards; if he must have this, he should have gone into a very full and clear explanation of his meaning, and not have suffered any part of his accusation to lie upon *the press in general.*——This word *licentiousness* is a very convenient word. It is a word that allows of *twisting* and *stretching.* It may be applied to any thing. It will always afford a dispute as to its application. Therefore it is, that it is such a favourite with lawyers. ——There is, they tell us, a boundary mark between the *liberty* and the *licentiousness* of the press. But, do they enable us to *see this mark?* Have they ever pointed it out? No, and they take special care not to do it.——The natural boundary is *truth.* This is a boundary that we *all* know well. We all know how to distinguish between *truth* and *falshood;* but, as to where liberty ends and licentiousness begins, who is able to determine that? Let all *falshoods* be punished according to the magnitude of the injury that they do, or are calculated to do; let the publisher or the writer of falshood be called a libeller; and let him be punished if he cannot *prove the truth* of what he writes and publishes.——Is not this enough? What can be wanted more for the protection of *innocence?* More may be wanted for the protection of *guilt,* indeed; but, surely, nothing more can be wanted for the protection of *innocence.*—— And, as to the government, what a thing it is to say, or to act as if you said, that the government *stands in need* of a law to punish men for publishing *truths!* What a thing this is to say! To say that the publishing of *truths* endangers the safety of the government, is, it appears to me, the strongest censure that human wit could devise upon that government. What must any man of common sense think of a system of government that cannot withstand the publication of *truth* respecting it? What would you think of any private person who should be described to you thus: "he is a man, who will enjoy a fair reputation in the world, and who will do very well, until the *truth* be spoken of him; but, the moment the truth is spoken of him, he is ruined for ever?" What would you think of a man thus described to you? Would you choose such a man for a friend? Nay, would you not shun him as you would shun a leper? What then, I again ask, can be more injurious to the character of any government, than to say, that men shall not be permitted to speak and write

about it what they can *prove to be true?*——Nay; what do we actually say about the government of the Emperor of France? Do we not say, that his restraints upon the press proceed from the fear of the press, and that, too, because *his government is bad?* Yet, what does he do more, what can he do more, what can he possibly *wish* to do more, than to prevent the *truth* from from being published about the badness of his government?——I should like to see this question receive a distinct answer, because this is the pincher. This puts the thing to the test. It is useless to burst out in railing against him; because, whatever he may deserve in that way, it does not alter the state of the question. He may be inspired by the devil, and may be the very devil himself; but, with the press, what can he want to do *more* than prevent the publication of *truth?* This is the question. Until it be answered all the railing will, with men of sense, pass for nothing; and those who use it, may, as the vulgar saying is, keep their breath to cool their porridge, for not the smallest effect will it produce in their favour.——There is another view of this matter, which, though I have, somewhere, taken it before, I cannot, upon this occasion, refrain from taking again. I allude to the comparison between the state of *no press at all* and a press *not free to publish the truth;* and I have no hesitation in saying that the former is greatly to be preferred; because, in that case, the public would judge and act wholly from *their own observations* and *experience,* whereas in the latter, the press gives them *a false guide,* which is always worse than *no guide at all.*——Suppose the news-paper reporters were prohibited from giving the speeches of those members who opposed the ministers, or were obliged to leave out all the parts of their speeches likely to have weight against the ministers; could such reports do the public any good; nay, must they not do a great deal of mischief; would they not be much worse than *no reports at all;* and would they not have a natural tendency to destroy every vestige of what we call freedom? Suppose, upon a trial, the advocate for the Crown only was to be at liberty to say what he pleased, and that the defendant's counsel were to speak in a muzzle and be liable to be prosecuted for what he said, and to be fined, jailed, and ruined in health as well as in fortune if he spoke any thing to displease the Crown Lawyers. Would it not, in such case, be much better that there should be *no pleading at all:* would not the defendant stand a better chance by merely having the information or indictment put into the hands of the jury and having a hearing of the evidence?——And, if these questions be answered in the affirmative, is it not manifest, that a press *not free to utter the truth* is beyond all comparison *worse than no press at all?* Such a press is, indeed, calculated to injure the cause of truth and of freedom more than can scarcely be imagined. It is an instrument the most powerful for depriving men of their freedom and their happiness. It is, and it always must be, a curse the most severe that mankind can possibly endure.——To call such a press *free,* to say that such a press has *liberty,* is an insult to common sense; it is an affront to human nature itself.——The use of the press, that is to say, the *art of printing,* has not been known above 300 years, I believe. Now, it would be too much to say, that freedom, that political liberty, was not known before that time; for it is very notorious, that men were very free in Greece, in Rome, in Germany, and in England too, long before printing was ever thought of, and much freer in Germany than they ever have been since; and, as to England, we know well what noble struggles were made for freedom, long before the press was thought of, and how just were the laws.——Men then judged more from their *own observation* and from *experience;* from what they themselves *saw* and what they *felt.* They took less upon trust. Knowledge, in certain respects, was *slower,* but it was *surer.* And, indeed, men were as free as ever they have been since, if not more so; as most clearly appears from the whole tenor of our laws, which, be it observed, as far as they are most excellent, existed long before the press was heard of. It is true, that there are many advantages attending the press. It disseminates knowledge rapidly, and, as *truth,* if it has a *free course,* will always triumph over falshood, the dissemination of falshood as well as truth is no argument against it; but, if it be cramped; if power is to be exercised to restrain it on one side and not on the other; if it be not free as far as truth goes; if it may do what it pleases, so that it keep clear of the rich and the powerful, and if, as to them, it be restrained; if this be the state of it, a more mischievous, a more hateful, a more detestable thing never existed in the

world, for it is fraught with mischiefs and oppressions, and insults of every sort, and that, too, under the guise of the fairest gem of freedom.——To take a somewhat closer view of the effects of such a press as this, suppose there to exist, in the capacity of a minister of state, a man of the most cruel and cold-blooded stamp, a known corrupter and briber, a double-handed knave, a wretch endowed with all the qualities fitted to the complete villain, and who would, rather than forego his purpose, flog one half of the nation 'till they cut the throats of the other half. It is shocking to suppose the existence of so execrable a monster; but, suppose such a monster to exist, and suppose him to have become, by some means or other, a minister of state. Would you call the press *free* if it were not permitted to expose this monster; to put his deeds upon paper; to exhibit him, by *name*, in his *true* colours? And, if a part of the press was so base as to attempt to *justify* him; nay, to *praise* him; and the other part were not at liberty to answer and expose the *falshoods* of such attempts; would you still call it *free?* I think not. I think there cannot be upon earth any man so infamously vile as to pretend that such a press would be worthy of being called *free?*——No: unless there be a *free course* for *truth;* unless this be the boundary, the press is not *free,* say of it what you will. ——Such a press as I have been describing is, beyond all comparison, worse than *no press at all,* and even worse than a press *under a licenser;* because, in the latter case, it is *notorious* that there is a licenser; it is matter of *notoriety,* that the press puts forth only that which is first approved of by the government. This is *well known,* and the people, knowing this, pay little attention to what is said by the press, if, indeed, they ever see it; and, about seeing it, they will not, of course, be very solicitous. But, in the case of a press such as I have described, the people are *deceived.* If they see not contradicted the praises of monsters such as the above supposed minister, they believe that, these praises *cannot* be contradicted; and thus they may, and naturally will, be induced to give their countenance and support to what is most injurious to them and their country; and thus it is that such a press may assist all the designs of the most fell tyranny that ever country was cursed with.——Such are my reasons for believing, that *truth* and *truth* alone ought to be the test of all publications; that, if the writer or publisher can prove the *truth* of what he says, he ought to be regarded as not guilty of any offence against the law in writing or publishing it; and, if he fail in that proof, he ought (if his writing be injurious to any body, or has a clearly injurious tendency) to be regarded as guilty of an offence against the law. And, as to mere *opinions,* they never ought to be deemed a crime; for, if unsupported by good reasons, they pass for nothing, they can produce no effect; and, if supported by good reasons, they ought to pass for something, they ought to produce effect, and it is meritorious to publish them.——I now come to the last point, on which it was my intention to speak relative to the liberty of the press, namely, *what must naturally be the consequence of all attempts to stifle the liberty of the press;* by which I mean, you will observe, the *impartial* use of the press, the right to publish the *truth* about every thing and every body, and especially about *the character and conduct of public men,* that is to say, all men in public stations, whether in the state, the legislature, the army, the navy, the law, or the church.——There is no man living, who has not, at some time or other, experienced the pain arising from being *compelled to refrain from speaking the truth.* It is what no man easily forgives: "I kept silence," says St. Paul, "even from speaking good "words, though it was *pain and grief* to "me." This is a sort of pain and grief, which the restrained person very seldom fails to remember; and, accordingly we see, that the stifling of the freedom of the press has never succeeded for any length of time in this country. The Stuarts tried it pretty well, and they finally had their reward in their expulsion from the throne. Of all the detestable deeds of Charles the First's Attorney General, NOY, none were so much resented by the people as his persecutions of the press. Ship-money was the invention of this fellow; and though that, through the virtuous resistance of HAMPDEN, became the match that set fire to the pile, the combustible materials consisted in great part of the persecutions of the press, especially in the persons of PRYNN, BASTWICK, and BURTON, who were, by the corrupt and cruel tyrants of the Court of Star Chamber, sentenced to heavy fines, cruel tortures, and imprisonment in distant jails. These men were brought from their distant imprisonment by a vote of the Commons' House of Parliament, and

came to London surrounded by thousands of people, who conducted them from town to town, loaded with kindness, presents, and blessings. And those who had sent them away had the mortification to see them enter London and be conducted along streets literally strewed with flowers, the people bearing branches and garlands in their hands.——Such were the people of England in those days; and where is the man of a right mind, who does not, on *this* account, feel proud at being descended from them?——Not long after this, *their judges became the objects of punishment;* and LAUD, the Archbishop, who had been one of the most inexorable of the Star Chamber gang, was committed to the Tower, on an impeachment by the House of Commons. There he lay for three years, till people, in the heat of the contest with the king, which was then begun, seemed to have forgotten him; but, PRYNN was now become a member of parliament; and, was it any wonder that *he* did not *forget* him? LAUD had sentenced him to pay 10,000 pounds in a fine to *the king;* to have his ears cut off close to his head; to have S. L. (Seditious Libeller) burnt in each cheek; and to be imprisoned for life without pen, ink, or paper, and without any friend ever being suffered to see him; and yet this same tyrant, when he himself was, at last, brought to trial, made a sentimental complaint about the *malice* and the *rudeness* of Mr. PRYNN! He was, however, put to death: a sentence much more humane than that which he passed upon Mr. PRYNN and his associates.——The attempt of the Star Chamber to stifle the liberty of the press not only *failed,* but it brought destruction upon the heads of those who made it; and, after various struggles, similar attempts drove out the family of Stuart for ever to become exiles in foreign lands, being unworthy to live in this.——And what could be more natural? The people, who were right-minded, must necessarily hate them. To murder them by inches for publishing *truth* was what they could not be expected to bear; and, BURTON, I think it was, told LAUD, upon the trial of the former, to consider well that it might come to *his turn* to be tried. Nothing short of what Laud received had he to expect from their hands, if ever he fell into them.——But, nothing is so *blind* as *mere power.* It never looks an inch before its nose; and the greater it is the more short-sighted it is. It never calculates upon any accidents. Its pride and insolence only does it listen to. It is dead to all feelings, either of justice or compassion.——To stifle the liberty of the press is next to impossible; and, if it could be done, what would be the consequence? A *military despotism,* or the *subjugation of the country.* There is no middle. It must be one or the other of these two; and, if you have not the means of maintaining the former, the latter must come, if an extinguishment of the liberty of the press were to take place.——Napoleon has smothered the liberty of the press; but, then, he has the means of maintaining a military despotism; and, as long as he can maintain that, he will do what he pleases. He is, besides, in no fear or danger from without. He stands in no need of the love and zeal and valour of the mass of the people. He has no occasion to cry "*wolf;*" for his country is in no danger of an attack from any enemy. But, if he were in danger of an attack from any enemy from without, he must give up his system against the press, or he must yield up the country; for, the people would not be able to see in that enemy any thing more oppressive than in him; and, when he called upon them *to defend their coasts,* they would naturally say: "*Why?* You have taken from us *all* our liberty, all the safety to our persons and our property, the last of which we hold only in name; you have denied us even the liberty of *complaining* of the treatment we receive; and what *more* can the enemy do? *Why,* then, to the loss of property and liberty, should we add the manifest risk of the loss of *life?*" ——No description of men, no sect, no party, were ever yet extinguished by persecution; nor was the effect of any doctrine or opinion ever lessened by such means. Even error, glaring absurdity, gains strength by this species of attack. What must, then, be the consequence, if such an attack be made upon *truth?* There is something in hostility to the best feelings of man to tell him that it is *criminal* to say the truth. It may be often very malicious to say all that you know to be true of persons in a private station; often very wicked, morally speaking; but, to tell a man that he becomes a *criminal,* a *malefactor,* for saying no more than what is *true,* is what no man of right sentiments can bear with patience.——Here I conclude this series of articles upon the Liberty of the Press, begging leave to repeat my request, that the reader will go

through, with attention, the Letter, before mentioned, which will be found at the end of this Summary.

AMERICAN STATES.——The dispute with America seems to be brought to a close, or nearly so, and appearances would indicate, that an *open rupture* will be the consequence.——I do not believe that an open rupture will take place, at least, I do not believe, that it will end in *a war*. But, in the meanwhile, it is proper to see the grounds of the dispute in the right light, and to endeavour to form a correct opinion as to its consequences.——In the last Volume of the Register, I not only gave a clear and concise history of the dispute; but, I subjoined all the official documents, of any importance, relating to it.——To that Volume, at page 1185 and onwards, I must refer the reader for full information upon the subject; and, the historical part of the article containing references to the documents in support of the several statements, there can remain no doubt as to the accuracy of the whole.——The article, here referred to, was published on the 5th of December last, at which time, I could not, of course, know what was then passing and had just passed in America.——By a reference to page 1215, it will be seen, that the last of the documents, then in our possession, came down to the 2nd of November. They consisted, as will be seen, of a Proclamation of the President, MR. MADISON, and of a Circular Letter of the Secretary of the Treasury, dated on the 2nd of November. Since that time there have been published several important documents relating to the subject; but, as I wish to *keep them together*, and as I have not room for the whole of them in this Number, I shall insert them in my next, contenting myself here with some general remarks on the subject.——It clearly appears, that the American government is resolved not to permit any intercourse with us, unless we annul our Orders in Council and revoke our system of Paper Blockade. This our ministers seem resolved not to do; and, were not things in a wrong *shape*, I should commend them for their resolution. If they stood upon the manly ground of *maritime sovereignty*, I should say that they did well; but, even then, as I said in the article above referred to, they seem bound, in consequence of their promises, to do away what the Americans complain of, if the French have repealed their Berlin and Milan Decrees, and this they have, I believe, done.——The question of *right*, however, no one can settle, in the case of nations. It is all matter of *expediency*; and we have only to enquire, whether it be or be not expedient for the Americans to break with us upon this ground.——I am of opinion that it is. The persons who are now, and, for some years, have been, at the head of affairs in America, are all hostile to *foreign connections*, and particularly connections with England, which they regard as dangerous to the liberties of America. They have seen what Banks and East India Companies and Meetings of Merchants and Bankers have produced in England; and they seem to have resolved, that the same shall not happen in their country.——The stoppage of intercourse, which took place two years ago, produced a wonderful effect in America. It turned numbers, and very great numbers, of those who were before employed in raising corn and making flour and breeding cattle for *exportation*; it turned great numbers of these into *manufacturers*; and this was the more easy from a peculiarity in the American population, namely, that of a considerable portion of the people being manufacturers, who have emigrated from different parts of this kingdom, and especially from Ireland, and who, until of late, have been, in America, employed, for the far greater part, in agriculture.——When, therefore, there was no longer any out-let for the super-abundance of the soil, they fell to work to making woollen and linen and cotton cloth, and, indeed, all those things which were imported from England; and, the progress made in manufactures is truly astonishing.——The soil and climate of America admits of changes more rapid than in this or any country of Europe; and, the people being unburdened with taxes, and, of course, with paupers; every family having a plenty for present spending, and most families some little matter before hand, a change from one occupation to another, a short stagnation of trade, is of little consequence to the mass of the people; and, of course, the government feels little inconvenience from such stagnation.——Only ten years ago, no man dreamt of seeing cloth for his coat made in America. Now, they make as good cloth there as we can here, or, at least, so nearly to it, that the difference is of no sort of consequence.——Lands that were a wilderness when I

was in that country are now not only settled, but have considerable *manufactories* established in them. The following statement, which I copy from the BALTIMORE EVENING POST of the 20th Dec. 1810, will enable the reader to form some idea of the progress that manufactures are making. He will observe, that these are, all but the first settlements, quite *recently formed.* The land was covered with woods only about 12 or 15 years ago. One of them, is, he will perceive, in KENTUCKY; and when he has well considered this statement, he will want little more to enable him to say when the manufactures of England will cease to be wanted in America.

" *Ulster county,* N. Y. contains 26,576 Inhabitants—who during the last year made 349,329 yards of cloth!—The increase of inhabitants in Ulster and Sullivan counties (the latter lately taken from the former) since the last census, appears to be 7,831.

Total in	1810	32,084
Do.	1800	24,853
		7,831

" *Gennessee county* has 12,657 inhabitants: ten years since it was almost a wilderness; who during the present year manufactured

29,767	yds. woollen cloth
66,690	do linen do
2,427	do cotton do
10,500	lbs leather
7,700	gals whiskey
1,400	bush. salt
187	tons potash

" *Jefferson county* has 15,136 inhabitants—who last year, manufactured about 64,000 yards of cloth, 51,000 of which were woollen; they have 20,505 sheep.

" *Nelson county, Kentucky,* has 14,083 inhabitants—who last year, manufactured

190,880	yds. of cloth
76,370	lbs sugar
200,000	do hemp.
160,050	gals whiskey
125,000	lbs spun-yarn
1,000	gals linseed oil
28,000	lbs cut nails
2,000	do powder
4,550	hides."

It is not in the nature of things that such a country should remain *dependant* upon this, or any other, for its wearing apparel or houshold furniture.——Compare the number of yards of cloth with the number of persons, and you will soon see what the country is capable of, and what it is actually doing.——It is, as I before observed, a favourite object with MR. MADDISON and with all those who have much influence in America, to render their country independent of this and all other countries; but, especially to *wean* it off from *this* country, whence they have most reason to apprehend those mischiefs which they are anxious to prevent. External commerce has never been a favourite with them; and if they quarrel about it with other nations it is merely for the purpose of getting plausible grounds for shutting it out. So that our ministers appear to me to be doing precisely the thing that the American Government most earnestly wishes for; and, I shall be very much deceived indeed, if we do not find the latter so manage the dispute in future as to prevent the commercial intercourse from being renewed *at any future period.* The suspensions of it before have prepared the way gradually for a complete and perpetual putting an end to it; and, as if nothing was to be left undone in the work, the " *deliverance of Europe*" by the Pitt School has thrown a fair share of the flocks of Spain into the hands of the Americans, and the same work of " *deliverance*" has, for 18 years, been sending manufacturers to make the wool into cloth. To American commerce, therefore, now bid adieu, I think for ever; and, very glad shall I be of it, being fully convinced, that the change will be *beneficial to both countries;* being fully convinced, that to external commerce we owe no small part of the evils we endure; and that external commerce is not at all necessary either to the independence or the happiness of England. Indeed, I am fully convinced, that the *exact contrary* is the case, and that it is to this species of commerce, that the country now owes the far greater part of its dangers and its miseries. How many millions has this commerce cost us in fleets, in armies, in convoys, in all the long lists of contractors and robbers belonging to them, and all growing out of this external commerce! How many millions have the East India Company cost us! How many millions have been lent to sustain this commerce; what ruin, what misery, what millions of mischiefs has this commerce brought upon us! What a hold does it now give our great enemy; and how it enables him to annoy us!——I am aware, that, in the destruction of external commerce will be included the ruin of many

worthy individuals;—but, though I feel for them, I must feel more for my country.——I shall continue this subject in my next, particularly as to the documents lately published, relative to the dispute with America.

Wm. COBBETT.

State Prison, Newgate, Tuesday, March 5, 1811.

A LETTER TO LORD ELLENBOROUGH,

Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench, upon the subject of his Charge in the Libel Case, Sir John Carr *against* Hood *and* Sharpe.

"We must allow a latitude to the free discus- "sion of the merits and demerits of authors and "their works; otherwise we may *talk*, indeed, "of the liberty of the press, but there will be *in* "*reality* an *end of it.*"—Report of Lord Ellenborough's Charge.

My Lord;—Either that *liberty*, of which we have boasted, and do boast so much, is a mere sound; either the whole thing is a specious and delusive fraud, or the result of the Action, recently tried before you in the case of Carr against Hood and Sharpe, is not only of greater importance to the nation than the recent victories over the French, in Portugal, but of greater importance than would be a series of victories, by which Buonaparté should be overthrown. For, what do we promise ourselves, as the fruit of such victories? Why, the secure enjoyment of our lives and property; security from that oppression, which we should, in all probability, experience at his hands. This, after all, is the *sole end* of all our sacrifices and of the dangers and sufferings of our countrymen who are in arms. There is no other rational purpose that we can have in view. This being the case, I am pretty confident that the public when they duly reflect upon the matter will be convinced, that, on the 25th of July last, a greater victory was gained for England under you, than has been gained, by land or sea, for many years past.

The doctrines laid down by you, upon this memorable occasion, seem, indeed, to have been restricted as to their application. They seem to have been rather carefully confined to "*authors* and *their works*;" but, in pursuance of the purpose for which alone I now address you, I shall, I think, succeed in convincing you, that this restriction cannot subsist, consistently with reason. I have below, given an abridgment of the Report of the Trial,* in which I have retained *all* that was said by you; but, that we may have the matter fairly before us, I will here shortly state the substance of your doctrines, supposing what you said to have been correctly reported.

The first of these words I have taken for my motto. The next time you speak, you say, that we must really not cramp observations upon authors and their works; that they should be liable to exposure, to criticism, and even to ridicule, if their works be ridiculous; that, otherwise, the first who writes a book upon any subject, will maintain a monopoly of sentiment upon it; that thus vice and error will be perpetuated, and so we should go on to the end of time; and that you cannot conceive that an action is maintainable on such ground. Upon Mr. Garrow's observing, that, though an author's book might be ridiculed, the critics had no right to endeavour to destroy him altogether as an author, you said, that you did not know that; that, (speaking in the interrogative form) suppose a man published a book injurious to public morals, of infinite mischief to the public taste, *containing bad maxims of government*, or any thing else that *ought to be decried*, are we not at liberty to *expose that work?* Aye, and expose the author of it too, as far as he is connected with the work, and that in the most pointed language of wit, humour, or ridicule; that a critic, in such case, conferred a benefit on the public; that the destruction of the author's reputation was nothing; that it was a reputation which ought to be destroyed; that it was idle to talk of the liberty of the press, if one man might not write freely upon the work of another; that, if there had been an attack upon the moral character of the author, or any attack on his character *unconnected with his work*, the law would have afforded him protection. Upon Mr. Garrow's saying, that the defendants had not destroyed Carr's reputation *fairly*, you said that *he* must show that it was *not fairly* done; and upon his replying that the *caricature* was a proof of unfairness, you bade him go on with his case.——In your charge, after having repeated your sentiments respecting the public utility of writing down bad books, you said, that this, however, was applicable to *fair and candid* criticism; that, as to the *loss* sustained by an author from

* See Vol. XIV. p. 432.

such a cause, it was what you in the law, called damnum absque injuriâ, *loss which the law does not consider as an injury*, because it is a loss which he ought to sustain, a loss of fame and profits to which he was never entitled; that, if it were otherwise, you did not know where we were to stop; that you knew of nothing that more threatened the liberty of the press, in the days in which we live, than to give encouragement to this species of action; that, however, you wished not to be misunderstood, for that, if there had been any thing in the criticism, of a libellous tendency, *wholly foreign to the work*, or unconnected with the author of it, as *embodied* in it, the action was maintainable; that neither yourself nor the jury had ever appeared before the world in the character of an author, or at least you never had; that, if you had, you should not think yourself entitled to maintain an action against any body else, who ridiculed your work, and proved it to be ridiculous; that, in fine, if the jury thought, that the criticism was upon the work, and upon the author as connected with the work, and not written by way of calumny upon him *as an individual*, you were of opinion that the action was not maintainable; that if, on the contrary, they should be of opinion that the criticism was written against the author, *as a man*, and unconnected with his work, then you thought the action was maintainable.——*After the verdict was given*, you thought it necessary to caution the audience against a misunderstanding of what had passed. "I hope nobody will under- "stand from the result of this trial, that "there is the least countenance given to "*slander*, or to ridicule any author, any "more than *any other individual*, unless "such ridicule be *connected with his works*, "*and the author is embodied with his work*; "for courts of justice are as tender of the "moral characters of all men, whether "they be authors or not, as they are firm "in the maintenance of the right of every "individual, to give a free opinion, on "*every publication of a literary work*."

It is into the reasonableness of these *reservations* and *restrictions*, that I now propose to enquire. First, as to the qualifications of the word "criticism." You would have it to be *fair*, and, in one place, it would seem, that you insist upon its being *candid* as well as fair. I always thought, that the words were synonymous; but, whatever be their meaning, they express that quality which you hold to be necessary, in order to justify the criticism, though the author be embodied in his work. But, be this quality what it may, *who* is to tell us whether it exist or not? Evidence can be given as to *truth* or *falsehood*; as to the obedience or disobedience of any law; as to the performance or breach of any well known moral duty; as to any thing in short, that is clearly defined and settled. About what is *fair* who can say that any thing has been settled? Where is the standard whereby we are to judge of *fairness*? It is evident that there can be no such standard, and that the point must always turn upon mere opinion. What would this question of fairness come under, then, the *law* or the *fact* of the case? Who would settle the point, the judge or the jury? "*One* "*of the jury*" upon this trial appeared to have a great desire to shew himself learned in the law; but, it will hardly be contended, that juries, or that courts of justice, can be, or ought to be, made into supervisors of the *taste* of the press. A judge in America added the quality "*decent*," as essential to publications to be tolerated. Who was to be the judge of the decency? There is a maxim, which says, "miserable are those who are sub- "jected to laws of uncertain operation." Indeed where the operation is not uniform, and where the principle is not clearly laid down and well known, it is an abuse of words to call the thing law which always implies something whereby a man's duties or rights are defined. About this reservation, however, I think we need not be very uneasy, as the result of the trial, together with your opinions, decidedly in favour of the result, enables us to proceed to the length of imputing to a man (no, not a man, *an author*) all sorts of folly; to exhibit him as a fool, a lunatic and a vagabond in point of property; and lest our pages of letter-press should fail, to call in the distorting aid of the pencil to effect our purpose. This has been deemed *fair* criticism; and, therefore, it will, I imagine, be very difficult for us to make use of any, that can, without departing from the principles, upon which this case was decided, be deemed *unfair*.

But, the person ridiculed must, it would seem from this report of your language, be not only an author of a written and published work, but, he must also embody himself in the work. What is meant by this embodying work I do not very clearly

perceive. In other places it is said, that he is to be ridiculed no farther than he appears *in connection* with his work; and that, unconnected with his work, he is to be treated with all the tenderness which the law takes care to provide for the individual. But, who is to settle these nice points of connection and incorporation? How am I to know what is meant by this connecting and embodying? Suppose I were to take up a book written for the purpose of persuading me, that I am very wrong indeed in objecting to the ministry of the day; suppose this work has for its author some man who lives upon the taxes and whose wife lives upon them too; suppose the whole family to be chin-deep in sinecures and reversions; must I not speak of these; must I not expose the author's motives for his work; must I not, if my pen fail me, call in the aid of the pencil to exhibit this author in the act of picking John Bull's pocket with one hand while he holds up, in the shape of a pair of winkers, his book in the other hand; must I not hang a label marked *plunder*, out of his pocket; and must I not put his wife and children in the character of sturdy paupers, jeering those from whom they receive their daily bread? Assuredly I ought to do all this; and yet this author might so write his book as not to *embody* himself with it, in any shape whatever; and I might be told, perhaps, that his places and pensions had nothing at all to do with the merits or demerits of the ministry; that I had gone into a subject foreign to the book; and that, therefore, I ought to be punished as a libeller; whereas it would appear to me quite necessary to go into these matters in order to shew the *motive* of the author, and that for the purpose of preventing his book from doing public mischief.——It is not at all necessary for an author to *connect* himself with his book. He need not write in the form of such connection. He may, like the news-paper people and the reviewers, write in the style royal, and call himself WE; or, he may write in the impersonal altogether. There are very few instances, in which an author can be said to embody himself in his work. It can, indeed, only be when he relates his own adventures, or gives an account of transactions, in which he has personally borne a part. And *why*, I beg leave to ask, should this particular description of authors be exposed to ridicule more than any other description? Why is it so very necessary to expose their folly and destroy their reputation? Of what particular harm is their success? In what way is it intitled to any extraordinary quantity of legal reprobation? Why should these fools be outlawed any more than the rest? You may see a very sufficient reason for the distinction; but, I confess that I can see no reason at all for it. Every man, who writes and publishes, challenges the criticisms of the world. The very act of writing the book embodies him with it. It is his act. It belongs to him. It is the picture of his mind. It is a part of himself. The critic has a right to take the man and the book together, and to criticise them, and, if he pleases, ridicule, or endeavour to ridicule them both. If he has not this right, he has no right at all; he is never safe; and he had better lay aside his pen. If he himself be foolish in his criticism; if he be unfair or malignant, why, the world, who will soon perceive it, will not fail to punish him in the only suitable manner. There was a still further qualification, too; not only must the man have published his acts, or his work; but, he must have embodied himself with the work, and the work must *be ridiculous*. All this must be seen to exist before the ridicule could be justified. But here again we have our old difficulty; *who* is to determine, whether the work be ridiculous or not? The jury are to judge of the alledged offence under the direction of the judge; but, it will not be pretended that this is a tribunal, wherein to try the merits or demerits of a literary work. What, then, becomes of this qualification? The critic will say, that the work is ridiculous; the author will say that it is not; even the public may be divided upon the point; and who in all the world is to settle it? You say, and very truly, that it is of great public utility to expose ridiculous works, and to destroy the reputation of their authors; but, if I should be engaged in an act of great public utility of this sort, how should I fare if you and the jury should happen to think that *not ridiculous*, which I took for ridiculous? How am I to know that you will be of my opinion? And must I not, then, be continually in a state of uncertainty; and must not a press, thus shackled, be infinitely worse than no press at all? The fool or rogue runs no risk, either in his writings or publishings; while his critic is never safe for a moment. Sir John Carr saw this, and, therefore, he thought to terrify his critic into silence. You have now set your face against this

species of action; and, it was high time, for if it had succeeded even the most stupid part of the people would have laughed at the talk of "*the liberty of the press.*" That talk would not have deceived any creature capable of counting its fingers.

The most important restriction, however, relates to the quality, or, rather, the *profession*, of the person censured, or ridiculed. Sir John Carr had evidently conceived, that the *feelings* of an *author* were no more to be hurt with impunity than the feelings of any other sort of man; and, as he had heard, that it was a libel *to hurt the feelings* of any person, by the means of the press, he expected, of course, to hear you reprobate the conduct of his critics. It was quite just and reasonable, to be sure that he should be told, that his work was liable to ridicule; that the ridicule naturally grew out of the demonstrations of his own want of talent; that if it were forbidden to ridicule such a work and such an author, great public mischief would therefrom arise, and that the liberty of the press would be a farce too contemptible to be borne. All this was very right; but, he had heard it laid down, that *the line of interdiction began when the feelings of any person were hurt.* No matter *who* or *what* he was. No matter what his actions or his character. He had heard of no restrictions, reservations, or qualifications, he had been told, he had heard it laid down as a maxim of law; he had heard it so laid down in a charge to a jury; he had seen a verdict of *guilty* given upon the principle; and that principle, without any qualification, was, that *no person* had a right to use the press for the purpose of turning into ridicule either the *talents* or the *person* of *any one*; and that, wherever a publication wounded the feelings of *any person*, there the line of interdiction began. He had heard of no exception with respect to authors and their works. He had proof that both his talents and his person had been turned into ridicule. He had proof, that, in a picture as well as in words, he had been exhibited to the public as a man of most despicable talents, as a frothy fool, as a lunatic at large, as a sort of literary vagabond. He had clear proof of all this; he had proof besides, that he had, from this attack, sustained a special damage to a considerable amount; and it was quite impossible for any one not to be convinced, that his feelings had, by the alledged libel, been severely wounded. Well, then, as he had heard it laid down as a maxim of law and justice, that it was a crime to ridicule the talents or wound the feelings of any person, why should not he bring his action *as well as another*?

Why, for the reasons stated by you. Most excellent reasons you have given us, why his action should not be maintainable; but none at all, that I can discover, why the plaints of persons, *not authors*, should be any more attended to than his. None, that I can discover, why the act of book-writing should be more exposed to criticism than any other of the acts of men; none; no, none at all, why authors should not have feelings as well as other people; nor any reason whatever why the talents of others should not be exposed to ridicule as well as the talents of authors. It is necessary as you well observed, to expose and destroy a silly or wicked book, and the reputation of its author along with it, because such books do great public mischief, and because if not put down by exposure, they would continue to do mischief to the end of time. But, there are *good* books as well as bad ones; there are authors whose works do good instead of mischief; and, therefore I can see no reason whatever why the act of book-writing should be more exposed to public censure and ridicule than any *other act of man.*

You were so good as to signify that *the liberty of the press* was something very valuable to this nation. Not in direct terms, indeed, but by implication you certainly did say this. Now may I take the liberty of asking you *in what way* you think it can operate to the advantage of this nation? In the way of *praise*; in bedawbing all the rich rogues and fools of the time with praise as well as all the wise and virtuous men? Hardly this. In confining its praises to the wise and the good? This would be very laudable, and might be of some little use: but, then, the word *liberty* would be without a meaning; for the devil is in it if we need ask for leave to praise any one, particularly if he be in a public capacity, or in any capacity, which must make him desirous of possessing the good opinion of the world. If you mean, as I think you must, that the *liberty* of the press is valuable, as the means of detecting, and exposing vice and folly; then give me leave to say, that it cannot, consistently, I will not say with *reason* ..... but it cannot consistently with *common sense*, with bare common sense, be restricted to authors and their writings; for what would the thing

then amount to but this: a *liberty* possessed by the press of combatting *its own* vices and follies, and of doing nothing more? Such a press would be totally unworthy of praise, or of protection of any sort. To speak of such "*liberty*" as a valuable thing; to make it a matter of boast; to hold it up as one of the means of preventing the people from being enslaved, would be an instance of absurdity surpassing any of those pointed at in the works of sir John Carr. Why, this is a sort of liberty, that the Emperor Napoleon grants to his press; and, why should he not? He would be a fool indeed if he cared what authors said of *one another* and of *one another's books.* It may be an amusement to him to witness their quarrels; and, in this way, the press may be, with the public, as useful as a puppet-shew, or any thing else that serves to produce a momentary oblivion of their cares and their sufferings. All that Napoleon forbids his press to do, is to meddle with him, his government, his army, his navy, or any of his family, That is all. The press may *praise* all these indeed; it has full *liberty* to do that; but, it must neither *censure* nor *ridicule* any one of them; it has no liberty to do that; and it is honestly told so; there is no sham in the case; no delusion; no talk about liberty of the press; those who write and publish are plainly told, that if they meddle with these matters, they shall be punished; and accordingly, they do not meddle with them, nor are they guilty of the base hypocrisy to *pretend* that they have a free press.

It must, I think, be quite evident, that, if censure and ridicule, if exposure of vice and folly, if depreciating talents or character, were to be allowed only in cases where the party assailed was the author of a book, or a public writer of some description, the *liberty* of the press could, at the utmost, effect no other good object than that of counteracting the vices and follies of the press itself; it could not possibly produce any balance in favour of the press, which, in that case, could, as far as related to *freedom*, be of no possible use. Suppose, for instance, that I write a book, containing principles subversive of the constitution, and that some critic exposes both me and my book to such contempt, that the book is at once destroyed and my reputation is ruined. I am rightly served, and the critic is, it now would appear, not exposed to the fangs of the law; but, it would be quite silly, upon an occasion like this, to boast of the liberty of the press as a public good; for, supposing the critic to have completely succeeded, all that he has done is to place matters where they were before, and *where they would have remained if no press at all had existed.* You very judiciously cited the instance of Mr Locke and sir Robert Filmer, and observed that the former did great good in writing down the latter; though, between you and I, I much question, whether, if Mr. Locke lived in the present day, he would be much of a favourite. But, what mighty thing did Mr. Locke do here? He answered sir Robert Filmer; he put him down. I doubt the fact; for Filmer's principles are much more in vogue than those of Mr. Locke. But, admit the fact, all that Mr. Locke did, with the aid of the press, was to prevent sir Robert Filmer from doing *harm* with the press. Between them the press, at the very best, could do *no good*, and it might do some harm. Who would not think a man foolish, aye, "the "greatest fool that ever walked the earth "without a leader," who should keep a fox in his poultry-yard, and a dog to watch the fox; and who should boast of the valuable services rendered him by the dog? "Why, "you stupid ass," his neighbour would say to him, "for what do you keep either dog "or fox; why not hang them both up at "once; and give to some really useful "animal the food by which they are sus- "tained?

I shall be told, perhaps, that the press is of great public utility independent of this sort of use of it. That it communicates a great deal of knowledge to the public at large, which would, were it not for the press, be confined to the possession of comparatively a very few persons. This may be true; but, this is not our subject. We are talking about the *liberty* of the press. It is not the right to write and *to print* and *to publish*, upon which I am taking the liberty to address you, but *the right to censure and to ridicule*, by the mighty means of writing and printing and publishing. There are a multitude of books, as connected with which the *liberty* of the press has no meaning. In lifting up my eyes, the first books I see before me, are Marshall's Gardening, Pontey's Pruner, Bonnycastle's Algebra, Code Diplomatique, Vauban's Fortification, and Daniel's Rural Sports. Why, my lord, the *liberty* of the press has no more to do with books like these than it has to do with the making of shoes or the blacking of shoes; and, as I have, I think, pretty clearly shewn, that it is to prove oneself void of even common

to set a value upon the liberty of the press, if that liberty is to extend no further than the censuring or ridiculing of productions of the press itself, there must, it appears to me, be another meaning attached to this word *liberty*, as connected with the press. By the word *liberty* we always conceive a something, *to which there are some persons who have a dislike.* When we talk of securing our liberties, we should talk downright nonsense, if our hearers did not suppose, that there were some persons, somewhere or other, *who were likely to be enemies to those liberties.* The two ideas are inseparable. You cannot talk of liberty, without supposing the fear, nearer or more distant, of slavery. What other sense is there in the word liberty? Why talk about any such thing? In short, political liberty has these two meanings; *freedom from oppression;* and *the legal right of doing certain things which may be displeasing and even injurious to others.* The great end is freedom from oppression; but, to secure this, it is indispensably necessary, that men should be legally protected in doing certain things that may hurt the feelings and injure the fortunes of other men. This implies a natural and a necessary opposition of interests as well as of feelings. One part of the community are necessarily opposed to another part; and, are we to be told, that if one part *feel wounded* at the censure or the gibes of the other, that the latter is to be liable to legal punishment. All our notions about the liberty of the press, the whole history of it, tell us, that it means a legal right, in any man, freely to examine, in print, into the character, talents, and conduct of any other man (especially if that other be in a public situation,) and, if he please, to censure or ridicule such character, talents, or conduct. It has *now* been decided, that this is the meaning, as far as relates to authors and their works, but, I have, I think, proved, that if this be all, the liberty of the press could not possibly be of any public advantage, and that to boast of it would be to hold ourselves up to the scorn and contempt of the world. The press is daily boasted of as the great instrument in the cause of political and religious freedom. But, I am in a fever to know *how it can possibly be so,* if writers are to be punished every time they *hurt the feelings* of another man? To the press is ascribed the reformation of the church in this kingdom. Now, do you not think that the authors of that day *hurt the feelings* of the monks and friars, whose tricks they exposed to the deluded people? Well, then, if those authors had been legally punished the moment they began their exposures, do you think that the reformation would ever have taken place? Nay, is it not impossible that it should have taken place, through the means of the press, or, that the press should have at all contributed towards that great and memorable event? "Aye, aye, very true," some precious peculating, corrupting, double-distilled knave may tell me, "but there is *now* "no reformation wanted; there is now no "delusion, no trick, no hypocrisy, no "humbug, going on, either in religion or "politics." Well then, if this be the case, of what can any body be afraid? If there be nothing to expose, there can be no exposure. If all our ministers are wise and able, all our senators incorrupt, all our generals brave, all our priests pious, and all our princes exemplary in their conduct, how is it possible for any man to hurt their feelings by remarking upon their talents, their character, or their conduct? What a thing it would be for a government to say to the people: "You have a right to free-"dom, to secure your freedom it is essen-"tial that you should enjoy liberty of the "press; by the liberty of the press you "will check, in time, every encroachment "on your freedom; but, *our feelings* must "necessarily be hurt by a disclosure of the "fact that we are making such encroach-"ments, and, by the lord! if any of you "hurt the feelings of any one of us, you "shall be thrown into jail, and, perhaps, "have your ears cropped off into the bar-"gain?" What a thing would it be for a government to say this to a people? And what a people must that be, to whom a government would venture to say it? Is there a man in the whole nation who believes that the emperor Napoleon would dare to say such a thing to any of those nations, whom we, with perfect truth, call his slaves? No; even that master in the arts of tyranny would not, at the head of his army, tell the most crouching of his slaves that they had *liberty* to do that for which, if they did it, he would chop off their ears and make them end their days in prison. This is a pitch at which no openly avowed despotism ever yet arrived.

In certain observations which, upon this subject, I offered to my readers at page 271 of this volume,* I stated, that, as to the *injury* which is done to

* Vol. XIV.

him to ridicule, it ought to be considered as no objection to the ridicule; because, the injury to him might, *be a great advantage to the public*. I was much pleased to see this stated by you, who described it in the case in question, as a damage which the law did not regard as an injury. You said, that it was a damage which the exposed author ought to sustain; that the critic had taken from him gains and reputation to which he was never entitled; and that, though it was a damage to him, it was, as in the case of Sir Robert Filmer, a great advantage to the public. You did, indeed, clog this excellent doctrine with the words *author* and *literary work*; and, in the charge, you observed to the jury that neither they nor *you* had appeared before the world, in the character of an author, or at least, that you never had; which observation came immediately after you had been laying down the right to censure and ridicule *authors*. But, we shall find, I think, from the *reason*, upon which this right was founded by you, that the right must *apply to all other persons* as well as to authors. The doctrine was this: men have a right to expose and to ridicule published works and the authors thereof as far as connected with such works; they have a right to proceed so far as totally to destroy the reputation and the means of livelihood of such persons; and, instead of being legally punished for it, are entitled to commendation. Now for the reason why: *because, if this were not the case, bad morals and bad principles of government and other bad things might be taught, and might be established and perpetuated, to the great and lasting injury of the public.* Well, then, censure and ridicule, through the means of the press, is here justified, because they are useful *in preventing injury to the public*. That is the reason why they are to be tolerated, and even highly commended; and, it appears to be, utterly impossible for the most ingenious man alive to assign a reason why, the press should not be employed to censure and ridicule those acts of *other persons*, as well as of authors, which tend to produce an injury to the public. It is but a very small part, comparatively, of public mischief that proceeds from the press; the far greater part of it comes from those who have the miserable press under their controul; and shall not *they* be exposed as well as a poor silly writer of travels? My lord Mountnorris, who very wisely read the Knight's book previous to the purchase of it, was, by the "Pocket Book," induced not to complete the purchase. Now, if I should hear that it was intended to make a commander of some stupid fellow who was also a coward, would it not be right in me to expose his stupidity and his cowardice, and thereby prevent, if I could, his being made a commander, and his bringing injury upon the public? Suppose me to see a man appointed to any office, who, in my opinion, is totally unfit for it, and who, of course, must produce an injury to the public by remaining in it; should I not, upon the principle laid down by you, have a right to censure and ridicule him, to endeavour to bring others over to my opinion, and thus to put him out of his office, and to destroy that false reputation, by the means of which he obtained it? Yes: I am sure you will, and must, say yes; for you must perceive, that the higher the office, the more necessary it is that it should be faithfully and ably served. What was the work of this wretched knight? What was it to the public whether his trash continued to be circulated or not? Mr. Garrow, who seems to have been almost in as piteous a plight as his client, told the jury that Sir John had not meddled *with politics, or parties*. I'll be sworn for the poor soul, that he had no earthly object in view other than that of gaining a comfortable livelihood; and, his works could not have made a very great noise in the world, as even the bare name of them or their author never reached me, until I read the account of the trial. Now, of what importance was this work to the public? Not a millionth part of so great importance as one single word in any one of the dispatches or proclamations or speeches of any one of the ministers; and, if we are not *freely* (that is to say without being *liable* to be *tried* for it) to censure and ridicule them, when, in our opinion, they merit it, of what service is it to the public that men of sense and wit are allowed to fall upon a poor defenceless thing like Sir John Carr? Would it not be a sad mockery to call that *liberty of the press?* Liberty of the press means liberty of opposing, as far as the press will go, the views of those who are in power. It has been called "an arm in the hands "of the people," it has been called "the "guardian of freedom;" but, how in all the world is it to guard freedom, if it be allowed to touch nothing but acts like those of poor Carr?

I trust, that the consequence of this trial will be, a right way of thinking with regard to the use of the press. You have got through a great part of the difficulty, and I am confident, that another decision or two of this sort, will make the rogues and fools shy of courts of law. Their pretensions were at war with nature. All honest men hate rogues, and all men of sense laugh at fools. It always has been so; and it ought always to be so. It is the only means of preventing roguery and folly from becoming predominant.

I am, &c. &c.

WM. COBBETT.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

ISLE OF FRANCE.——*Dispatch from Maj. Gen. Abercromby.*

(Continued from page 544.)

Many of the articles appeared to Vice Admiral Bertie and myself to be perfectly inadmissible; but the French Governor having, in the course of the same day, acceded to our terms, a capitulation for the surrender of this colony and its dependencies was finally concluded.

Your Lordship will perceive that the capitulation is in strict conformity with the spirit of your instructions, with the single exception, that the garrison is not to be made prisoners of war.

Although the determined courage and high state of discipline of the army, which your Lordship has done me the honour to place under my command, could leave not the smallest doubt in my mind in respect to the issue of an attack upon the town, I was nevertheless prevailed upon to acquiesce in this indulgence being granted to the enemy, from the desire of sparing the lives of many brave officers and soldiers, out of regard to the interests of the inhabitants of this island having long laboured under the most degrading misery and oppression, (and knowing confidentially your Lordship's further views in regard to this army) added to the late period of the season, when every hour became valuable; I considered these to be motives of much more national importance, than any injury that could arise from a small body of troops at so remote a distance from Europe, being permitted to return to their own country, free from any engagement. In every other particular, we have gained all which could have been acquired, if the town had been carried by assault.

During the course of this short service, the enemy has not afforded an opportunity to the army in general for displaying the ardent zeal and animated courage, with which every individual is inspired; but it is nevertheless my duty to represent to your Lordship in the strongest terms the merits of every corps under my command. The officers and men (European as well as native) have cheerfully and patiently submitted to the greatest fatigues and privations. During the advance of the army, the troops were unable, for the space of twenty-four hours, to procure a sufficient supply of water, but this trying circumstance did not produce a single murmur, or the smallest mark of discontent or disapprobation.

I feel myself particularly indebted to Lieutenant Colonels Picton, Gibbs, Kelso, Keating, M'Leod, and Smyth, who commanded the different brigades, as well as to Major Taynton, the senior officer of the artillery, of whose services I was deprived by a wound which he received on the day the army occupied a position before this town.

Although I have every reason to be satisfied with the zeal of the heads of departments, I feel it a particular duty incumbent upon me to express in the most pointed manner the obligations which I owe to Dr. Harris, the superintending surgeon, and to the medical staff in general, for their unremitting attention, in discharge of the important duty reposed in them.

I have received every assistance from Lieutenant Gregory, my military secretary, and the whole of my personal staff.

To Major Caldwell, of the Madras Engineers, and who accompanied me from India, I am indebted for the most able and assiduous exertions. Since his arrival amongst these islands, he has been indefatigable in procuring the necessary information, in respect to the defence of this colony; and through his means I was put in possession of an accurate plan of the town, some time previous to the disembarkation of the army; and I trust your Lordship will permit me to recommend to your Lordship's protection this valuable and experienced officer.

It is not in my power to do justice to the merits of Major General Warde; I have on every occasion received from him the most cordial co-operation and assistance; and during the short operations of the army, he was constantly at the head of

the column, directing the advanced guard, and animating the soldiers by his personal example.

The most perfect harmony and cordiality have subsisted between the Navy and Army; and I have received every assistance from Vice Admiral Bertie, and the squadron under his command.

The arrangements connected with the disembarkation were conducted in the most able and judicious manner by Captain Beaver, of his Majesty's frigate Nisus; and during the subsequent operations of the army, I am indebted to him for his unremitting attention and assiduous exertions in landing the necessary stores and provisions.

To Captain Briggs, of his Majesty's ship Clorinde, and to Capt. Lye, of the Doris, who were employed under the orders of Capt. Beaver, my most grateful acknowledgments are due for the services they performed, as well as to the officers and seamen under their command.

A body of seamen was landed from the fleet, under the command of Capt. Montague; the exertions which were used to bring forward the guns through a most difficult country, were such as to attract the admiration of the whole army; and fully entitles Capt. Montague, Lieut. Lloyd, of the Africaine, and every officer and sailor, to the encomiums I can pass on their conduct.

The battalion of marines, under the command of Capt. Liardet, supported the reputation of this distinguished corps.

This dispatch will be delivered to your Lordship by my Aid de Camp, Lieut. M'Murdo, of the Bombay Establishment, who will afford your Lordship any further information you may require respecting the late operations of the army.

I have, &c.

(Signed) J. Abercromby, Maj.-Gen.

(True Copy.)

A. E. Gregory, Military Secretary to the Commander of the Forces.

Return of the Killed, Wounded, and Missing, at the Attack of the Isle of France, on the 30th of November and 1st and 2d of December, 1810.

Head Quarters, Camp before Port Louis, Dec. 4, 1810.

Artillery—1 Major, 1 rank and file, wounded.

European Flank Battalion.

12th Foot—4 rank and file killed; 2 Lieutenants, 3 Serjeants, 23 rank and file, wounded, 2 rank and file missing.

14th Foot—1 rank and file killed; 2 rank and file wounded.

33d Foot—1 Lieutenant Colonel, 1 Serjeant, 1 rank and file, killed; 1 Serjeant, 12 rank and file, wounded.

56th Foot—3 rank and file, killed; 1 Lieutenant-Colonel, 2 rank and file, wounded; 2 rank and file missing.

Three of the rank and file missing, supposed to be killed.

Europeans.

12th Foot—1 Major, 1 Drummer, 1 rank and file, killed; 5 rank and file, wounded; 3 rank and file missing.

22d Foot—4 rank and file, wounded.

59th Foot—1 rank and file, killed; 4 rank and file wounded.

84th Foot—9 rank and file, killed; 1 Lieutenant, 1 Serjeant, 1 Drummer, 19 rank and file, wounded; 1 Drummer, 3 rank and file, missing.

89th Foot—1 rank and file, wounded.

Royal Marines—2 rank and file, wounded.

Natives.

Madras Flank Battalion—1 rank and file, wounded: 1 Drummer, missing.

1st Bengal Volunteers—1 Native Officer, 13 rank and file, missing.

2d ditto—17 rank and file, missing.

Madras Volunteer Battalion—1 Havildar killed; 3 rank and file, wounded; 2 rank and file, missing.

2d Detachment of 2d Bombay Native Infantry—1 Havildar, killed; 2 rank and file, wounded.

Madras Pioneers—2 wounded.

Total—1 Lieutenant-Colonel, 1 Major, 1 Serjeant, 2 Havildars, 1 Drummer, 22 rank and file, killed; 1 Lieutenant-Colonel, 1 Major, 3 Lieutenants, 5 Serjeants, 1 Drummer, 81 rank and file, 2 Pioneers, wounded; 1 Native Officer, 2 Drummers, 42 rank and file, missing.

N. B. One seaman killed and five wounded, not included above.

(Signed) W. Nicholson, Dep. Adj. Gen.

NAMES OF OFFICERS KILLED AND WOUNDED.

Killed—Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, 33d Regiment. Major O'Keefe, 12th Regiment.

(To be continued.)

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. XIX. No. 20.] LONDON, SATURDAY, MARCH 9, 1811. [Price 1s.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

AMERICAN STATES.——(Continued from p. 559.) The public have seen, in the reports of the Proceedings in Parliament, several questions put to the Ministers, and some little discussions, about the state of our affairs with this country; and, in my last, at the pages preceding the one above referred to, I offered some observations upon the subject.——In order, however, clearly to understand the nature and state of the dispute between the two countries, the reader must go back to the last volume of the Register, p. 1185.——Since the date of the article here referred to, that is, since the 5th of December, some other documents relating to the subject have reached us, from America and also from France.——It will be seen by a reference to my article of the 5th of December, and the documents thereunto subjoined, that England stood pledged to repeal the Orders in Council as soon as France had repealed her *Berlin* and *Milan* Decrees, which, as the reader will bear in mind, came *after* some of those Orders in Council, of which the Americans complain.——Last Summer (see Vol. 18, page 1185 and onwards for the particular dates) France announced to America that these decrees *were repealed*; whereupon America called upon us to repeal our Orders in Council, to which she received no precise answer; but, the orders were not repealed.——As soon as the American President learnt that France had repealed her decrees, he issued a proclamation, declaring the *fact*, and also declaring (as he was authorized by a particular Act of Congress) that all the restrictions imposed on the shipping and commerce of France should then cease. ——The same Act provided, that a *non-intercourse* should take place upon either of the parties, in three months from the date of such Proclamation, (see Vol. 18, p. 1215), unless that party followed the example of the other, in repealing the obnoxious Orders or Decrees; and, of course, this provision would go into effect against us on the *2nd of February* last.——This is the reason why the American ships have recently gone out unloaded, and why commerce with America is at a stand. We did not follow the example of France; we did not repeal our Orders in Council; we kept them in force; they are in force now; and, of course, we can have no commerce with America.——Of the documents, which have reached us since the date of the article in Vol. 18, above referred to, the first in order as well as importance is the American President's Message to the Congress at the opening of the Session on the 5th of Dec. 1810, and which will be found in the present Volume, at p. 48. The President there states, that the French have repealed their decrees; that England has not; that no conclusive answer has been obtained from her; that, of course, the non-intercourse act will go into execution against her on the 2nd of February; and he then suggests to the Congress whether it may not be proper to pass a law by way of adding to the efficacy of that already passed for the purpose.——The next document that reached us was a Letter of the Grand Judge of France, dated 25th Dec. 1810. This letter, which will be found in the present Volume, at page 85, and which was addressed to the President of the Council of Prizes, states that American vessels, after the 1st of November, have not been judged according to the Berlin and Milan Decrees, but are to *remain in sequestration,* until it be ascertained, that, on the 2nd of February, 1811, the American government enforces its law against England, in which case the sequestration is to be taken off.——The next documents will be found in the present Volume at page 466. There are eight of them; but they relate to the subject only incidentally. They contain the statements and reasonings in a *new* dispute between the American and French governments, relative to certain restrictions on importations into France, which restrictions, as the American government alledges, would *deprive America of all the benefit of a repeal* of the Berlin and Milan decrees; and, upon this ground, the American Secretary of State calls upon the French envoy

for explanations and modifications.——I have only noticed these documents, because, I see, they are relied upon by the defenders of our ministers as ground of defence for not repealing the Orders in Council, agreeably to the promise, which clearly made the duration of those orders depend upon that of the Berlin and Milan Decrees. But, I do not see how these documents can possibly operate in that way. They relate to a *new* dispute; they are of a date long posterior to the repeal of the French decrees; and, though they may possibly be looked to with the cheering expectation of their becoming the grounds of a new quarrel between France and America, it seems to me impossible to lug them into the old quarrel between America and us.——The last documents, relating to this subject, which have hitherto reached us, will, if I have room for them, be found in the present Number. They consist of a letter from Mr. PINCKNEY, the American minister here, to Mr. SMITH, Secretary of State in America, dated London, 5 Nov. 1810, and covering a copy of a letter from Mr. Pinckney to Lord Wellesley, dated 3 Nov. 1810; and also of the Bill, the necessity of which was suggested to Congress by the President, at the opening of the Session, for giving efficacy to the non-intercourse Act, to go into execution on the 2nd of February.——The letter from Mr. Pinckney (which is the last of which we have, as yet, any knowledge) contains, as the reader will see, little more than a repetition of what was contained in his former letters. He again calls for a repeal of the Orders in Council; he presses his request more strongly; but, that is what he specifically calls for.—What answer he might might afterwards receive, we do not yet know; but, we know that he has taken his *audience of leave,* and is about to depart, if he has not actually departed.——It is likely that Napoleon will take good care, that the breach between us and America shall not be closed, if he can possibly prevent it. He will, therefore, not fail to comply with the wishes of America in making such regulations in favour of their commerce as shall satisfy them, *provided they adhere to their non-intercourse with us,* which, as I have hinted in my last Number, is not at all inconsistent with the views of their government, nor, in the present altered state of things, with the permanent interests of their country.——The consequence of this will naturally be a state of things between us and America very little short of *war;* but, I do not think it will reach *that point;* for, if the American Government were disposed for war, which they are not, the *people* are not so disposed; and there the people pass for something.——They have nothing to *gain* by war, and war brings *taxes,* which they will not bear. They do not want, and they will not have, loans and contracts and jobs without end. There are no part of them but have *some* property; there are no set of men who have weight enough to carry measures against the people in general for the private emolument of themselves and families. In short, there are, in America, no set of men to whom *war* is a rich *harvest.* Therefore, I think they will not, if they can possibly avoid it, go to war; and, if Napoleon insist upon *that,* he will, I think, miss his mark.——But, as far as hostility to our *commerce* will go, he will have the Americans with him; and, it is to be expected, that they will resort to the seizure on *debts* due to British subjects in order to compensate those Americans, who have sustained injuries under our Orders in Council. There is, I see, an account ordered to be laid before Congress of the amount of such injuries; and, as the Americans always have about *ten* or *fifteen* millions of the money of our merchants and manufacturers in their hands, there will be ample means of compensation.——The justice or injustice of such a measure we are not now inquiring into. We are merely conjecturing what may be the fact and the consequences, which consequences would, doubtless, be extremely distressing to many worthy persons in this country, who have sent goods to America, and who can recover nothing from what has arisen out of the seizure of American vessels and goods. In short, such a measure would be, in the present state of things, a deadly blow to the manufacturers and merchants here; and, perhaps, for that very reason it may be adopted, especially if insisted upon by the Emperor of France.——What are we to do, then? Repeal the Orders in Council? That, I think, we shall not do; for, if it were done, what a commerce would be instantly thrown open with France, Holland, and the Hans Towns, all now in the dominions of France! I shall be told, that *our promise* requires it. So, indeed, it does; and, therefore, we ought to do it; but, if we do not substitute some-

thing else instead of the Orders in Council we shall be here with our warehouses bursting, while the commerce of the continent and of America would be free as air; and, the ships of America would touch in England and Ireland merely for the purpose of taking in *cargoes of manufacturers and their tools.*——Lord Wellesley talks of the *commerce of the world* being put in its *former state,* before the Orders in Council are repealed. Alas! if that is the sole condition, those Orders are like the laws of *the Medes and Persians;* for never will he see the commerce of the world restored to its former state.—*We* have long had laws, and we have them yet, for the *confiscation of foreign goods.* Napoleon has now made similar laws; and, if the Orders are to exist, 'till he repeal these laws and leave ours in force, I leave the reader to guess how long it is likely to be before our Orders will be repealed.——It has been acknowledged, in parliament, that Napoleon's restrictions have occasioned great part of our commercial distress. Indeed, all the world knew it; and this being known, is it to be supposed, that the system which has produced it will not be persevered in? It would be a folly far greater than any that yet has seized hold of us to suppose any such thing.——It is quite useless to talk about the *law of nations,* which is, and always has been, the *law given by the strongest,* or, in one word, *power;* sheer barefaced power. Where there is no arbiter; where there is no power *to decide between the litigants,* what nonsense is it to talk of *law!* Buonaparté takes the Hans Towns, and we took the Danish fleet. Buonaparté has taken Holland, and we received the Dutch fleet from the Stadholder. The question is, what is *expedient* to be done and what *can* be done. If we repeal our Orders in Council and give up the "*paper blockade*" as the Americans call it, we shall, for some time longer, have an intercourse and commerce with America, though that commerce must, from the causes stated in my last, daily diminish. But, to balance against this, the commerce of Holland and the Hans Towns and of France will all be carried on under the American flag; and, those articles of prime necessity in manufactures; the Cotton, the Indigo, and all other raw materials that are now *not wanted* in England, owing to the commercial system adopted upon the Continent, will, of course, go to the continent, where, for want of a supply of goods from England, manufactures will grow up, and will, in a very short time, cut off the commercial connection *for ever* between England and the Continent.——It is fine talking, then, about "restoring "the commerce of the world to its *former* "*state.*" Nothing short of the total, and almost instant, overthrow of Napoleon can effect this.——The Americans say to us: "Come; the French have revoked their "Decrees; and now revoke your Orders, "as you promised us you would."——"Aye," says Lord Wellesley, "so we will, "whenever the repeal of the French de-"crees shall have *actually taken effect.*" Well, but there is something more. "And "the commerce of *neutral nations* shall "have been restored to the condition, in "*which it stood previously to the promulga-*"*tion of those decrees.*" This is new. This was not mentioned before. Now, we know, that, before the issuing of those decrees, American vessels could *take in goods in the Thames and carry them to any port of the Continent,* without the risk of the vessel or the goods being seized; and we know extremely well that that cannot *now* be done, Napoleon having passed decrees, like some of our revenue laws, for confiscating all goods manufactured in England, and all colonial produce coming from her, and having, in some cases, carried the thing so far as to cause such goods and produce to be burnt. His system for putting down smuggling seems to have surpassed ours, which was thought to be the most complete in the world. But, really, his troops and boats and douaniers seem to surpass in vigilance our dragoons and revenue cutters and excisemen.——Be this as it may, however, let the preference in point of vigilance belong to us or to him, and I am sure I do not wish to deprive our own establishment of the superior merit, if it possess it; but, this is of no consequence. The fact is, that he has declared all colonial produce and manufactures coming from England or Ireland or Scotland to be *smuggled goods,* and the persons having such in their possession, he has declared to be *smugglers,* and has made laws for punishing them accordingly; and such laws they appear to be as to have cut up the smuggling, root and branch.——This has produced a great *change.* This change has been produced since the issuing of the Berlin and Milan decrees. The *neutral* ships (that is to say, the American ships) can no longer save our goods by becoming the carriers of them to the Continent; and, therefore, Lord Welles-

ley may say, that things will not be in the same state with regard to "*neutral commerce*" as they were in previous to the passing of the Berlin and Milan Decrees, *unless Napoleon does away also this new system of interdicting the entry of English goods.*—— But, will say the Americans (and, indeed, they have said it), what have *we* to do with that matter? That is a point for *you* and for *him* to settle as you can. Every nation has a right to make what *internal* regulations it pleases; every nation has a right, as far as respects its own territory, to declare what it pleases to be contraband or smuggled goods; every nation has a right to make what laws it pleases for the regulating of the conduct of its own subjects; every nation has a right to punish the infringement or transgression of those laws in what manner it pleases; it may ruin the parties offending against such laws, it may transport them, it may imprison them, it may confiscate the goods, it may, in short, do what it pleases; and, you, the English, do not, we believe, fail to punish pretty handsomely those who are found with goods smuggled from France.—This is what the Americans will say; and they will say further, that they have no more right to insist upon forcing English goods into France than they have to insist upon forcing French goods into England. The right they claim is to carry from their own country what goods they please, and from one foreign country to another any goods which those countries choose to have carried. If we can prevail upon Napoleon to let them carry our goods to the continent, they are ready and willing to do it; but that is an affair between us and him, and with which, of course, it would be great presumption in them to meddle.——This is the real state of the case. We should, I suppose, very gladly repeal the Orders in Council, if Napoleon would re-open the continental ports to us; but *that he will not do.* He finds how sorely our Bank and our commercial mass have felt the effects of his system of exclusion; he sees how the system is working upon us; he knows well how closely our commercial and paper-money system is connected with our political system; and, is there, then, a man upon the whole earth so stupid as to suppose that he will abandon his measures of exclusion?—— This system of his has arisen out of our Orders in Council, and so did the Berlin and Milan Decrees. Those decrees are now become of little use to him. He would easily give them up, their place being so completely supplied by his *internal* regulations; and, now he gives them up to satisfy the law passed by the Americans, and *thereby to effect the exclusion of English goods from America as well as from the Continent of Europe.* And yet, to hear the Morning Post and the Courier, one would suppose that Napoleon was a sort of mad cap, who did every thing in a *passion*, and who totally neglected all the dictates of far-sighted policy.——He said long ago, that he would break up our system of *monopoly*, on which, he said, depended our paper-money.—Whether he is in a fair way of doing it, or whether he made a vain empty threat, the public will very soon be able accurately to decide. ——Our choice, as I said before, lies between an *exclusion of our goods from America as well as the continent*, and putting the continent in easy and cheap possession of the means of *doing without our goods for ever*, and, at the same time, filling the treasury of France, and making Holland, the Hans Towns, Flanders, and all the conquered countries rejoice at being united with France.——Mortifying alternative to those who think that the strength, safety, and happiness of England depend upon foreign commerce, of whom, however, I am not one.——But, of this more hereafter, when we have taken a view of a measure closely connected with this subject; namely, the proposition, now before Parliament, for affording relief to the merchants and manufacturers.

COMMERCIAL RELIEF.——On the first day of this month, Mr. PERCEVAL moved, in the House of Commons, for a Committee to be appointed to inquire into the state of Commercial Credit.——He said, as the report states, "Various representations had reached him from manufacturing and mercantile people, of the "*disadvantages under which trade suffered,* "and which they attributed to the *state of* "*credit* and the *condition of the markets* "with which they were *formerly* in the "habit of *communicating.* At first he did "not believe that the evil prevailed to "such an extent as had been stated, but so "various were the representations, that "he now thought it his duty to submit "the present motion to the House, that "they might ascertain its existence, and "*provide a remedy* as soon as possible. He "deprecated all discussion upon this occasion as premature, and recommended

"that they should wait to have the advantage of the Report. It was his intention that all the surviving Members of the Committee which was appointed upon a similar subject in the year 1793, should be upon the present, and that the number of the whole should be 21. He concluded with moving, That a Committee should be appointed to enquire into the State of Commercial Credit, and to report it to the House, together with its opinions and observations thereupon."—A little debate ensued, during which it was thrown out, that the embarrassments of the country arise from *over-trading*. What is meant by over-trading? Why, surely, people making or importing more goods than they can find *customers* for. Chaffer about it as long as the pamphleteers will, this is the true meaning of the words over-trading. ——However, without going any further, let us take Mr. Perceval's own account of the thing——"*Disadvantages* under which "trade suffers owing to the *state of credit* "and the *condition* of the *markets, formerly* "open to the sufferers."——State of credit! why, man, every body suffers from a want of credit, or, from having less of it than he formerly had. And, what is meant by the "*condition* of markets formerly "open;" why, to be sure, that these markets are now *shut*. And, this being the case, the remedy is very obvious, namely, the finding of *new markets*, which, of course, would, in an instant, remove the "*disadvantages*;" but, *how* or *where* or *when* to find these new markets, *abroad*, I, withall due deference, leave to George Rose and the Board of Trade, observing, in passing, that this description of Mr. Perceval does not seem to correspond very well with the opinions of Sir John Sinclair as to the prosperous effects of an increase of Bank Notes——But, let us take a little closer view of the matter.——What is the object? *For what* have all these suffering merchants and manufacturers applied to the Treasury? Why, *a loan of money*. A very natural application. Most men, who are in distress, apply for money where they think it likely to get any one to lend it them.——What a very pretty system this is, which was begun by "the "*great statesman* now no more," to prop up the commerce in 1793; what an influence it must create; how completely dependent it must render these men upon the minister of the day; what very important effects it must produce in political and party matters, and how it accords with the principles of free representation and a responsible ministry, every man with only one grain of sense in skull will easily decide; but, it is not in that light that I now wish to view it. I wish to view it merely in a commercial light. The immediate object of the applicants is to obtain *a loan of money out of that which the people have paid in taxes*. To determine whether it be advisable or not to grant their request, we ought to consider many things; but, at present, I will only inquire what *end* such loan would be likely to answer. The distress arises from *the want of markets for the sale of goods*; which is only another name for a *falling off in the value of the goods*; or, to express it in another way, it is another name for *losses in trade*. And, pray, if the present applicants are to be, by *gift* or *loan* (for it, in the end, is the same;) if these applicants are to have their losses in trade made good, or lessened; if they are to be thus propped up by the government, or, more properly speaking, by the people at large, why should not the same sort of support be extended to the 1670 Bankrupts who appeared in the Gazettes of last year, and to the 3000 Bankrupts who will appear in the Gazettes of this year, if the rest of the year be as prolific in Bankruptcies as the first two months of it have been? I really should be glad to know *why* all these persons are to be overlooked, if the present applicants are to have money lent to them to prop them up? The Bankrupts have failed from various causes; from indiscretions of one kind or another But, is not *over trading* an indiscretion too? They have, at any rate, all failed from *losses in trade*; and, it is, state it how you will, from losses in trade that the present applicants have been reduced to the necessity of asking for a loan out of the produce of the taxes.——Take this in another light. Inquire how many of the people are severely suffering in their pecuniary circumstances *from the weight of the taxes* themselves. Aye, how many have been reduced to the greatest distress; how many have received their last, their falling blow, from the taxes; and then what a thing is here? One part of the community sinking into ruin in the yielding of the means to prop up the credit of another part of that same community!——But, though it is hardly possible to withhold the reflecting mind from diverging at every step into views of this

sort, let us, if we can, confine ourselves to the bare question, whether the proposed loan is likely to answer any good purpose, even as to the borrowers themselves.—— Now, suppose a sum of this money to be given to a great manufacturer, who has a large stock of goods and cannot sell any. What is he to do with the money thus borrowed out of the taxes? Pay his debts? Very well. But what good will that do him in the *end?* He has the money to *pay back again* to the Treasury, and where is he to get it? Why, "from "the *sale of his goods,* to be sure." Aye, to be sure he must, if he can sell them; but, then, this argues the finding of a *new market,* or the *re-opening of the old ones,* which latter, so far from being re-opened, become daily more firmly closed.——Is he to use the money for the purpose of continuing his expenditure, either on himself and family or on his work-people? If the former, how is he to *repay,* and ought he not to reduce his expenditure as the only means of enabling him to keep out of the Gazette; and, if the latter, if the money you lend him is to be laid out upon labour in his manufactory, and upon materials, he will have *more goods* instead of less, and you will, by your loan, have insured that ruin, from which, if left to himself, he might have escaped; or, at least, you will have added to the weight of his fall, and have made it more destructive to all around him.——It is exactly the same with the West India merchant. What good will you do him by enabling him to pay his debts from a loan for the repayment of which his goods are to be held, I suppose, as *a pledge?* I do not know what the terms of the loan are proposed to be; but, I know that if *re-payment* is to take place, that the merchant, who *stands in need* of the loan, must find the means of re-payment out of *the sale of his goods;* and, that this sale must necessarily suppose some out-let, or market, which he cannot *now* find; some market *that does not now exist;* for, if it did exist, he would not stand in need of the loan.——This I am not afraid to assume as conclusive; and, therefore, the question is reduced to this simple point: is there the smallest probability of the *old markets being re-opened* or of finding *new ones?*——As to the former, I have, I think, submitted ample reasons for deciding it in the negative; but, as to the latter, the finding of *new markets,* I have myself a proposition to offer, for which, though it should be rejected, I shall, I flatter myself, be entitled to some little commendation from those classes of my fellow subjects, with whom I have reason to fear I have been no very great favourite.——The *new markets,* which we have gained by the sword, in South America, have, alas! as I said they would, proved little less fatal than the South Sea Bubble of immortal memory; and, besides, these markets cost so much in the obtaining, that the full amount of the goods sold in them (or, rather, carried to them) would not half defray the cost of getting the market. I think it must be pretty certain, that four times as much money has been sent hence to the Brazils and to Spanish America as has come back in payment for goods.——As to ISLANDS; as to SUGAR COLONIES, we have been taking them, till we know not what to do with the produce, and may exclaim with the Copper Captain: "haste, haste, let us hence! I am "like the people in the *sweet islands;* if I "stay here, I die!"——*New markets* then we can have none, unless, in return for sugar and coffee which we cannot sell, and for which we cannot much longer find room, we send out our manufactures and clothe the negroes.——This brings me, at once, to *my* project of a new market; a market capacious, convenient, sure, and durable, setting Napoleon and all the world at defiance.——I have often been reproached with pointing out *evils* and not, at the same time, pointing out a *remedy.* This reproach is quite unfounded, though very catching, and it was always resorted to during the administration of the first successor of "*the great statesman* now no more," Mr. Addington. But, must we find fault of nothing for which we cannot find a remedy? Who was to find a remedy for the Walcheren Expedition? Who were to bring the men to life again? And, *therefore,* was no one to find fault of it? Must no man find fault with the state of the paper-money, unless he can make gold come back again? This would be a fine security for folly and vice of all sorts, and would suit the case of peculator or murderer as well as that of any political offender.——Well, but, at any rate, I have now *my remedy,* and shall, with all becoming deference to the superior wisdom of the Committee, propose to state it.——It has been shown above, that all this commercial distress arises from the want of *a market* for our goods; that is to say, for *sugar* and *coffee,* and for divers

articles of *wearing* [illegible] and *household furniture*; for, as to ——, or, as it was called in Queen Elizabeth's days, *vittal*, we find none too much of that, having at home an abundance of mouths for dispatching it.——Aye, and have we not *backs enough too for the cloths*, and *houses for the furniture*?——The reader needs no more. His eyes are opened in a moment. Light bursts in upon him from every quarter. He sees all my plan in a moment; and wonders how it came to escape him. He has been looking *abroad*, seeking in foreign lands what was under his nose, as I have very often looked about the room for my pen while it was in my mouth.——*Backs!* Are we in want of them? Look at Ireland; look at Scotland; look at Wales; nay, look at many parts of England; look even at those very manufacturing towns where the goods are piled up to the cracking of the warehouses, and see if you can find no backs to cover! How many of these towns does the traveller pass through without being way-laid at the entrance and the exit by a swarm of children *more than half naked*, running and tumbling and bowing and praying and crying in the hope, often disappointed, of obtaining the means of buying an ounce of bread? Enter their dwelling places; see misery in all her horrors, hunger, filth, disease, the blood poisoned, and the heart hardened to a flint.——Talk of *national prosperity*, Sir John Sinclair, look here, and say, if you can, that I have exaggerated the picture. Talk of improvements in *roads* and *canals!* What is that, while the misery of the people, as the poor-rates will tell you, are daily increasing?——Talk of *roads* and *canals* and *bridges!* These are no signs of *national prosperity*. They are signs of *accumulated*, but not of *diffused* property, and this latter alone can insure *national prosperity*, which, rightly understood, is only another name for *the general happiness of the people*.——But, I have been led, I perceive, into another digression.——To come back to my subject, why should not all the goods, which cannot find a market abroad, be disposed of *in clothing the naked at home?* A couple or three millions would shoe and breech the people of the Hebrides and the Highlands, and twice the sum might clothe the Irish, and about the same as the former might very well be disposed of for a similar purpose in England and Wales. *Sugar* and *Coffee*, though not much known amongst any of the persons in my view, would soon teach the possessors the use of them. And, as to the Houshold furniture, cloathing and the use of sugar and coffee would naturally call for tables and chairs and drawers and hooks and crockery ware and spoons and kettles and locks and keys; and hence the whole would go hand in hand.——Here would be 12 millions of money laid out? but it would not be *thrown away*; it would not be sunk in the sea; it would not be sent abroad; it would not be swallowed up in distant lands; it would produce no misery any where; it would occasion nobody to bleed or to suffer in any way; it would give immediate and effectual relief to the merchants and manufactures, while it would give comfort to the hearts of millions of their countrymen, and might lay the foundation of permanent happiness amongst those who are smarting under keen and constant misery.——Now, if Sir John Sinclair should tell me, that this is a foolish scheme, and that, in taking money out of the taxes to give to the *poor* to make up for the inadequacy of their means, I am acting contrary to all the sound principles of political œconomy, I beg leave to ask, whether this is not as reasonable as it would be to take money of the taxes to give to the *rich* to make up for the inadequacy of their means, especially as my scheme includes the *effectual* means of *relieving both rich and poor?*——At any rate here is my scheme; and, if Sir John, or any body else, does not approve of it, let him *find out a better*; and, till that be done, let him not *laugh*.

Informations and Special Juries.——I have, in a subsequent part of this Number inserted the speeches of Lords Holland and Ellenborough, and their explanations.——The subject is of vital importance; and, though these speeches have been published in the News-papers, in precisely the same words, I think it my duty to give them here, in order that they may be read more deliberately, and referred to; and, in order, too, that they may be read all over the world.——I beg my readers to *omit no part* of them.——Lord Erskine's speech was of great importance, and I mean to give it in my next together with the answer of the Lord Chancellor.——This is a subject which all men are interested in; and it is my duty to keep the public attention closely rivetted to it, if I am able.

SOMERSETSHIRE MEETING.——From a letter inserted below, the reader will see what was the *nature* and what the *result* of the meeting in this county, which, it seems, has not, *in the memory of man*, seen a county meeting of *the people* before this.——A great deal was done. Many people were assembled; *discussion* took place; *truths* were uttered to them; they were told what they did not know and what they had no idea of; and, to prevent the Address proposed by the callers of the meeting from being carried, both INS and OUTS were obliged to unite, and to get together all that, with all their united means, they could muster, from every part of the county; and, after all, they carried their point by a majority of only about 7 to 5. This, therefore, I deem a great victory. The ground was new and untilled. It is now broken up; and the seeds of Reform are safely deposited in its bosom. The *yeomanry* and *tradesmen* have now seen that they are something; and, it shall go hard but they profit from the discovery.

W^M^. COBBETT.

State Prison, Newgate, Friday, March 8, 1811.

TO THE

INDEPENDANT FREEHOLDERS AND INHABITANTS OF SOMERSETSHIRE.

GENTLEMEN; I cannot refrain from offering you my congratulation on the effect of the *first Public Meeting ever called in this County.*—Notwithstanding our opponents obtained a small majority against the Address which I had the honour to propose to you, on that day; yet I am clearly convinced, that you gained a more complete victory, in the full admission of the truth of all the leading parts of that Address, (by every one of those Gentlemen who spoke against its adoption) than you would have gained by a mere majority of numbers, without this unqualified admission of those facts. The Address pointed out, clearly and explicitly, the distressing situation of the country; and it stated, that the cause of all these distresses arose from a want of a fair and free Representation of the People in Parliament. These facts were explicitly acknowledged by Sir John Cox Hippesly, who appeared to be the principal orator of both the parties, that united against the People on that day, who said he was sorry to bear witness to the truth of my statement, "that there was at this time a million and "a half of paupers in England, subsisting "on parish allowance, which was 2lbs. of "bread per head per week less than the "allowance to felons confined in our "jails." His only *answer* (if it might be called an answer) was, that there were 30 millions of paupers *in France!* He admitted that the cause of all the afflictions and misfortunes of this once free and happy nation, arose from the state of the Representation, and said, that he had always voted for that Reform, which was the object of our Address; but that he found "*this to be an improper time to accomplish it.*" On his being asked to *name the proper time,* he declined to make any answer. Now, as all the Gentlemen who spoke upon this subject completely agreed with Sir John, I contend it was a great victory obtained over the enemies of Reform; for, had we produced such an Address, and supported it in the same language of truth three years back, instead of having all our points admitted to be true, only that it was an *improper time* to enforce them; instead of this, all the facts would have been impudently denied, and the mildest appellations we should have been branded with, would have been *jacobins* and *levellers.* These three facts were clearly ascertained and allowed by all parties on that day; First, that it was proper the Freeholders and Inhabitants of the county of Somerset should assemble in County Meeting, for they all congratulated you upon your meeting; second, that, the country was in *an awful and distressing situation;* third, that it was highly necessary that there *should be a Parliamentary Reform,* only this was not the *proper time* for it, and that you, the Freeholders and Inhabitants of the County, were not the proper men to effect it. Pray, who are the proper men to effect it? Are Sir John Cox Hippesly, Sir Thomas Ackland, Col. Horner, the Rev. Mr. Trevillian, and Justice Goodfard, likely men to bring about Parliamentary Reform? Do you believe, Gentlemen, that they will *ever* call you together and tell you *now* is the time for Reform? You saw and heard them all on Monday last, and if after this, you still believe that they are the sort of men likely to procure you an equal and fair Representation in Parliament; if you wait for these *leading men* as they have been called in your County, to bring about a Reform, you deserve not

even the chance of ever obtaining it. What could you discover in these Gentlemen to make you believe that they will ever attempt to tender you any relief from the load of taxes under which you groan? Did they promise you any such thing? Did they give you any reason to believe that they wish to have your opinion again? Although they have been called your *leading men*, did they *ever assemble you* in County Meeting? Will they ever do it? No, believe me, never. They heard too much of your sentiments that day, ever to wish to try the experiment again. That day the united influence of all the leading men, of all the magistrates, of all the men of large landed property, the coalition of both parties, the INS and the OUTS, and all their mighty influence, actively exerted for the last three weeks against you; and what has been the result? Why *truth*, unaccompanied by *any influence*, prevailed.——Although you divided in a minority in the proportion of 3 to 2, yet truth prevailed, and, be assured, there is now a firm foundation laid, for establishing the future independance of the County of Somerset.

I am, Gentlemen,
Your sincere humble servant,
Bath, March 6, 1811. HENRY HUNT.

LIBEL LAW.

Speeches of LORD HOLLAND *and* LORD ELLENBOROUGH, *in the House of Lords, on the* 4*th of March,* 1811, *on the Motion made by the former for an Inquiry into the Number of Informations Ex Officio, filed by the Attorney General.*

LORD HOLLAND (after some introduction) said:—It was well known that there were three modes of proceeding in cases of libels—the first was by action for damages, which had no reference to his Motion, nor had he the least intention of proposing any proceeding respecting actions, indictments or informations in cases of libel consisting of private slander, his intentions being confined to proceedings for public libels. The second mode of proceeding was by indictment found by twelve sworn men, after which there must be the verdict of twelve men to convict the party accused; and the third was by information. With respect to this latter mode of proceeding, the informations filed in the Crown Office against persons for libels there was formerly scarcely any difference between informations at the suit of parties, in which the King was the nominal prosecutor, and informations *ex officio* by the Attorney General. Great abuses, however, having arisen in the practice of filing their informations, by which in many instances parties were oppressed by being put to great expence, without ever being brought to trial, the Act of William and Mary was passed, declaring in the preamble the grievances which had arisen, and enacting that with the exception of informations filed *ex officio* by the Attorney General, no information should in future be filed without leave of the Court, that the party obtaining the information should enter into recognizance to prosecute it, and should be liable in costs to the Defendant, if the charge was groundless. If he could shew that the power of filing informations *ex officio* had been abused, that parties had been fined without trial in the expence they were compelled to incur, although never brought to trial, then, he contended, he should lay an ample ground for his motion. He did not mean to question the legality of informations *ex officio*, he was aware that the power of filing them rested upon a continued stream of precedent and the admission of the law, and that though, according to Sir Francis Winnington, an *obiter dictum* of Lord Hale, directly questioned the legality of informations *ex officio*, yet there was every reason to believe that Lord Hale never delivered the opinion which he was thus supposed to entertain. Yet when a question upon this subject was under consideration in Parliament, and when within the memory perhaps of some who heard him, men of the greatest eminence, Serjeant Glynn, Mr. Wedderburn, afterwards Lord Loughborough, and Mr. Dunning, afterwards Lord Ashburton, had questioned the legality of informations *ex officio*, Mr. Dunning even throwing down the gauntlet, and decidedly stating, that an information *ex officio* was an abuse, it might surely be an apology for others not learned in the law of the land having doubts of the legality of this proceeding. He did not, however, intend to question the legality of informations *ex officio*; he admitted the force of a continued stream of precedent, and the admission of law; the Attorney General was considered a responsible officer of the Crown, and with a view to the safety of the government, a power was given to him to supersede the necessity of a Grand Jury; but the implication

of the law undoubtedly was, that this power ought only to be exercised in cases of enormous offence, where the safety of the Government was at stake; and that the parties ought with convenient speed to be brought to trial. If he could shew that this had not been the course, and that the power thus given had been abused, he trusted their Lordships would not refuse to call for the information he sought, and which might be derived from sources that were or ought to be open to all. The implication of law, that the power given to the Attorney General, of filing informations *ex officio*, was only to be exercised in cases of extraordinary emergency, was clearly laid down in Sir Matthew Hale. But if it was alledged that sir Matthew Hale had a bias against this mode of proceeding, what said Mr. Justice Blackstone? Mr. Justice Blackstone, if he had any bias, it was undoubtedly in favour of whatever was the law and the constitution of the country; yet Mr. Justice Blackstone, in speaking of this power given to the Attorney General, stated, that the object of giving it was, that enormous misdemeanors, involving the safety of the state, and the prosecution of which did not admit of a moment's delay, might be instantly prosecuted without the delay of waiting for a Grand Jury. This, then, was the implication of law, as relating to these informations, and as laid down by the ablest writers. What he meant now to contend was, that this power had been (whether intentionally or not, God knows) perverted from the course given to it by law, and rendered the means of oppressing individuals, by the expences which they were forced to incur, although never brought to trial. He did not wish to go into individual cases, lest it might be said that he had a partiality for one or other individual; but when it was found, as the fact was, that from 1801 to 1807, there had been only fourteen informations filed *ex officio*, and that during the last three years there had been no less than forty-two filed, there surely must have been a most extraordinary increase of enormous offences. Of these forty-two informations only sixteen had been brought to trial, and yet notwithstanding the remaining twenty-six enormous offences, involving the safety of the State, the Government and the Parliament remained where they were. He was afraid that informations *ex officio* were now converted into the means of influence. In former periods they were used as the means of extortion—in later times as the means of oppression, and now as the means of influence. If informations were filed against the proprietors of newspapers or of periodical publications, and kept hanging over their heads *in terrorem*, must it not have an undue and improper influence upon their conduct?—It was an abuse of the power to file informations against a number of persons proprietors of newspapers who had inadvertently copied a libel, instead of proceeding solely against the real author, where he could be ascertained. It was his opinion, that where the real author of a libel was given up, and there were the means of legal proof, that no proceeding should be had against the persons merely concerned in printing or publishing it; but what he contended against most strongly, was the converting informations of this nature into the means of influence by not bringing the parties to trial, and keeping the informations suspended over their heads. During the administration of his Noble Friend (Lord Grenville) who he lamented was not present, a worthy friend of his, Sir Arthur Piggot, was Attorney General, of whose innate love of the Constitution and eminent legal knowledge, it was superfluous for him to speak. By Sir Arthur Piggot, only one information *ex officio* was filed, and that was against the MORNING POST, in the case of a libel which had a tendency to excite mutiny in the troops sent on a foreign service, in stating that they were sent to sea in vessels that were not sea-worthy. This was considered by those who consulted with the Attorney General, and by the Attorney General himself, as an offence which admitted of no delay in the prosecution, as tending to excite mutiny in the troops and endangering the safety of the Government, and an information was therefore filed. That Administration went out of office, and Sir Vicary Gibbs succeeded to the office of Attorney General, who entered a *noli-prosequi* upon this information. It was said, that the real author of the libel had been privately given up to the Attorney General, but the author was not in the country, nor had there been any proof that he was the author. Was it the Protestant Letters in THE MORNING POST that had done this. At any rate, THE MORNING POST had been ever since supporting the Administration, and there was a strong ground of suspicion arising out of this transaction. This, however, was the only

the Attorney General in the late Administration. Forty-two had been filed in the course of the three years succeeding, of which, as he had already stated, only sixteen had been brought to trial.—There was another great hardship arising out of the prosecution for libel, in consequence of the maxim established in law, that the King shall pay no costs. Were a different course to be followed, no doubt a very great additional expence might be thrown on the country. But a very heavy expence of, in general he believed, from 60*l.* to 100*l.* was thus thrown upon individuals, who, in very many instances, were by no means able to bear it. It may be necessary that an Attorney General should be trusted with this excessive power; it may be necessary that the person who is acquitted, or against whom all further prosecution is renounced, should be obliged to pay his own expences; but for that very reason, there was the strongest reason to watch over such an excessive power, which, from its nature, was so liable to be converted, in improper hands, into an instrument of oppression. It was the more necessary to watch over this power at present, when it was found that the only exception to the rigour of the Attorney General was the MORNING POST; that he selects, as the objects of his prosecution, the second hand parties in the libel, and that he frequently allows the prosecution to hang *in terrorem* over the heads of the principals. When *ex officio* informations are thus liable to be converted into an engine of power and authority, it must be the heighth of blindness, not to say stupidity, to say that the power is not liable to abuse, and has been abused.—There were circumstances, too, which had a tendency to make the abuse more severely felt, arising from the natural wish of persons in authority to carry the powers vested in them by the laws, to the utmost extremity. He wished to call their Lordships' attention particularly to two things regarding those powers which were lodged by the laws in the hands of the administrators of justice. The first of these related to imprisonment. He was of opinion that the power of imprisoning individuals in different jails was a power that was highly necessary and expedient, and a power that might also be frequently exercised to the advantage of the culprit; but then it was necessary that that particular jail selected for him should not be an aggravation of the culprit's punishment. This was the more especially necessary when the author, the person who was principally guilty, was not selected, but the printers and publishers of the libellous production. It was undoubtedly hard and cruel to send these men, who are merely the subordinate agents, to jails in distant quarters of the kingdom, and at a great distance from the management of their ordinary business.—On the other point he did not wish to say much, indeed, he could have wished that it had not been necessary for him to have touched on it at all, namely, the subject of Special Juries. But as so many various reports, so many various insinuations, founded or unfounded, have been in circulation relating to Special Juries, an investigation into the subject became imperiously necessary. The observation of Lord Hale gave a countenance to an unfavourable opinion of Special Juries; for it was that great man's opinion that the application of Special Juries was not so favourable to the administration of justice as that of Common Juries. If that opinion was entitled to weight formerly, it was entitled to much more now: very material alterations had taken place regarding Special Juries of late years. So late as the latter end of the reign of George the Second, it was in the option of both parties in any suit, whether the cause should be tried by a Special Jury or by a Common Jury. The law, however, expressly provides that in capital cases no Special Juries shall be allowed. What does the law mean in this? Does it not mean that Special Juries are less favourable to the criminal than Common Juries? When life or limb are at stake, a Common Jury can alone try the crime. He did not say that Special Juries were less favourably disposed to a defendant than Common Juries; but he said that it was necessary to enter upon an inquiry, to prove to the world what foundation there was for such an opinion. If there is no foundation, if the opinion is erroneous, it is bad policy to endeavour to stifle all inquiry. If no abuse shall be found to exist, the circumstance should be made as clear as day, and the public will be satisfied. He did not mean to throw any imputations on the administration of that justice, for the administration of justice ought not only to be completely pure, but should not even be suspected. It became, therefore, the more necessary not to shrink from enquiry at present. When Special Juries were not allowed when life or limb

was concerned, that circumstance alone gave a right to enter upon an inquiry. It was not his intention, at present, to prove any thing against Special Juries; but he was entitled to say, that persons accused of a libel were exposed to this disadvantage, that they were proceeded against in a way not allowable in capital offences, and that they were tried by juries not allowable in capital prosecutions.—He begged to call their Lordships' attention to the policy of the mode of proceeding in regard to libel. Of all punishments, the object ought undoubtedly to be the example which it holds out. But taken in this point of view, in what respect is the prosecution of libel proper and advantageous to the community? The crime is not, but the consequences of it are increased a hundred fold. If libels appear, as they most frequently do, in periodical publications, they are doomed to live but for a very few days; but if they are again revived by the *ex-officio* information of an Attorney-General, the greatest possible diffusion is thereby given to them, and the consequences of the offence become enormously aggravated and increased.—From the circumstances which he had stated, from the cases which he had adduced, and the enumeration of hardships to which individuals were liable in consequence of this abuse, it would naturally be inquired, what was the remedy he had to propose? The subject, however, was not in that stage in which it became necessary to give his opinion of the nature of this remedy. It might be, perhaps, proper that something should be proposed in the shape of a resolution for the procuring of the prevention of *ex-officio* informations against those concerned in periodical publications after the lapse of a certain time; to compel the Attorney General either to bring the person accused to trial, or to enter a *noli prosequi*, or to state to the Court, from the difficulty of procuring witnesses, or some other material circumstance, for instance, why the trial could not proceed within a limited time; and for the sake of providing that, after the obtaining of a verdict, judgment shall immediately follow, or, at least, that that circumstance shall be in the discretion of the Court. These were the three most material points to be secured. In saying this, he did not mean to censure the conduct of the Attorney General. He was aware of the many estimable qualities of that Learned Gentleman. It was necessary, however, that that conduct should be inquired into, and that the fullest examination should take place.—With respect to the Act of the 4th William III. allowing costs to persons exposed to expences by unfounded prosecutions, it was certainly an Act founded on the principles of substantial justice. He well knew, however, that it was contrary to the Law of England to subject the Crown to the payment of costs. But he thought that there should be some check to the power of the Attorney General in filing *ex-officio* warrants; and, notwithstanding what is said of the dangers resulting from the licentiousness of the press, it was possible, he thought, to reconcile the public good with justice to the individual.—And with regard to the licentiousness of the Press, he said their Lordships were not fully judges of the subject; for if their Lordships were to look back to the history of any free country, they would always find that in the opinion of men in power the present period was the period which was most licentious. It would be advantageous to look to former periods in the history of our own country, to times in which some of our most celebrated classical productions made their appearance. In them there will be found attacks upon the men in power, and the measures adopted by them, certainly to say the least of them, not yielding in any thing to what is to be seen in the productions of the present day. Let them take Pope for an example, and reflect on the severity of some of his productions; and yet those productions subjected him to no prosecution. Mr. Pope, however, was certainly never thought very well of by the Government under which he lived. Look to several of the productions of Swift—look to many of the libels which have been severely punished at former periods in the history of this country, and then look back to the libels which had occurred within the last three or four years. He did not mean to justify the licentiousness of the press; but it did not follow that every thing which might be construed into a libel was deserving of punishment. The danger of too strict an interpretation of the laws on this subject was greater than from an opposite conduct; for there was much greater danger to be apprehended from the press becoming the instrument of persons in power, and prostituted for the purpose of maintaining prejudice and delusion, than from being

abused by persons, who, for the sake of a livelihood, might choose to indulge in principles of malignity. His Lordship then said that many persons would assent to the truth of these observations, who would say that they were all very proper, and deserving of attention in ordinary cases; but the French Revolution had quite altered the nature of things, and what might formerly have been expedient was now to be avoided. At the period of the French Revolution, he never could be brought to entertain an opinion of any danger to be apprehended by this country from the adoption of very different sentiments; but when those sentiments were entertained during the French Revolution, they were then at least intelligible. Now, however, at the distance of ten years from that event, when the dangers to be apprehended from the doctrines diffused by the French press was no longer in existence, he could not see what application the French Revolution could have to the question. It reminded him of a Gentleman, who whenever he was urged to make a speech on any particular subject, or to make any great exertion whatever, used to allege that he could once have done so, before he had the meazles. In this way he could not imagine what the French Revolution had to do with the discussion of the present question. It has been said that in times of great danger, any restrictions upon the power of the Crown upon this subject, would endanger the power of this country, and add to the power of the enemy. What attachment there could be in the people of this country to the enemy it was beyond his power to see. Amongst all the odious acts of that enemy there was nothing so odious and abominable, nothing so destructive of the interests, and inimical to the policy of the people over whom he ruled, as his vile restraints on the liberty of the press. It may be said, indeed, of the liberty of the press, that it may be licentious, that it may lead to excesses, and that it may even ultimately lead to scenes of bloodshed and confusion. But when he allowed this, he certainly carried the principle of danger as far as it could go. It was not fitting to ascribe evil qualities to the liberties of the press, which that liberty did not possess. It could never engender in the mind of a native of this country a love to Buonaparté, or a hatred to this country. Whatever may be thought of the bad consequences which accompanied the freedom of the ancients, and of the excesses with which their history abounds, no man will yet venture to assert that the licence of speech which they enjoyed diminished in them the inclination of at all times opposing a foreign foe. That very French Revolution, against which so much abuse had been poured out in this country, was a remarkable example in proof of what he had been asserting. Did that liberty deaden the opposition of the French nation to a foreign enemy? The evils of that Revolution may be stated to have exceeded the benefits derived from it; and it may be also stated that the advantages of the excessive liberty of the press was more than compensated by its disadvantages; but surely it will not be insisted that it facilitated the way to foreign invaders. That very liberty of the press which Buonaparté has thought fit to suppress, was found to be the most powerful instrument in extending the conquests of the French Revolution. What could be more extravagant than to imagine that the people on this side of the Channel, a people attached to their own habits and manners, should ever become attached to the enemy of this country. All reasoning and all experience would lead to a very opposite conclusion. It was the maxim of our ancestors that when the country was in danger, and when every degree of sacrifice and privation became the duty of the subject, then was the time to begin the redress of grievances, that all hearts might be united in a common cause.—His Lordship then moved for *A list of all the individuals prosecuted on Ex Officio Informations for libel, from January* 1801 *to January* 1811, *and of the number of persons convicted in consequence thereof during that period.*

LORD ELLENBOROUGH could not see any grounds in the statement made by the Noble Lord which called upon their Lordships to grant the production of the documents moved for. In the whole of that statement there was but one instance adduced as a proof of the abuses alledged to have prevailed, and even that instance was not at the side of severity—it was a case wherein a *noli prosequi* was entered by the Attorney General in the progress of an information against the Morning Post: and was it on account of such an exercise of discretion, at the side of lenity too, that their Lordships were called upon to range through such a mass of papers as the motion comprehended? The time included

was from 1801 to 1810. He was aware that that was a period which took in the time in which so humble an individual as himself had the honour of filling the situation of Attorney General. Whether the Noble Lord meant to refer to his conduct, he knew not; but as the Noble Lord was silent with respect to it, and made no allusion to it, he did not think it necessary to defend what had not been attacked; at the same time he must say, in reference to those Learned Gentlemen who have succeeded him in that office, that he did feel that their discharge of their public duty, and their discretion in the discharge of it, ought not to be put to the question upon grounds lightly or captiously taken up. He did not see why persons in such stations ought to be made the objects of invidious investigation upon grounds of hazardous conjecture. As for the information sought for, what could the Noble Lord learn from those documents which he did not know already? If there were any matter of special interest to which he was anxious to refer, every facility in his (Lord Ellenborough's) power should not be wanting to the Noble Lord, to enable him to come at the required fact; but he was afraid that this was not the sort of facility that was either wished for or expected. He had reason to know that the facility with which inquiry in certain cases had been made, was painful to the parties making it. They might have their own reasons for wishing obstacles in the way of the information sought for; but with respect to one information required by the Noble Lord, if he had as yet met any obstacle, that obstacle he (Lord Ellenborough) should cheerfully assist to remove; but it was not to be informed that the Noble Lord had brought his present motion. The Noble Lord had talked in a high tone of an *obiter dictum* of Lord Hale's. If Lord Hale had ever said so, which he (Lord E.) believed he never had, his judgment must have been as dormant as in such case he must have wished the law itself to have been; but he never said so; it was not to be credited that a man so perfect in his knowledge of the laws and the Constitution as Lord Hale was, could possibly have said so. The law of informations not the law of the land! What was law if this was not? for it had been made law by the same authority that had made all the laws that held the Government together. It was as much law as that which gave the Noble Lord the right of speaking in that House—It was as much law as the law which put the Crown of this realm on the brow of the Sovereign; but he would recommend the Noble Lord to trace back the law of informations. He could recommend him a book upon that subject, and would refer him to the case to be found in page 119 of Shower's History of the Law of Informations. He would there find the law of Information to be as old as the Common Law. If the Noble Lord questions the exdiency of the law, why not propose that it be repealed? but while it is law, law undoubted and acknowledged, let him not question its legality—(Here Lord Holland intimated that he never had disputed its legality)—the authority of Mr. Dunning, unquestionably very high authority, and which had been so often cited by another Noble Lord, had been here relied on against this law. He was certainly good authority, but not, perhaps, at the side at which he had been quoted, as he had himself taken an active part in libel prosecutions, and often pocketed the fees under this very law. But it seemed that it had been made more grievous by recent enactments. He had expected something from the Noble Lord that night against the Indictment Bill. When the Noble Lord formerly opposed that Bill, he did not expect that this opposition would then have concluded—*nondum finitus Orestes.* The Bill here alluded to was an act made within the last four years, giving the Attorney-General power to hold persons to bail, against whom informations *ex officio* had been filed. On receiving notice of the Noble Lord's present motion, he was curious to know how often this Bill had been acted on. He inspected the necessary documents accordingly. And now he would ask their lordships how often did they think this Bill had been acted upon since its enactment? but once in the whole four years; there was but one solitary instance of its being acted upon—and he would tell their Lordships in what case that was—the case of a man, one Gorman, who, after having been prosecuted for a libel, and after an information had been filed against him, had the hardihood to publish it again—And yet this was the mighty abuse of that act—this, forsooth, was one of the ruinous stretches of power which threatened the Government with subversion, and put the subjects of George the Third on a par with those of Buonaparté! He knew nothing

more to be deprecated in that House than violent and vague declamations, resting upon no grounds (*Hear! hear!* from Lord Holland.) He was aware to what he subjected himself by what had fallen from him. The Noble Lord might call all that he had said a mere *tirade;* but in all that he had said, did he not bottom himself on facts. (*Hear! hear!* from Lord Holland.) The cries of the Noble Lord could not convince him that he had not. He was used to tumults and alarms—they never yet could put him down. Were he to die the next moment, he never would yield for one moment to tumult. The Noble Lord, if not towards him (Lord E.,) might, at least in courtesy towards the House, adopt a different tone of exclamation. He repeated that he knew nothing more mischievous in its tendency than inoculating the public mind with groundless apprehensions of imaginary evils. Where there has appeared to him any instance of going beyond the limits of a wise discretion, it had never passed unbranded by him. His abhorrence of the licentiousness of the press was founded upon his love of liberty, which burned as strong in his breast as in that of the Noble Lord. If there was one mode more efficacious than another to ruin the liberty of the country, it was by generating that groundless distrust in the great Officers of Justice, which such needless and vexatious jealousy was calculated to inspire.

LORD HOLLAND claimed of their Lordships' justice, their attention for one moment. He appealed to their recollection, both as to what had been said by him, and as to the manner in which it had been attempted to be answered. He would not say, merely, that the Learned Lord had not stated the facts, but that he had stated what was directly contrary to the facts; the Learned Lord had charged him with denying the legality of informations. He had not only not denied their legality, but had avowed his conviction of their legality. When the Learned Lord complained of want of courtesy, he should himself shew more courtesy to the recollection of the House (*here Lord Ellenborough motioned to rise*). The Learned Lord who had been so long in the habit of enforcing the laws elsewhere, ought to be, at least, so far skilled in the laws and orders of that House, as to know that no Noble Lord had a right to interrupt another while in the act of explanation. There were other points to which, in strict explanation, he could not now perhaps refer, though it did fall within the limits of general parliamentary explanation to advert to. He had stated many other grounds, besides the solitary one commented on by the Learned Lord. Why was the Learned Lord wholly silent upon the numbers of informations which had been filed within a limited period? Was not this a ground, and had he not stated it? Had he not also stated the time which in many instances had been allowed to elapse between the information and the trial? Was this no ground? Had he not also mentioned the practice of hanging over the heads of the persons accused, informations which had been afterwards abandoned? The Learned Lord's speech, he repeated, was throughout a complete mis-statement and misapprehension of his facts and reasoning. He should reserve what else he had to say for his reply at the end of the debate.

LORD ELLENBOROUGH, in explanation, said, that while the Noble Lord was professing not to dispute the legality of informations, he was, in fact, questioning it.

After a pretty long debate, the House divided, 12 for the motion and 24 against it.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

AMERICA and ENGLAND.——*Letters of Mr.* PINKNEY, *laid before Congress by the President Mr.* MADISON, 12 *Jan.* 1811.

Letter to the American Secretary of State from Mr. Pinkney. London, 5 *Nov.* 1810.

SIR,—I have presented a second note, of which a copy is enclosed, to Lord Wellesly, on the subject of the Orders in Council, under an impression that the state of the King's health (for which I beg to refer you to the paper herewith transmitted) did not render it improper, and that if it was improper on that account, it was indispensable on every other.—The day had gone by when the Berlin and Milan Decrees were to cease to operate, according to the communication made by the Government of France to the American Minister, at Paris, and published in the official journal of that Government: and yet no step whatever had been taken, or apparently thought of, towards the revocation of the British Orders. I had received no explanation of the reasons of this back-

wardness, and no such assurance, looking to the future, as could justify an opinion that it would not continue. Lord Wellesley's letter of the 31st of August, which I had left unanswered till the 1st of Nov. that I might stand on the strongest possible ground when I did answer it, made no profession of its being a present measure, and (though, from obvious motives, I have not so represented it in my note to him) was vague and equivocal as a prospective pledge. It defined nothing, and was so far from warranting any specific expectation, that it seemed rather to take away the very little of precision which belonged to former declarations on the same point. It was highly important to the commerce of the United States, that this ambiguity should be cleared away, with all practicable expedition; and if it could not be removed, that no presumption should be afforded of a disposition on the part of the United States to acquiesce in it. My note to Lord Wellesley was written and delivered upon these inducements.—In the King's actual situation, the Orders in Council can scarcely be formally recalled, even if the Cabinet are so inclined; but it does not follow that something may not be done, though I have no reason to think that any thing will be done, which may be productive of immediate advantage: and, at any rate, prepare the way for the desired repeal.—I am, Sir, with great consideration, &c.—WM. PINKNEY.

MR. PINKNEY *to Lord Wellesley.—Great Cumberland Place, Nov. 3,* 1810.

MY LORD;—In my note of the 25th of August, I had the honour to state to your Lordship, that I had received from the Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States at Paris, a letter dated the 6th of that month, in which he informed me, that he had received from the French government, a written and official notice, that it had revoked the Decrees of Berlin and Milan; and that after the 1st of November those Decrees would cease to have any effect; and I expressed my confidence, that the revocation of the British Orders in Council of January and November, 1807, and April, 1809, and all other orders, dependent upon, analogous to, or in execution of them, would follow of course.—Your Lordship's reply of the 31st of August to that note, repeated a declaration of the British Minister in America, made, as it appears, to the Government of the United States, in February, 1808, of "His Majesty's earnest desire to see the commerce of the world restored to that freedom which is necessary for its prosperity, and his readiness to abandon the system which had been forced upon him, whenever the enemy should retract the principles which had rendered it necessary;" and added an official assurance, that, "Whenever the repeal of the French decrees should have actually taken effect, and the commerce of neutral nations should have been restored to the condition in which it stood previously to the promulgation of those decrees, his Majesty would feel the highest satisfaction in relinquishing the system which the conduct of the enemy compelled him to adopt."—Without departing in any degree from my first opinion, that the United States had a right to expect, upon every principle of justice, that the prospective revocation of the French decrees would be immediately followed by at least a like revocation of the Orders of England, I must remind your Lordship, that the day has now passed when the repeal of the Berlin and Milan edicts, as communicated to your Lordship in the note above mentioned, and published to the whole world by the Government of France in the Moniteur of the 9th of September, was by the terms of it to take effect. That it has taken effect cannot be doubted; and it can as little be questioned, that, according to the repeated pledges given by the British Government on this point (to say nothing of various other powerful considerations) the prompt relinquishment of the system to which your Lordship's reply to my note of the 25th of August alludes is indispensable.—I need scarcely mention, how important it is to the trade of the United States, that the Government of Great Britain should lose no time in disclosing with frankness and precision its intentions on this head. Intelligence of the French repeal has reached America, and commercial expeditions have, doubtless, been founded upon it.

(To be continued.)

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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"And slighted Truth with thy persuasive strain,
Teach erring man to spurn the love of gain;
Teach him, that States, of native strength possess'd,
Though very poor, may still be very bless'd;
That Trade's proud empire hastes to swift decay,
As ocean sweeps the labour'd mole away;
While self-dependent pow'r can time defy,
As rocks resist the billows and the sky."——GOLDSMITH.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

COMMERCIAL RELIEF (*Continued from page 590*).——In my last, at the page here referred to, I concluded some observations on the proposition, then and now before the House of Commons, for lending part of the money, raised in taxes, to certain merchants and manufacturers. The loan, as I then stated, is proposed to be made in *Exchequer Bills*, which are, in fact, nothing more than *promissory notes issued by the Government*, and bearing an interest, payable by the government. But, though this is an issue of notes, it weighs upon the people; because, that which the government issues in this way, for the use and advantage of private persons, it has not to issue for the use and advantage of the public at large; so that, in fact, it is making use of the public resources for the benefit of individuals; it is making the people at large pay taxes to be lent to private persons in order to sustain them in their trade.——And, it is very well worth observation, that, at the very time that this project is going forward, the government, has just accomplished the very neat object of *making a loan for the use of the public*, under the shape of *funding* Exchequer Bills!——This is a curious operation; but it does, perhaps, with some persons, require to be explained a little.——I have just said, that Exchequer Bills are promissory notes, *issued by the government*, and bearing an interest as long as they are out.——Sometimes (and usually, indeed) they are *paid off*, after a certain time, and then they become extinguished. But, at other times, they undergo a transmutation called *funding*; that is to say, the holders of them give up, and receive *Stock* or *Funds* in exchange for them; and thus, a new parcel of *Stock* or *National Debt*, is created; and that which was, at first, a *note of hand* out-standing against the nation becomes a *mortgage* upon its taxes. The case, in fact, is just the same as that of an individual, who, having a note or bond out, for which he pays the holder interest, and finding himself unable to pay off the note or bond at the appointed time, gets the holder to give it up, and take, in lieu of it, a mortgage upon his estate; with this difference only, that, in the case of the individual the real, solid, immoveable estate is taken as security; while, in the former case, the holder has no security but upon *the taxes*, that is to say, the mere *income* of the nation.——Such is the nature of that operation, that pretty work, so thrivingly carried on by "the *great statesman* now no more," called *funding of Exchequer Bills*, which, as the reader will clearly see, is only another name for *a loan*. So that, to return to our subject, while the nation is going to *lend* money to the merchants and manufacturers to prop them up; while it is, by the measure now proposed, going to *lend* to one part of the community, it is, at the same moment, *borrowing* from another part of the community; upon which, surely, it is necessary to do nothing more than just ask this question: What would be said of the steward and attorney of any Gentleman, if they were to lend his money upon bonds or notes or pawns, while his affairs were in such a way as to make it necessay to mortgage his estates?——In another part of this Number will be found the Report, made, last week, to the House of Commons, on the subject of this loan to the merchants and manufacturers. I beg the reader to turn to this Report, and to go through the whole of it very carefully; for, unless he does that, he will not fully understand the matter.——The Committee state that the extent of the failures of manufacturers has been very great, particularly in Scotland; and upon the evidence of SIR ROBERT PEEL (who gave £.16,000 to a voluntary subscription for

carrying on the war against the *Jacobins* and *Levellers*, who has since been made a Baronet, and whose son is in office under the government), the Committee state, that the manufacturers in Lancashire have fallen from 40 to 60 per centum in value; that the greatest of them have been forced to reduce their work one third; others one half; and others, to discharge their workmen altogether; and, that those workmen who were continued in employment worked at one half of their former wages.——They state also, that the extent of the evil amongst the owners, or holders of West India produce is very great; but, they do not apprehend, that, in the clothing line, the evils are of such an extent as to call for parliamentary aid.——Well, this is a pretty picture to be sure. People stopping payment with half a million of debts, in promissory notes, out against them. What a sweep of ruin and misery! ——But, what is the *cause?* Aye, the *cause;* that is what we are next to look to.——They state, as one great cause, the want of *returns,* that is to say, *payments,* for the immense quantities of goods sent to South America, in the first place. Why, did I not say that this would be the case? Did I not warn the country against it, *at the time?* Did I not tell the manufacturers what would be the consequence of their shipping goods thither? Yes, and I was called a *Jacobin* for my pains; I was accused of *undervaluing our glorious conquests;* and was represented as a man who repined at my country's *successes.* Those who so called me have now their reward. *Time,* which tries all things and does justice to every body, has paid those calumniators in their *proper coin;* that is to say, in paper as worthless as that through which the base calumnies against me were promulgated.——In commenting upon an article describing the *speculations to the Brazils,* I said; "There needs no assurance, "on the part of this writer, to convince "me, that the event has produced great "satisfaction amongst the inhabitants of "Finsbury Square and Thames Street; "nor have I the least doubt that the Bra- "zils will soon become *a grand out-let for* "*the produce,* or *fruits, of the industry of the* "*people of England,* having, indeed, shewn "in my former Number, that this would "be the case. But I see, in this, nothing to "give *me satisfaction,* and nothing that "ought to give satisfaction to any man, "who has *the good of England at heart.*"*

Again, in another part of my work, I said: "Already, we are told, that a hun- "dred thousand pounds, taken out of the "taxes of England, has been sent off, in "specie, to the Brazils, to assist her most "faithful majesty. And this, after all, is "the result of that 'glorious event,' which "was to produce so much good to Eng- "land! When will this *commercial* and "*colonizing* rage cease to beggar and en- "slave us? Never, till the CORRUPTIONS, "which are found to be so conveniently "carried on through the medium of com- "mercial and colonial associations, are "banished by a wholesome change."* ——Over and over again did I exhort my countrymen not to be deceived by the representations in the Morning Post and the other bragging news-papers. I exhorted them not to suffer any one to persuade them to send their property to the BRAZILS. I assured them, and I *proved* to them, that the adventure *must* be attended with ruin. My advice, grounded upon a thorough knowledge of the subject, was scouted, and not without imputations upon my "loyalty:" and the advice of presumptuous ignorance, joined to hypocritical zeal for the royal cause, was followed. The adventurers, and those who trusted them, now feel the consequences: consequences the just reward of their credulity; or, rather, of their perverseness in preferring falshood to truth.—— I have said all this before; and it will not be the last time that I will din it in their ears.——The Committee say, however, that there are *other* causes; and, they must have had a pretty good face if they had attempted to deny or disguise the fact. It comes out with manifest reluctance; but, out it comes, and it is this, or, rather, the causes are these.——Great part of the *returns,* they say, for manufactures sent to the *West Indies,* come home in *sugar* and *coffee,* which remain on hand for want of a *market;* aye, and that is the case too with the manufactures, else why have they *fallen in value* from 40 to 60 per centum? It is the want of a market all through the story; for, the non-payment for goods sent to the Brazils would not have *lowered the value of those in England.* There is scarcely any one brute enough to believe that.——The Committee state, that, as to West India goods, the glut is enormous; and that there is no market for it; and they add, in speaking of the produce from Guadaloupe and the other con-

* Register, Vol. XII. p. 2, Jan. 2, 1808.

* Register, *ibid,* p. 175. Jan. 30, 1808.

quered islands, that even our *conquests* have largely contributed towards the present alarming distress! Aye! indeed! But, did I never tell you this before? Did it want a Committee of the House of Commons to find out this? Oh, no! I told my readers of it long ago.——If he turn to Vol. 18 (the last) at page 106, he will find the following passage:——"I "thought, that, the other day; or, at "most, but a few months ago, I heard the "cannon fire for the taking of Guada- "loupe. And so I did. And I heard of new governors and judges and officers without end appointed to rule this new conquest. Well, and what does it bring "us? What is our gain in it? More sugar and more coffee to be added to the "immense loads already rotting in our warehouses, and the want of a market "for which is, as we are told, one of the "causes of the blowing up of the Wiltshire paper-money. Yes, we fire cannons; we make bonfires; *we rejoice* at the taking of an island, the produce and the inhabitants of which must perish, or the former must be brought to England to assist in producing the effects now "witnessed at Salisbury and in Ireland." ——These sentiments were strongly reprobated by "the *loyal*," at the time they were published, and the MORNING POST and the COURIER affirmed, that I *mourned* over the *glories* of my country; that I was a fallen and miserable wretch myself, and that I wish to pull others down to the same state.——But, now, behold! here is a Committee of the House of Commons saying the same thing, expressing the same sentiments; and, which delights me beyond measure, giving a practical demonstration of their truth. Here it is, in the House of Commons, declared that our *conquests* have contributed towards the *distresses* of the country. So that, our fleets and armies have been employed, at this rate, for some purpose! This is not an assertion made in the way of *speech*. It is contained in an authentic report from a *Select Committee* consisting of great merchants, manufacturers and political economists. It is their opinion, well weighed and decidedly expressed, that our *conquests* have been one of the causes of the failures, distress, and misery that now pervade the country.——Look well at this, reader. Consider well what these conquests have cost. How many millions in taxes; how much in appointments and salaries and pensions which end not; how many thousands of lives! And, all this for what? Why, as it now stands declared in this Report, as it now is confirmed by a vote of the [honour]able House, and as the records of [Parlia]ment will hereafter show; it will thus stand recorded, that all this treasure and blood have been expended to purchase for the country failures, distress, misery, such as are described in the Report; to purchase bankruptcies without end; to purchase the means of rendering the country more exposed to the attacks of the enemy. Such are the effects of the conquests, which were such favourites of "the *great statesman* now no more," and which, by him and his equally wise successors, have been called "the *truly British* objects of the war."——The Committee do not say, that any part of the evil has arisen from *the decrees of the Emperor Napoleon*. They do, indeed, talk of *other causes*; but they do not speak out here. They mention the exclusion of the British flag from Europe; but they are extremely shy upon that part of the subject. Well they may! The merchants and manufacturers of the description now applying for relief, were the great cause of the war against the Jacobins and Levellers, which war has now produced, or, rather, is beginning to produce, its natural effects.——The *American States* are also mentioned with a great deal of shyness. It is merely observed, that the American ships are no longer permitted to be the carriers of West India produce to the Continent of Europe. Not a word about the Orders in Council and the dispute with America, which Orders (whether wise in themselves or not) have been the *sole cause* of the effect here stated as a great evil.—— But, in certain Resolutions of a Meeting of Merchants of London, and the Deputies from Glasgow and Paisley, on the 12th of last month, there is *a cause* assigned that will make the reader stare.—— These Resolutions state, "that the distress "which in the origin was considered to "be attributable to the imprudent specu- "lations to South America, has been in a "certain degree occasioned by other cir- "cumstances of a different nature, and *far* "*more extensive influence*. That the system "of warehousing goods for re-exportation, "without payment of duty, and the events "of the two last years, have made Great "Britain the emporium of the trade, not "only of the Peninsula, but also of the "Brazils, Spanish America, St. Domingo,

"Guadaloupe, &c. but even of countries "under the direct influence of the enemy, "whose traders have been anxious to "avail themselves of the PROTECTION "OF BRITISH LAWS, and the HONOUR "OF BRITISH MERCHANTS—that the "POWER, WEALTH, AND HIGH "CHARACTER of the nation have in "fact contributed TO PRODUCE A "MOST ALARMING EVIL. And the "*measures of the enemy* having been especi-"ally directed to the preventing the ex-"portation of the immense quantities of merchandize of all descriptions thus accumulated, the CONSEQUENCES are, that THE GOODS ARE BECOME A BURTHEN, and the advances to the owners on account, and the payment of "freight and insurance, have become griev-"ous, in such a degree as to threaten "THE MOST SOLID AND RESPECT-"ABLE HOUSES WITH ALL THE "EVILS OF INSOLVENCY."——This is something like the thing! This is famously fine! There is immortality stamped upon the very front of this! There never, surely, was any thing like this uttered before. Yet, it is no hasty effusion. It is not the language of a drunken toast at a London Tavern Dinner; at a Turtle feast; at a meeting of Turtle Patriots. It is a document of authority sufficient to be subjoined to the Report of the Select Committee, and to be placed upon the records of the House of Commons; and here it is directly stated, in so many words, that the *protection of British laws*, the *honour of British merchants* (in the existence of which latter we must believe, of course, since they themselves, who ought to be the best judges of their own hearts, have declared the fact), the *wealth, power*, and *high character* of the nation have......*what?* Why, contributed to produce *a most alarming evil!* Bravo! Take wind, and at it again.——This *wealth* has had the effect of exposing the *most solid* and respectable houses to all the evils of *insolvency!*—— There! If any thing like that; or, coming within many degrees of it ever was uttered before, I'll suffer my hand to be chopped off.——No: it is not *wealth* that you mean. You mean paper-money; you mean *promises to promise to pay*. You mean *bills* and *stock* and the like, all which, my good gentlemen, are so many certain signs of *the want* of *wealth*, the only true sign of which is *real money*. That the sort of wealth of which you speak, or to which you allude, has contributed towards the producing of *a most alarming evil*, I know very well; and I only beg you to note, that *it* is *not wealth*; but the *sign* of a want of wealth.——"The *power* of the "nation." Here you are wrong again. It is not the *power* of the nation that has caused Napoleon to shut the ports of the Continent of Europe against you. Oh, no! it is *want of power* in us to prevent him from doing it. If we could have prevented it, he would not have united Flanders and Holland and the Hans Towns to France; he would not have taken possession of Italy and Naples; he would not have forced Prussia and Russia and Sweden to shut us out; he would not have broken up Spain and Portugal. He would not have done this, if we had had *power* to prevent it; he has done this, and this it is that has produced the evil; and, how, then, do you make it out, that the evil has arisen from the *great power* of the nation? Ay! you could not bring yourselves to acknowledge the real fact; but whether *you* saw it or not, the rest of the world, and particularly Napoleon, will see it; and, you may be assured, that he will act accordingly.—— But these merchants do confess (with what consistency let the reader say), that the *measures of the enemy*" preventing the exportation of our merchandize, have produced this *consequence*, that the *goods are become a burthen*; and they further say, that this threatens even *the most solid and respectable houses with all the evils of insolvency.*——Enough! There needs no more. It is finished. Where Napoleon had one douanier he will now have two. The efficacy of his measures, the complete success of them, is here most explicitly recognized. The British merchants here declare, and the parliament receives and promulgates the declaration, that, *if Napoleon persevere in his measures*, the commerce of this country must be ruined; that insolvency must come upon the most solid establishments. If the Emperor of France does not believe this, what will he believe? And, if he be not hereby encouraged to persevere in his measures, what upon earth can give him such encouragement?——*Why* was this declaration made? It was necessary to make out the case of *distress* and to lay the ground for a claim for *relief*; else it certainly would not have been made. The tendency of it as to the enemy must have been manifest enough; but if not stated, there was nothing whereon to claim

relief. It will, however, tend to aggravate the evil; for, it is impossible for any man not to perceive, that the system of Napoleon will now be more rigorously enforced than ever. We have now told him, that, if he persevere, we are totally ruined in commerce.——So much for the *nature*, *extent*, and *cause* of the failures and misery prevailing; now, as to the *remedy* recommended by the Committee, which is simply the lending to certain merchants and manufacturers, in Exchequer bills, the sum of 6,000,000 of pounds of Bank Paper, which, according to Mr. HUSKISSON's statement, is worth *seventeen shillings in the pound*. The precedent for this measure is drawn from the achievements of "the *great statesman* now no more," who made a similar loan, but to a less amount, in 1793, at the commencement of the war against the Jacobins and Levellers.* But, very different indeed were the circumstances of the times. There the stoppage of trade was merely temporary. France was soon crippled in her navy. The rest of Europe was all open to us, and so were the American States. There was no power in the world able to throw any material impediments in the way of a revival of commerce. *Now* what is the case? Why, there is nothing in it of a *temporary* aspect. The system of Napoleon is a settled thing; durable, at least, as his life; and, though he has very poor health, and has had all the disorders that the human frame is subject to; though he has been dying a thousand times, and dead several times; still he is, somehow or other, able to plague us, and has even lately married and is about to become the father of a family.——His system is a settled established thing, as much so as our custom-house system; and there is no more hope of seeing it done away, than of seeing the Bourbons upon the throne of France or the Stadtholder replaced in Holland. And, as I have before amply shown, not only are the American ports shut against our goods, but, it is the policy of the American Government that they should continue shut against our goods; and, further, that it cannot be more than four or five years before America will be able to export, in large quantities, those sorts of goods which she has heretofore imported from England. Let any man read MR. LIVINGSTONE's book upon the subject of sheep and wool, and doubt of this if he can.——I shall be told, perhaps, that Mr. PERCEVAL has said, that "*he* looked *forward* to the probability of "*new openings* presenting themselves *by* "*degrees*, and to the *progressive vent* of the "goods now locked up in our warehouses." I dare say he had my last Saturday's proposition in his eye; but, if he had not, I wish he had *named* those *new-openings* to which he looked *forward;* or, at least some of them. *Portugal*, indeed, and *Spain*, which are upon the eve of being *delivered*, as we are told by the Morning Post, may present *new-openings;* for, it is pretty clear that the people will stand in need of almost every necessary of life by the time that they are completely *delivered* of the French. Other new openings than these two it is out of *my* power to discover, unless we can destroy the power of Napoleon in the rest of Europe, for the doing of which I do not, however, pretend to say that Mr. PERCEVAL and his colleagues may not have devised the means.——The sum of £6,000,000 was, however, voted without a division, in the House of Commons, on Monday the 11th instant, upon the motion of Mr. PERCEVAL. Mr. WHITBREAD intimated his intention of moving for an inquiry as to what part of the money (or rather bills) was received *by members of the Honourable House;* but, as this is a rather "delicate" matter, we will leave it untouched for the present.——It was repeatedly acknowledged in the debate, that *a market*, that *customers*, that backs to wear and mouths to swallow the goods, were wanted; and, indeed, the whole of what I said, in my last Number, was fully confirmed; though no one appears to have thought of *my remedy*, to which I beg leave again to refer the reader; and I cannot help repeating my earnest wish to see it adopted.——Why should we go wandering about the world for customers, while we have such an ample market at home? We are acting, in this, like MR. BROUGHAM and the other emancipators of the Black Slaves, who seem always to forget, that

* It appears by the Report of the Commissioners for the issue of Exchequer Bills in 1793, to assist commercial men, that the whole number of applications for loans was 332, and the amount of the sums applied for 3,855,624*l.*—of these 238 were granted, and the amount lent was on personal security 2,015,000*l.* on deposit of goods 187,200*l.* total 2,202,200*l.* The whole sum was repaid, a considerable part before it became due, and the remainder regularly at the stated periods.

there are any other in the world, and especially within their reach; and, I shall certainly never give them much credit for their endeavours, as long as I see them pass quite unnoticed the *Scallags in the Hebrides.* "Charity begins at "home," and so ought *humanity.* I have no objection to doing all that can be done for the Black Slaves. I have no objection to see the trade and the slavery all done away. But, *first* let us do all that can be done in the Hebrides. Why should these islands not have our attention? A Clergyman of the Church of Scotland has written and published a comparison between the treatment of the Negroes and that of Hebridians, and he gives *the preference to the former.** I will, therefore, never hear of *humanity* as connected with measures in favour of the Black Slaves, while a part of my own countrymen are in this situation. ——To return to the subject before us, it is, I think, as clear as daylight, that the *relief* proposed to be given, and now voted by the House of Commons, can have none of the effects which its advocates seem to anticipate. Mr. RICHARD WELLESLEY, in his *maiden* speech, expressed his confidence in "the *reviving* spirit of the British merchant;" but, is this measure a sign of it? Mr. HENRY THORNTON, in the debate on Monday, said, that "he wished the loan "to be applied on a *charitable* and *humane* "principle." Good lack! What, a loan to our great merchants and manufacturers upon principles of *charity* and *humanity!* Does this savour of a *reviving spirit?* Mr. CURWEN (I quote the Morning Chronicle) said, "that it was impossible not to see, "that *public confidence was gone;* and, that "this, *therefore,* rendered the measure im-"perious, though all the money lent were "finally to be lost." But, without asking for the *why* or the *wherefore* here, if it be true, that public confidence is gone, what becomes of the *reviving spirit* that Mr. Richard Wellesley talked so much of?—— That man must be most completely hoodwinked, who sees any hopes of revival of the commercial spirit, which, of course, is engendered and kept alive by the prospect of gain. Indeed, he must be very stupid who does not see, that commerce, I mean *external commerce,* has *run its race;* and that it is now producing all those effects, which the ABBE RAYNAL long ago delineated, and which he said would take place if ever France became mistress of the Continent, or acquired a great and decided preponderance in the affairs of Europe. He was a friend to England, because he looked upon her as a friend to freedom; and he therefore lamented, that she seemed to be abandoned to a system, which, if persevered in, must finally lead to a crash which might endanger her independence.—— Commerce, in its free and natural course, produces many good effects besides that of the extension of knowledge, which is generally accompanied with an extension of virtue and of freedom; but, when it swells out to an extent that makes the country dependent upon other countries; when it grows into great masses and companies, and when these become closely connected with the government; then commerce becomes an enormous evil; and, whoever will candidly trace the present external dangers of the country to their real source, will find them to have arisen, in a great measure, from commerce. The war against the Jacobins and Levellers was full as much a war of commerce as of aristocracy. Between them they succeeded in putting down the democrats; but, what have either of them *gained* by it? The merchants and great manufacturers subscribed and resolved and toasted and addressed in favour of a war against the Jacobins and Levellers. Well: they *succeeded.* They said and they swore that all that PITT did was right. They stood by him in every thing. And, shall they now complain, when the natural consequences of the contest begin (for they are only *beginning)* to come upon them? They, perhaps, do not wish to look at the matter in this light; but that is no reason why we should not. Because they do not like to look back to the glorious days of PITT and SIR BROOK, there is no reason why the people should not take the retrospect. *Now* is the time to look back; when men complain of an evil and call upon you to assist them, you have a right to inquire into the cause of the evil. They will freely go back as far as the decrees of Napoleon, and endeavour to enlist your feelings against him as the enemy of us all. Aye; that is very well; but, who was it enabled Napoleon to put such decrees in force? Whose plans and execution was it that gave him the possession of those countries whence he now excludes our commerce? Who was it that

* Travels in the Western Hebrides, from 1782 to 1790. By the Rev. J. L. Buchannan, A. M. Missionary to the Isles from the Church of Scotland.

made France an armed nation; who caused her to pour forth a million of men to subdue Europe; who goaded her into this? "What signifies talking of that "*now?*" Oh! it does signify a great deal to talk about it; and *now* is the very time, because you are now feeling the effects of it, and because it is of infinite importance to us all, that the *real authors* of the evil complained of should be known.——At any rate, the Jacobins and Levellers had no hand in it. They were beaten. They were compelled to hold their tongues. You had all the affairs of the nation in your own hands. You did what you pleased, amongst you, with its resources. You made war, you made peace, you made war again; and you did what you liked. Never were the Pittites one single day without a decided majority in parliament. You will say, that the *people* were with you. Be it so. I am not at all solicitous about that. All that I contend for is, that the Jacobins and Levellers had nothing at all to do with any of the measures, which have produced the present state of things. If you are well off; if you like your situation; if you think it an enviable state, it is well; but, be it good, be it bad, all I have to say is, that the Jacobins and Levellers had no hand in producing it.

Libel Law.——I subjoin the speeches of Lord Erskine and Lord Eldon upon the Ex Officio Informations; but have no room for any observations here, and can only recommend them to the attentive perusal of the reader.

Wm. COBBETT.

State Prison, Newgate, Tuesday, March 12, 1811.

LIBEL LAW.

Lords Erskine *and* Eldon's *Speeches, in the House of Lords, on the 4th inst. on Lord Holland's Motion for an Account of* Informations Ex-officio, *filed by the Attorney General.—(See Lord* Holland's *Speech at p. 593).*

Lord Erskine said, that in his way of considering the subject before the House, it was not necessary that his noble friend, who had moved for the Informations filed within the last ten years, should be able to establish by evidence a probable ground of abuse to entitle him to have the papers he asked for. It would be sufficient for him to show that from any cause, from the increase, for instance, of printing and of periodical publications, a very large body of the people were daily subject, in the exercise of useful and honest occupations, to a prosecution, not attempted to be vindicated by the greatest law authorities, but as an anomaly in the Constitution for the punishment of enormous offenders against the very existence of the State. On this principle he admitted that Informations *ex officio* were as ancient as the law, and were suffered to remain by the statute of King William, when Informations by the King's Coroner were taken away. But if these Informations, instead of being applicable as formerly to a very small number of persons upon extraordinary occasions, became applicable to ordinary abuses or mistakes by all persons engaged in printing, it became the duty of Parliament to enter into an inquiry upon the subject, and even without the suggestion of an abuse, to provide a protection against State Prosecutions for misdemeanors analogous to those which the statute law had long enacted for the security of persons arraigned for treasons against the State. In ordinary criminal cases the law, though universally indulgent, thought it necessary to keep within limits the privileges of parties accused.—A man, accused of felony, may be prosecuted at any period. There is no statute of limitation to secure him when his witnesses may be absent or dead. He hears the indictment read for the first time by the clerk of the arraigns when he is put upon his trial; he has no copy of it delivered to him; he knows nothing of the case intended to be made against him; he is a stranger to the witnesses who are to prove it, and he can have no counsel to make his defence to the Jury, but only to argue matters of law with the court. Such is the naked condition of a prisoner, when his adversary is a private man. But when he is accused of High Treason, he is covered all over with the armour of the law. He has a giant to fight with when he has to encounter the whole weight and influence of the Crown, and he is protected accordingly. The indictment must be preferred within three years from the commission of the crime. Every principle of limitation of time, as enacted in cases of Treasons, surely applies with tenfold force to prosecutions for Libels, but above all to periodical publications. Treasons may be most secret, and most generally are so. They may not be discovered till long after

three years; but still the law, in its general indulgence, imposes that limitation of time; Treasons also, when discovered, oppose other difficulties to conviction. It may be much longer before the traitors can be detected, and longer still before evidence can be obtained. But Libels in periodical publications, are known to the crown the instant they are published, and government has already obtained laws which make known to them, immediately and universally, the responsible persons. The names of all the proprietors, publishers and printers being registered in the Stamp Office, not only for purposes of revenue, but expressly for the detection of offences against the State. Upon what principle, then, ought such prosecutions to be delayed? There ought, on the contrary, to be a very short limitation of time indeed to prevent their being made instruments of terror, or of dangerous influence over the press. A copy of it must be delivered to him ten days before the trial. He must have the whole pannel of the Jurors who are to try him, with their descriptions and places of abode, so as to entitle him to sift their characters for objections for cause, and even for 35 capricious challenges without any cause at all. If he dislikes the physiognomy of a Juror, he sets him aside; he is entitled to full defence by two counsel to speak to the Jury upon his whole case. The treason must be established by two witnesses, though one is sufficient to convict even in any other capital case; and he must be brought to trial without delay or be set at large. Nothing could be more striking than the illustration of these principles, in Hadfield's case for shooting at the King at the theatre. In most other countries he might have been trampled under foot or carried to instant execution; but here he was protected in the manner he had described. Though insanity was his defence, he was taken to be sane when he demanded all these privileges in open court, and he called upon the court to assign him (Lord Erskine) to plead for him, who had no privilege to refuse it. Such examples, instead of weakening government, was a bulwark to support it. Now, why should not persons, accused by the Attorney General, by *ex officio* Information, have analogous protections. They have the same antagonist to fight with, and why not the same armour to cover them? All the power and influence of government are exerted equally against them, and the cases are precisely the same, except that the crown does not fight with weapons that are mortal; but the wounds they inflict may be desperate. But they not only have not analogous protection, but they are exposed to greater dangers than in cases of ordinary crimes, by the abuse of Special Juries. He did not mean to complain of the institution, but to want of proper regulation. He had long had the greatest respect for many gentlemen who served upon them, but the most honest men were not equally fit for all trusts. They were often deeply connected with government, engaged in the collection of the revenue, and magistrates in every county in the kingdom. The List was not returned by the Sheriff, but was made up by the Master in the Office of the King's Bench. He did not believe that an honester man existed than the individual who held that office, but that was no answer to the subject who was cut off from his choice out of the general mass of the county where he is tried. He thought therefore that it would not only be just, but the wisest policy, to take the whole subject into immediate consideration. The administration of justice, to be useful, must be popular; and it never became unpopular but through abuse. He had always stood up for the character and honour of the law as the sure foundation of all social order and happiness, but for that very reason he would always give his voice, by salutary improvements, to rescue it from suspicion and to deliver it from reproach.

Lord ELDON said that he could say with his noble friend that he also felt grateful for the honours with which a gracious master had rewarded his humble services; and that humble as his efforts might have been, those, who were to inherit those honours from him would know that he had done his duty. As to the distinctions which had been drawn between the proceedings in the case of treason and libel, it should be remembered that in the former the accusation rests upon general principles—in the latter upon an alledged specific fact. He believed that no Attorney-General had prosecuted more libels than it had fallen to his lot to prosecute when he held that office. He acted on a conviction at that time, certainly, that the publication of libel was one of the most formidable weapons then wielded against the constitution; and that it was an engine which was directed to the subversion

of the Government of the country. It was grateful to him to reflect that he had, by his conduct then, done his part towards its preservation. As to what had been introduced on the subject of special juries, he could not perceive how that was at all connected with the object of the noble baron's motion; but he would remind the House, that if any alteration was attempted in the present mode of regulating special juries, the same principle would equally apply to some change in the system of summoning common juries, who were all returned at the discretion of the Sheriff. *(Hear! hear!)* He did not know the meaning of this exclamation but he could assure Noble Lords he spoke for the purpose of being heard. *(A laugh.)* It was his decided opinion, that the mere fact of the number of prosecutions having increased, by a considerable number, in the last ten years, was not a sufficient ground for inducing them to accede to the motion of the noble lord. He must do that Noble Lord the justice to say, that he had, when the late act respecting *ex officio* informations was first introduced, given to it his strongest opposition. He himself unquestionably had approved of it, possibly from prejudice, and from the esteem in which he held its authors. He knew well that the person who now filled the office of Attorney-General, for whom he felt the most sincere respect, had been greatly misrepresented. This, however, he did not lament—it was the natural consequence of the authority which he exercised, and it was also the privilege of a free people to view with distrust, and even with dislike, the necessary exercise of that authority. At the same time he must say, that a great deal of misconception prevailed in the public mind on the subject, and that if well and truly understood, it would appear that no public officer holding the same trust had ever displayed a larger portion of mildness and forbearance.—It would be seen that he was THE MOST FORBEARING PROSECUTOR IN THE KINGDOM *(Hear! hear!)* His trust was of a description which it was not under the circumstances of the responsibility which he incurred, probable, if possible, that he should venture to abuse it. Much had been said by the Noble Lord (Lord Holland) of the great Legal Authorities that had set themselves against the general principle of *ex officio* informations, but he must observe, that if those eminent characters had expressed opinions of this nature, they had been very inconsistent in their conduct. For however warmly they might have contended against these informations when engaged against the Crown Officers, there was, he believed, no instance of their *refusing him their assistance* whenever he invited it in carrying on the same *ex officio* informations—*(A laugh.)* After all the statements which had been made of the rigour exercised by virtue of the late Act, only one person had been held to bail, and it was in that aggravated case of an immediate republication of the libel, which had been already noticed. He recollected well, that when he was Attorney-General, a singular mode of doing the same thing was practised. As the prosecutor of a libel, he was obliged to state the libellous matter in the record, and this record of the indictment was in many instances, itself immediately published, and the CIRCULATION OF THE LIBEL THUS INGENIOUSLY EXTENDED. *(A laugh.)* It was impossible not to be amused at the contrivance, but it was an evil which imperiously required a remedy. With respect to the circumstance of *The Morning Post,* he was desirous of stating that the principle which governed *him,* on those occasions, was to prosecute all the parties implicated in the publication of the libel, and he had uniformly found, that, by extinguishing the papers, he got rid of the authors. Thinking as he did, that those who were charged with the judicial administration of the laws were *entitled to their support,* and ought not to be wantonly subjected to suspicion and reproach, without some plain and specific ground being laid for entertaining any motion that should be attended with such an effect; and thinking also, that no such ground had been adduced, and that to accede to it would only be *to unhinge the public mind* and *create unfounded alarms,* he felt himself under the necessity of resisting the motion.

COMMERCIAL CREDIT.

Report from the Select Committee on the State of Commercial Credit, laid before the House of Commons, 6 *March,* 1811.

The Select Committee appointed to enquire into the State of Commercial Credit, and who were directed to report the same as it should appear to them, together with

their Observations thereon, from time to time, to the House, met, and examined a variety of Witnesses; and have agreed upon the following Report:—Your Committee directed its attention to three points; —*First*—The extent of the difficulties and embarrassments which are at present experienced by the trading part of the community:—*Second*—The causes to which the same should be ascribed;—and,—*Third*—The expediency, with a view to the present and future interests of the Merchants and Manufacturers, and of the public, of any assistance being afforded by Parliament.—Your Committee found, that Memorials had been presented to his Majesty's Treasury, towards the latter end of the last and the beginning of the present year, stating the great embarrassments and distress which were felt amongst the Manufacturers in the Cotton Trade in Glasgow and Paisley and their vicinity, and praying for public assistance; that the same were confirmed by the representation of a meeting held in the City of London, on the 12th of February, which sent a deputation to wait upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer, with a Copy of the Resolutions adopted at that meeting. These Resolutions your Committee have inserted in the Appendix to this Report.—Your Committee found, by the evidence of the witnesses which they examined, that those statements and representations were founded on fact.—It appeared to your Committee, that the principal part of the distress which was complained of, had arisen out of great and extensive speculations, which commenced upon the opening of the South American markets in the Brazils and elsewhere, to the adventures of British Merchants.—Mr. Garden, the Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce and Manufacture at Glasgow, said—"That in Glasgow and the neighbourhood the distress began among the manufacturing body of the people, and it has pressed more severely upon them hitherto, than on any other class. That it began about the month of October or beginning of November last: The cause of it appeared to him to be this; That a set of Merchants in London, Liverpool, and Glasgow, conceiving that the markets of South America would consume a vast quantity of our manufactures, entered into a project of very extensive exports to those Countries and to the West India Islands, chiefly intended for the Spanish Colonies; these expeditions not meeting a ready market, those Exporters have not been able to pay the Manufacturers, when the bills became due; these bills were therefore returned upon the manufacturers, which created a great deal of distress—many of those houses that were the original causes of the evil are gone to Bankruptcy long ago; but they have created this evil upon the manufacturers of whom they purchased the goods; that the manufacturers have their property locked up in bankrupts' estates; that part of it will be lost no doubt, but yet that in the course of nine, twelve or fifteen months, a considerable part of the capital will return to the manufacturers; but while they are deprived of it, they go on with the greatest difficulty; many of the weaker have been broken down. That the manufacturers of goods who have capitals still feel great distress from this cause, and it is that class of people that it would be desirable to relieve, because a little aid from government would enable them to go on with their business, though on a limited scale; but still they would be enabled to retain a certain proportion of their work people or labourers; whereas, if they get no kind of relief, they must be broken down also; and the labourers, with their families, must be left without means of subsistence. That this distress still presses very heavily upon them, the export merchants not being able to pay the manufacturers, for the goods they have taken. That in the course of trade great quantities of goods from Scotland were sold by agents in London; those agents gave a temporary accommodation to the manufacturer, but nothing more; when the merchants could not pay those bills which they had given for goods, the bills went back upon the manufacturers.—That there is this chain of connection between the manufacturing body and the upper classes of merchants, the Banks in Scotland having discounted or advanced money upon those bills of the merchants for the manufacturers; those bills having gone back, the manufacturers are not able to take them up; the capitals of the Banks are therefore taken up also, and they are not able to give the regular accommodation which they had been used to do to their customers. In this situation of things, too, a want of confidence arises in the banks themselves, when they see people breaking down around them, they become timid and afraid of transacting any business; a want of confidence on the part of the banks naturally creates distress among the upper classes of merchants, who are

thus deprived of the usual accommodation or means of negociation; that therefore persons who are possessed of solid property have not the same means of obtaining credit that they usually have had, and very far from it—this want of confidence in the banks makes them distrustful of every body and the merchants have felt great inconvenience in consequence. The witness said, he understands that some of the banks at Glasgow and in that neighbourhood do little business, they will rather accumulate their capital, and wait the result of the present situation of things; this want of confidence creates general distress among very respectable merchants.—That the intercourse of credit among the merchants themselves, was much broken down by means of these circumstances, even where the merchants are solvent.—That there is considerable injury to the manufacturer, from being obliged to stop his work; his machinery gets out of order, his workmen get dispersed through the country, and he cannot collect them again, but at considerable trouble and expence; and when it is understood that his business is stopped, he loses his custom, and when he begins again it is almost the same as beginning a new business; it is therefore extremely important that the manufacturer should go on, though on a limited scale.—That in his opinion the demand would in a great measure come round to them again; that the home trade and some other markets are still open to them; that he has always seen in his experience of 30 years, that a glut in a market is followed by a brisk demand; for no person will supply the markets or adventure at all when they are overstocked; hence the market becomes exhausted, and of course a very good demand arises afterwards. The markets of South America and the West India Islands are overstocked at present, but they will naturally come round, and the home trade always takes off a certain quantity, so that he had no doubt in six or twelve months this increased demand will do more than take off what is on hand now, or what will be manufactured in the mean time, which will be a very limited quantity indeed.—That if there was no particular glut in the market, from the time of the shipping of the goods, till the payment could be commanded in this country, he should conceive would be twelve or fifteen months; it may in some instances be sooner, but, generally speaking, he should conceive about that time. In some instances payments have been much quicker, perhaps by the return of the same ship; and he mentioned that there have even been instances of ships returning within four or five months.—The usual date of bills given by the merchant to the manufacturer is six or nine months, but in some cases it may be extended to twelve months; in cases where the goods are sold by an agent in London, that agent interposes his credit, and gives an accommodation to the maunfacturer sooner, if he requires it, taking his chance of payment from the merchant.—That the distresses were immediately and in the first instance occasioned by the want of payment for those that were vended; but at the same time the want of a market is certainly a part of the cause. The markets of South America having been for a time overstocked, there is no great demand at present; and even though there were a demand, in the present situation of things with the want of confidence and the want of credit, it would be difficult for the manufacturers to know to whom to sell with safety; that is chiefly occasioned by the want of payments for the goods sold: that will in some measure come round in the course of twelve months, and then the manufacturer will have his own capital again.—That there has been a very considerable supply of this sort of manufactures sent to the peninsula, which was in great measure with a view to their being sent to the Spanish colonies; that the same failure of payment happened in some degree, in respect of those goods, as those sent to South America; that one considerable house in London connected with this trade, which stopped or made a pause within the last two or three weeks, had sent a great quantity to Cadiz; and they informed the witness that the last account they had was, that the goods would all be sold in this and the next month, by which means they should be able to make a handsome dividend to their creditors; but their bills having gone back on the manufacturers, they are depressed in the mean time.—That there had been a great fall in the price of the manufacture; that when he left Glasgow, there were some articles of manufacture which had fallen perhaps 40 or 50 per cent; but he understands from communications since that, the fall is greater, because the distress is become more general.—With respect to the failures that had happened, there are several

houses which will probably pay very large dividends; and indeed there are several of the houses in Glasgow that he alludes to which stopped payment, have undertaken to pay their creditors in full, in a certain time; one who had more than 200,000*l.* of bills out, has undertaken to pay his creditors in 3, 4, 8, 12, and 16 months, and probably he will do it; but in the mean time, the manufacturers cannot command a shilling of this money; that the failure of those houses, before he left Glasgow, had amounted to from one to two millions; one house (the same to which the witness alluded before) has failed since that time for 519,000*l.* they have undertaken to pay in full.—That the failures of the export houses certainly arose from their having gone greatly beyond their capital, having exported goods to a far greater extent; but he understood many of those houses were not without capital, and some even had large capital, but being disappointed in the markets, it was found that they could not make their returns so quickly as their bills became due: there are houses of that description in Liverpool, and some in Glasgow.—Being asked, as to the amount of failures on the present occasion, as compared with those in 1793? he said, "The proportion of failures will be always something in proportion to the extent of the trade, (which has increased wonderfully since 1793); and of course the failures now are to a much larger amount than they were at that period."—Your Committee having given this full extract from the evidence of Mr. Garden, have to state, that it was in general confirmed by the evidence of Messrs. I. and R. Mackerell, and Mr. Henry Fulton, muslin-manufacturers at Paisley; and that evidence in a great degree to a similar import was given to the Committee by Sir Robert Peel. With regard to the state of the manufactures in Lancashire, he stated, that the price of goods had fallen 40, 50, and in some instances 60 per cent.: that the greatest manufacturers had been obliged to reduce the quantity of their work by one third, others one-half, and others again had been obliged to discharge their workmen altogether; and that even those which were continued in employment, were continued at a very reduced rate of wages, amounting to not more than one half of their ordinary payment—that under these circumstances great distress was felt amongst the workmen; and though there had not been any failures among the more considerable and best established houses of manufacture in Lancashire, yet that great distress and embarrasment must already be felt by many, and that some parliamentary assistance would be of most essential advantage.—Your Committee think it right to refer to the returns of the export of the Cotton Manufactures in the following years, to shew the state and progress of the trade in this article of manufacture, up to the period when this distress began to be so strongly felt. The official value of cotton manufactures exported from Great Britain, in the year ending 5 January, 1808, was 9,846,889*l.*; in the year ending 5 January 1809, 12,835,803*l.*; in the year ending 5 January, 1810, was 18,616,723*l.*; and in the three quarters ending 10 October 1810, 12,761,136*l.*—It appeared to your Committee, that there had been no want of a disposition on the part of the Banks in Scotland to give their accommodation; that they had liberally applied it as far as was possible; but that it was impossible they could continue their aid, as they had their capital already locked up in an immense number of bills, the payment of which was suspended.—Your Committee also found, that great distress was felt in a quarter which was much connected with this trade, namely, amongst the Importers of Produce from the foreign West India Islands, and from South America.—That great parts of the returns for the manufactures which were exported to those parts of the world, came home in sugars and coffee; which not being entitled to sale in the home market, there were no immediate means of realizing their value.—These representations of the distress experienced in the trade of the Cotton Manufacturer and Exporter, and from the want of market for foreign colonial produce, were also confirmed by respectable merchants and traders in London; who also stated, that the embarrassments were felt in other branches of trade, not connected with foreign commerce or colonial produce.—It also appeared to your Committee, that one cause which might be considered as connected with and as at present aggravating the existing distress, was the extent to which the system of warehousing the goods of foreigners as well as native merchants, for exportation had been carried. On this point, the Committee refer to the evidence of Mr. Cock, Commercial and Public Agent for the Corporation of Liverpool, and General

Agent to the merchants of the town; who informed the Committee that,—" Since the opening of the West India and London Docks, Great Britain has under the provisions of the warehousing acts, become a free port, into which foreign goods of almost every description may be brought and safely deposited, and from whence they may be exported again without payment of importation duties. This country possessing peculiar advantages for foreign commerce, the consequence of such facility to introduce goods from all parts of the world has been, that the merchants of other countries, whether neutrals, enemies or allies, have been eager to avail themselves of every opportunity of sending their goods hither. From Spain (for instance) such goods as have not been imported on British account, the Spanish merchants have been anxious to send here for safety and for sale—the same remark applies to Portugal; in fact we are now the exporters of Portugal wines to that country—while importations from Europe, not the result of a demand for them, have thus been occasioned, the markets of South America, both Portuguese and Spanish, have been thrown open to us, and the greater part of the immense productions of those places (from which formerly we received but little property direct except bullion) now comes to fill the warehouses, and for a time to exhaust the capitals of the merchants of this country. Our conquests also have had the same tendency: in addition to the produce of the old British Colonies, we now receive that of Martinique, Guadaloupe, St. Cruz, St. Thomas's, &c.; the greatest part of the produce of St. Domingo also now comes here. From Europe, the importations from places from which the British flag is excluded, have been immense—these causes cooperating at a period when the situation of the United States has prevented their ships from introducing into Europe that large proportion of West Indian and South [American] productions of which they would have been the carriers, the effects have [b]een more sensibly felt by our merchants" —Your Committee, upon the whole, think [th]emselves justified in stating, that the embarrassments and distresses at present experienced are of an extensive nature; [al]though they are most severely felt amongst the manufacturers and merchants [i]n those trades which have been more par[ti]cularly specified, yet, that they are also felt in a considerable degree in some other branches of trade; but they have the satisfaction of stating, that from the evidence of a very extensive and experienced merchant, it does not appear that they are felt in the woollen trade, to such an extent as would at all justify a call upon Parliament for any extraordinary relief.—That your Committee are warranted in stating, that there appeared a general concurrence of opinion amongst those of the witnesses who were examined, as to the expediency of affording Parliamentary relief in the manner in which it was afforded by the issue of Exchequer Bills in the year 1793, although there was some difference as to the extent of benefit which might be expected to be derived from such relief. And your Committee state it to be their decided opinion, that although there are many circumstances at the present time affecting the state of trade and commercial credit, which make a great difference between the present period and that of the year 1793; yet the distress is of such a nature and extent, as to make such Parliamentary relief highly expedient and necessary; and that it promises to be productive of extensive and important benefit; that although in many cases such aid may not be capable of effectually relieving the persons to whom it may be applied, from great losses arising from the state of circumstances; yet by affording them time gradually to contract their operations, to call in their means, to withold from immediate sale articles which at present can fetch only most ruinous prices, and to keep up the employment of their machinery and their workmen, though upon a very reduced and limited scale; it will divide and spread the pressure of this distress over a larger space of time, and enable them to meet it with consequences less ruinous to themselves, and less destructive to the interests of the community.—That your Committee referred to the manner in which relief was afforded in the year 1793, and have found that the provisions of that measure which, as appears by the report of the Commissioners appointed on that occasion, was attended with the happiest effects, and the most complete success, are embodied in the Act 33 Geo. III. cap. 29, and the Committee are of opinion, that similar provisions should be adopted with regard to the relief at present proposed; that the amount of Exchequer Bills to be issued should not be less, nor would the Committee re-

commend that it should be more than 6,000,000*l.* and that, considering the probable date of the returns of trade from South America, a greater interval should be given for repayment than was allowed in 1793, the Committee being of opinion, that the time for payment of the first quarter's instalment should not be earlier than the middle of January next, and that the remainder of the sum advanced should be required to be repaid by three equal payments, from three months to three months, so that the whole should be discharged in nine months from the payment of such first instalment.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

AMERICA and ENGLAND.——*Letters of Mr.* PINKNEY, *laid before Congress by the President Mr.* MADISON, 12 *Jan.* 1811.

MR. PINKNEY *to Lord Wellesley.—Great Cumberland Place, Nov.* 3, 1810.
(Continued from page 608.*)*

It will have been taken for granted, that the British obstructions to those expeditions having thus lost the support, which, however insufficient in itself, was the only one that could ever be claimed for them, have been withdrawn, and that the seas are once more restored to the dominion of law and justice. I persuade myself, that this confidence will be substantially justified by the event; and that to the speedy recall of such orders in Council as were subsequent in date to the decrees of France, will be added the annulment of the antecedent order, to which my letter respecting blockades particularly relates. But if, notwithstanding the circumstances which invite to such a course, the British Government shall have determined not to remove those obstructions with all practicable promptitude, I trust that my Government will be apprised with as little delay as possible of a determination so unexpected, and of such vital concern to its rights and interests; and that the reasons upon which that determination may have been formed will not be withheld from it.—I have the honour to be, with high consideration, My Lord,—your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,—WILLIAM PINKNEY.

A Bill supplementary to the Act concerning the Commercial Intercourse between the United States and Great Britain and France, and for other purposes.—Jan. 1811.

Be it enacted, &c. That in case Great Britain shall so revoke or modify her edicts as that they shall cease to violate the neutral commerce of the United States, the President of the United States shall declare the fact by proclamation, and such proclamation shall be admitted as evidence, and no other evidence shall be admitted of such revocation or modification in any suit or prosecution which may be instituted under this act, or the act to which this act is a supplement. And the restrictions imposed or which may be imposed by virtue of this act, or the act to which this is a supplement, shall from the date of such proclamation cease to be discontinued.

Sec. 2. And be it further enacted, That from and after the 2d day of February next, in case the proclamation aforesaid shall not have been issued, the entrance of the harbours and waters of the United States and the territories thereof be, and the same is hereby interdicted to all ships or vessels sailing under the flag of Great Britain, or owned in whole or in part by any citizen or subject thereof, vessels hired, chartered, or employed by the government of Great Britain, for the sole purpose of carrying letters or dispatches, and also vessels forced in by distress, or by the dangers of the sea only excepted; and if any ship or vessel sailing under the flag of Great Britain, or owned in whole or in part by any citizen or subject thereof and not excepted as aforesaid, shall, after the said second day of February next, arrive either with or without a cargo, within the limits of the United States, or the territories thereof, such ship or vessel, together with the cargo, if any, which may be found on board, shall be forfeited, and may be seized and condemned in any court of the United States, or territories thereof, having competent jurisdiction.

Sec. 3. And be it further enacted, That from and after the 2d day of February next, it shall not be lawful to import into the United States, or territories thereof, any goods, wares, or merchandize whatever, from any port or place situated in Great Britain or Ireland, or in any part of the colonies or dependencies of Great Britain, nor from any port or place in the actual possession of Great Britain; nor shall it be lawful to import into the United States, or the territories thereof, from any foreign port or place whatever, any goods, wares, or merchandize whatever, being of the growth, produce, or manufacture of Great Britain or Ireland, or of any of the colonies

or dependencies of Great Britain, or being of the growth, produce, or manufacture of any place or country in the actual possession of Great Britain: Provided, That nothing herein contained shall be construed to affect the cargoes of ships or vessels wholly owned by a citizen or citizens of the United States, which had cleared for any port beyond the Cape of Good Hope, prior to the 10th day of November, 1810.

Sec. 4. And be it further enacted, That whenever any article or articles, the importation of which is prohibited by this act, shall after the 2d day of February next, be imported into the United States or the territories thereof, contrary to the true intent and meaning of this act, or shall, after the said 2d day of February next be, put on board of any ship or vessel, boat, raft, or carriage, with intention of importing the same into the United States or the territories thereof, all such articles, as well as all other articles, on board the same ship or vessel, boat, raft, or carriage, belonging to the owner of such prohibited articles, shall be forfeited; and the owner thereof shall moreover forfeit and pay treble the value of such articles.

Sec. 5. And be it further enacted, That if any article or articles, the importation of which is prohibited by this act, shall after the 2d day of February next be put on board of any ship or vessel, boat, raft, or carriage, with intention to import the same into the United States or the territories thereof, contrary to the true intent and meaning of this act, and with the knowledge of the owner or master of such ship or vessel, boat, raft, or carriage, such ship or vessel, boat, raft, or carriage shall be forfeited, and the owner and master thereof shall moreover each forfeit and pay treble the value of such articles.

Sec. 6. And be it further enacted, That if any article or articles, the importation of which is prohibited by this act, and which shall nevertheless be on board of any ship or vessel, boat, raft or carriage, arriving after the said second day of February next in the United States or the territories thereof, shall be omitted in the manifest, report, or entry of the master, or the person having the charge or command of such ship or vessel, boat, raft or carriage, or shall be omitted in the entry of the goods owned by the owner, or consigned to the consignee of such articles, or shall be imported or landed, or attempted to be imported or landed, without a permit, the same penalties, fines and forfeitures shall be incurred and may be recovered, as in the case of similar omission or omissions, landing, importation, or attempt to land or import, in relation to articles liable to duties on their importation into the United States.

Sec. 7. And be it further enacted, That every collector, naval officer, surveyor or other officer of the customs, shall have like power and authority to seize goods wares, and merchandize, imported contrary to the extent and meaning of this act, to keep the same in custody until it shall have been ascertained whether the same have been forfeited or not, and to enter any ship or vessel, dwelling house, store, building or other place, for the purpose of searching for and seizing any such goods, wares, or merchandize, which he or they now have by law in relation to goods, wares, and merchandize subject to duty; and if any person or persons shall conceal or buy any goods, wares, or merchandize, knowing them to be liable to seizure by this act, such person or persons shall, on conviction thereof, forfeit and pay a sum double the amount or value of the goods, wares or merchandize so concealed or purchased.

Sec. 8. And be it further enacted, That any vessel or merchandize which shall be seized prior to the fact being ascertained whether Great Britain shall on or before the second day of February next have revoked or modified her edicts in the manner above mentioned, may be restored on application of the parties, on their giving bond, with approved sureties to the United States in a sum equal to the value thereof, to abide the decision of the proper court of the United States thereon, and any such bond shall be considered as satisfied if Great Britain shall, on or before the said second day of February next, have revoked or modified her edicts in the manner above mentioned.

Sec. 9. And be it further enacted, That no vessel which shall have departed from a British port before the second day of February next, and no merchandize imported in such vessel which shall have been put on board the same before the Proclamation of the President of the United States of the 2d day of November last shall have been known at such port, shall be liable to seizure or forfeiture on account of any infraction or persumed infraction of the provisions of this act, or of the act to which this act is a supplement,

Sec. 10. And be it further enacted, That the following additions shall be made to the oath or affirmation taken by the masters or persons having the charge or command of any ship or vessel arriving at any port of the United States or the territories thereof, after the 2d day of February next, viz. " I further swear, (or affirm) that there are not, to the best of my knowledge and belief on board (insert the denomination and name of the vessel) any goods, wares, or merchandize, the importation of which into the United States or the territories thereof, is prohibited by law; and I do further swear (or affirm) that if I shall hereafter discover or know of any such goods, wares, or merchandize, on board the said vessel, or which shall have been imported in the same, I will immediately and without delay make due report thereof to the collector of the port of this district."

Sec. 11. And be it further enacted, That the following addition be made, after the second day of February next, to the oath or affirmation taken by importers, consignees, or agents, at the time of entering goods imported into the United States or the territories thereof; viz. " I also swear (or affirm) that there are not, to the best of my knowledge and belief, among the said goods, wares, and merchandize, imported or consigned, as aforesaid, any goods, wares and merchandize, the importation of which into the United States or the territories thereof is prohibited by law, and I do further swear or affirm, that if I shall hereafter discover or know of any such goods, wares, and merchandize, among the goods, wares, and merchandize imported or consigned as aforesaid, I will immediately, and without delay, report the same to the collector of this district."

Sec. 12. And be it further enacted, That all penalties and forfeitures incurred under this act or the act to which this act is a supplement, may be sued for, prosecuted, and recovered, with cost of suit, by action of debt, in the name of the United States of America, or by indictment or information, in any court having competent jurisdiction to try the same, and such penalties and forfeitures may be examined, mitigated, or remitted, in like manner and under the like conditions, regulations, and restrictions, as are prescribed, authorised, and directed by the act, entitled " An act to provide for mitigating or remitting the forfeitures, penalties, and disabilities accruing in certain cases, therein mentioned," passed the 3d day of March, 1797, and made perpetual by an act passed the 11th day of February 1800.

Sec. 13. And be it further enacted, That it shall be lawful for any part of the land or naval forces of the United States, and for any part of the Militia of any state or territory, in the actual service of the United States, to make seizure of any vessel or merchandize liable to seizure and forfeiture, by reason of any infraction of the provisions of this act, or of the act to which this act is a supplement. And in case of any such seizure made within the waters of the United States, or within the boundaries of any district of the United States, that portion of the forfeiture arising from such seizure, which according to existing laws would have accrued to the United States, shall, after deducting the duties payable to the United States on the importation of the merchandize thus forfeited, be distributed among the persons making such seizure, in such proportion as may be directed by the President of the United States, and if such seizure should be made without the boundaries of any district of the United States, the whole of the forfeiture arising from such seizure shall, after deducting the duties payable on the importation of the merchandize thus forfeited, be distributed in the manner aforesaid.

Sec. 14. And be it further enacted, That the portion of all the penalties and forfeitures which may be incurred by reason of any infractions of the provisions of this act, or of the act to which this act is a supplement, and which portion according to existing laws accrued to the United States, in all cases other than those provided for by the last preceding section of this act, after deducting the duties payable to the United States on the importation of the merchandize thus forfeited, shall be distributed in the following manner: that that is to say, one half of the residue of the said portion, after deducting the duties aforesaid, shall be given to the inspector or inspectors, or to the captain and crew of the revenue cutter or vessel making the seizure: and the other half of the said residue shall in cases where there is

(To be continued.)

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

FLOGGING SOLDIERS. —— The public have seen by the reports of the debates in the House of Commons, that there is some alteration introduced into the MUTINY ACT of this year, relative to the odious punishment of *flogging*. It is stated, that the JUDGE ADVOCATE said, in introducing a clause the object of which was to make this alteration, that the court-martial would, by it, have *the power* of inflicting the punishment of *imprisonment* in lieu of that of *flogging*. —— The words were: ' that in proposing this amendment, he ' by no means intended to defeat the ends of punishment. It would only give to Courts Martial *an alternative*, where they should think it necessary, to imprison, instead of resorting to any *cor-* ' *poral infliction*." —— That is to say, to *flogging*. Why do you mince the matter? Why not name the thing? *Flog* is *flog*, and *flogging* is the active participle of the verb *to flog*. *Flog, flogging, flogged*. That is the word; and, it means, in this sense of it, to whip the naked back (and, sometimes, *other parts*) of a soldier, with a thing called a *cat*; that is to say, with nine strong whip-cords, about a foot and a half long, with nine knots in each, and which cords are fastened, like the thong of a whip, to the end of a stick about two feet long. With this cat-o'-nine-tails the soldier, being tied up to a thing for the purpose, by his hands and thighs, is flogged, out in the open field, or parade, while the regiment are drawn up round him. —— This is the plain, unadorned, unexaggerated thing; and its name is *flogging*. Why, then, call it by any other name? Why call it "*corporal infliction?*" These words may mean any thing touching the body. The word *flogging* we all understand; and, as to *delicacy* of expression, if the *word* be indelicate, what must the *thing* be? —— As to flogging upon parts *lower down* than the back, I do not know, that it is now practised; but, I saw it done once myself, in a meadow of the Bush Inn at Farnham, by the Surrey Militia; and, though I was then but a little boy, I remember that an officer, who was an enormously fat man, beat the Drummer with his stick, because he did not flog the soldier hard enough. A scene ensued, an object presented itself, which I will not attempt to describe, but which I never can forget as long as I have memory. —— This practice, however, does, I trust, no longer exist; but, it is worth mentioning as an offspring of *discretionary power*. —— But, why was a clause necessary to give the courts-martial *an alternative?* The COURIER, indeed, tells us, that, " in certain instances, it is, as the law " now stands, *imperative* upon courts-mar- " tial to inflict the punishment of *flogging*." —— The fact is not so. I do not believe that any such law ever was in existence; and yet, I think, I know the contents of the Mutiny Act as well as this man or any of his abettors. I have never seen any such *imperative* clause in *any* Mutiny Act. For all the crimes, including *disobedience of orders* (which may embrace almost every thing), the punishment allotted is, " death, or such *other punishment* " as by a court-martial shall be awarded."

Now, if no law, *imperative* as to flogging, exists, where was the *necessity* of this new clause, and what can be its *effect?* —— Of this, however, I shall be able to speak more confidently, when I have seen the clause. But, in the mean while, it is certain that *something* is intended to be done in the way of *diminishing the quantity of flogging* in the army, and of this every friend of freedom and humanity must be glad. With this single remark I should have dismissed the subject; but, the COURIER; " the busy, meddling slave," who, upon all occasions, is ready to use his venal pen in the cause of falshood, has challenged me to a longer field. —— I shall take what he says, just as I find it in his paper of the 13th instant; and, when the reader has gone through it with as much patience as he can command, I shall have to beseech his attention to a short commentary. —— " A material regulation was introduced " last night into the Mutiny Bill. Formerly it was, for certain offences, impera-

"*ave* upon Courts-Martial, to inflict the "punishment of *flogging*. By this regu-"lation, it is *left to them* to inflict the pu-"nishment of imprisonment instead of "flogging, if they think proper. The "punishment of flogging, upon which we "have some observations to make the "first open day, *is not abolished;* but it is "discretionary with Courts-Martial to "sentence an offender to be flogged or "imprisoned. The regulation is *a very* "*good one*, and MINISTERS DESERVE "GREAT CREDIT FOR HAVING PRO-"POSED IT. And here the public "will not fail to see how absent, or if not "absent, how *silent* the Burdettites are "whenever any reform or regulation is "*effected without noise*, without clamour, by "Ministers, AT THEIR OWN SUGGES-"TION. Not a word of praise, not a "word of congratulation, ever escapes "them; they sit sulky, as if they were "indignant that any pretence for com-"plaint should be done away; Nor "when they are convicted of gross mis-"representations for the purpose of in-"flaming the passions of the multitude, "do they ever acknowledge or make any "atonement for their misconduct. Look "at the case of Colville! what artifices "were made use of to irritate the public "mind. He was arrested illegally and "cruelly; he was confined arbitrarily; "he was left to perish in a dungeon with-"out notice and without enquiry. The "Burdettites are loud in their clamour. "The case is investigated, and no possible "cause for complaint exists, except that "the prison is too lax for such a man. Do "the Burdettites avow their error, and re-"joice that the character of the country "and the Government has been proved "to be unsullied! Not a word. They "have not minds enlarged enough, or "hearts good enough to make them con-"fess a fault. They have only lungs for "clamour or complaint. They erect them-"selves into walking Committees of griev-"ance. They are peripatetic declaimers "against all our establishments. Up they "start at every meeting, Town, City, "or Country. The same speech at each, "indignant that any body should presume "to think we are free; and anxious to "persuade us we are the most abused and "miserable nation upon earth. Never, "never do we hear from one of them the "manly tone of defiance against the "enemy, or of *exultation at any success of* "*our arms*. But if Buonaparté be victori-"ous, oh, then the transcendant nature of "his talents, the profundity of his plans, "the brilliancy of his execution! Resis-"tance is unavailing, is culpable; and "then the expence to which war puts "us!—They know we cannot make peace, "and they would disable us from carrying "on war. But *Somersetshire has given them* "*a rebuke* which they will not soon forget, "and has set an example of manliness "and wisdom to other counties, which, no "doubt, they will be eager to follow."——Of *Somersetshire* more hereafter; and, as to our "not exulting at the *successes of our* "*arms*," let that charge be answered by the Committee of Merchants, with John Julius Angerstein at their head, and by the Select Committee of the House of Commons, who have declared, that "our "*conquests* have contributed towards the "producing of *a most alarming evil*," that it is partly in consequence of them that Bankruptcy and Misery are marching over the kingdom hand in hand, and that the *most solid* and respectable houses are threatened with all the evils of insolvency. ——Yes; let these good men answer the COURIER as to this point; let these "*loyals*" answer the charge against us of not *exulting* at the successes of our arms; let these "life and fortune men," these true-blooded Pittites; let them tell the COURIER why we do not rejoice, when we hear the Park and Tower guns fire for the conquests of the enemy's colonies.——— And now to our subject.——If this man had been able to hold his tongue, it is most likely, that we, or, that I, at least, should not have said a word about the *motive* of this new clause for the diminution of flogging in the army. Glad that the measure (if, upon examination, it had been found substantially beneficial) had been adopted, and quite satisfied that the army and the public would have the sense and justice to attribute it to the *real cause*, I should not have thought it necessary to say any thing about that *cause*. But, this "busy slave;" this "officious fool," has provoked the discussion; has called upon us, who have stood forward against flogging, to justify ourselves for not coming forward now with praises of the ministers for proposing what is represented to be a mitigation of the severity of punishment in the army.——He says that the measure is "*a very good one*," though it will be recollected, that he told his readers, only the other day, that half a million of our countrymen were, by becom-

ing soldiers, *placed out of the pale of the constitution*, out of the *protection of the law*; and though he, at the same time, called all those *mutinous libellers*, who had endeavoured to expose this very flogging to abhorrence, and, thereby, to effect its abolition, or, at least, its diminution; and, the public will bear in mind what abuse he heaped upon Mr. WARDLE for having brought forward the case of CORPORAL CURTIS, who had been sentenced to receive A THOUSAND LASHES.——And, now behold, this same venal man turns short about, and tells us that the diminution of the quantity of flogging is a good thing; and that we are sorry that it has been effected *quietly*, without *noise*, at the *ministers' own suggestion*.——A few facts here will be better than whole volumes of assertion.——About three years and a half, or four years, ago, SIR FRANCIS BURDETT, seconded, I believe, by LORD FOLKESTONE, moved for a return of the number of floggings in a given time, in the several regiments, and stated his object to be the obtaining of information, whereon to found a proposition for the abolition of this sort of punishment. This motion was negatived, and the COURIER condemned it as one of a most *mischievous tendency*.—When the *Local Militia* bill (of which, be it for ever remembered, LORD CASTLEREAGH was the author) was before the House, SIR FRANCIS BURDETT objected to it, *because it exposed so many of our countrymen to be* FLOGGED, and, that, too, after being *compelled to serve*, which made their case very different indeed from that of men who *voluntarily* enlisted and took money as a bounty for giving themselves up to the operation of military law. He said, upon that occasion, that there was but one step further to go, and that was to *flog the people*; for which, as the reader must remember, he received every species of abuse that the minds of the malignant and venal could invent; and was accused, amongst other things, of a design to favour the subjugation of the country by the enemy; which clearly inferred, on the part of these people, that the country could not be defended by any body that was not flogged. And yet, this man now finds out, that a measure, which is supposed (and, I hope, rightly supposed) to tend towards *lessening the quantity of flogging*, is a "*very good measure*." I hope it is, and, if it really has such a tendency, I am sure it is; but, then, let every man have his due, and let it be recollected, that several of us have, to our own cost, laboured most arduously to produce not merely a lessening of the quantity of flogging, but the abolition of it altogether.——Whether this measure, whatever may be the *efficacy* of it, whatever extent it may reach; whether it has been effected WITHOUT NOISE, and whether it has proceeded from the mere suggestion of the *minds of the ministers*, I may safely leave the reader to decide; but, I cannot help asking him, if the affirmative should be his opinion, how it has happened, that such a measure was never proposed BEFORE? How it has happened, that it should, never 'till *now* have been discovered, that such a measure was "*a very good one*"? The present ministers have been in power for some years; the same system of flogging has existed during all the time; they extended it to that large portion of the people called the Local Militia, which gave it quite a new character in point of application; and yet, never till *now* did this "very good" measure suggest itself to their minds! To be sure the measure (if it should prove to be really good) is none the worse for being proposed by men who had never proposed it before; but still if it be good, I must be allowed to claim my right to an answer to this question: how came they not to propose it BEFORE? If the COURIER; if the "busy slave" does not answer this question, the army and the public will.——MR WM. SMITH said he approved of this measure, because he looked upon it as a step towards the *total abolition of flogging*. I do not know, however, what to say to this. *Palliatives* are generally of no use; and, in some cases, they are an evil. At any rate, I am confident that the adoption of this measure ought to slacken the zeal of no man, who is of opinion, as I am, that the punishment of flogging ought to be abolished. Nor, as to the army itself, will any palliative do much good, as it will only tend to shew that the punishment is not *necessary* to good discipline.——But, when we see the clause in the new Mutiny Act, we shall be better able to judge of its probable effects.

SOMERSETSHIRE MEETING.——In the paragraph, upon which I have just been observing, the Somersetshire Meeting, at which the combined factions obtained a majority and rejected the excellent Address, proposed by MR. HUNT, and the main object of which was *a Reform in Par-*

liament, is spoken of as having given "*a* "*rebuke*" to the Jacobins, that is to say, *the people*. I wish with all my heart that such rebukes were received by them in *all* the counties!——The county of Somerset had never before been called together except for the old thing called an election, or for some insipid address, dictated by the traders in politics and jobs, within the memory of any man now in active life. When any man or faction had a point to carry, a job or a dubbing to get, there took place what was called *a county meeting*, which was no other than that of some two dozen of place-men or place-hunters in black, red, or coloured clothes.——But, upon this occasion a considerable number of people were got together.——I was got thus far, when I received a letter from Mr. T. S. Horner, which will be found below; and in answer to which this article will serve.——He denies that the county *never* was assembled before, and instances meetings against the *Cyder Tax* (nearly 50 years ago) and another in 1784, nearly 30 years ago. But, does he suppose, that when we say, that this is the *first* county meeting held in Somerset, we mean that in *no former time* did it meet? Does he suppose, that we go as far back as the time of Alfred? A county that has not met for 30 years may fairly be said *never* to have met; for, who is there in *active life* now that was in active life 30 years ago? How many men are there of this description? A county does not mean the *dirt* of it or the houses of it; but *the people* of it; and the present people of it never have been assembled in county meeting before; for, as to the little knots of 'Squires seeking places for their sons, and Parsons seeking preferments, these are no more *the people* of the county than the burdocks and thistles are the crop of wheat. ——Upon this occasion three or four thousands of people were assembled; and, though by the influence of the opponents of the address, and by means which I shall afterwards state, a majority was obtained against the address, the address was *read*; it was *heard*; truths, in the way of speech, too, were promulgated; truths that *must* have sunk deep into the minds of the hearers; truths that cannot be got out of those minds again; and, which truths will not fail to work their way, and prepare the people for that reform which is approaching. If, indeed, Mr. Thomas Horner and the other INS and OUTS could have *silenced* the mover of the address, they would have done something; but, as they had not the power to do this; as this was more than they had the power to do; as he was not a man to be put down; away went the valuable truths home to the *fire-sides* of four thousand men, and into all their *neighbourhoods*. For Mr. Horner may be quite sure, that, though a majority of the persons present *voted* against the proposed address, every man of them, who was not looking for some place or job, *felt* for it, and would, in his family and amongst his friends, become the faithful retailer of the truths it contained.——"*Rebuke*, indeed!" As if it was a defeat, as if it was not a complete victory, to have compelled the *two factions* to *unite*, to exert all their influence, of a public as well as a private nature, and come barefacedly forward against the people, against reform, against every thing that *menaced corruption!* As if this was doing nothing! As if this was a defeat! All the magistrates, all the hierarchy, all the 'Squirarchy, of the county were assembled, with some few exceptions. There were, perhaps, not less than 200 *constables*. Why all this? Was it doing nothing to get all these people together? Was it doing nothing to compel them to expose their union to the people? They "*rallied*," just as we have seen them elsewhere; they made just such "*a stand*;" and, upon exactly the same principles and from exactly the same motives. And, was it doing nothing to expose them in this situation? Was it doing nothing to make them exhibit themselves thus, and to knock up for ever all the humbug of *party* in the county?—— So, Sir John Cox Hippesly did, then, avow himself friendly to "a *moderate* reform," but "with a sedulous deference to *times* "and *circumstances*." Well, and was not this what was said by Mr. Hunt? Aye, to be sure, "a *moderate* reform." Moderate enough I dare say. This is a second chapter of Sir William Guise. Moderate honesty, moderate chastity! What *nonsense*; what down-right nonsense is this! *Reform* means the *removal* of some vice. It must be acknowledged to be *vice* before you can admit of the utility of *reform*; and, after that, do you talk of *moderation* in the *removal*? You would remove *part* and leave part remaining? Is that your meaning? Why, then, do you not say so? No: this you are ashamed to say; and therefore you have recourse to words that are likely to impose upon people who do

not reflect.——But, this reform, to which Sir J. C. Hippesly avowed himself friendly, is, it seems, not only to be *moderate* whenever it is attempted, but is to wait, even this *moderate removal of vice* is to wait for *times* and *circumstances.* Why does not the highwayman say, in his justification, that he will refrain when the proper times and circumstances come? What! and do you, then, openly tell us, that you are for a reform, but that it must wait for times and circumstances?——Mr. HUNT asked, *when* this time and these circumstances would arrive; and, instead of answering him, Mr. THOMAS HORNER contents himself with repeating the preposterous proposition.——During the first war against republican France, it was said, in opposition to reform, that you ought not to set about *repairing* your house in the *hurricane* season.———Well, the *hurricane* season ended; but, did the hurricane gentry then consent to reform? On the contrary, did they not say, "we "are now *quiet*, and for God's sake let us "remain so?" Every time, with them, is good but the *present time.* They reverse the old maxim. They, in short, find their account in preventing reform, and they are resolved, that, if they have the power of prevention, it never shall take place; and hence all their pretences about *times* and *circumstances.*——Mr. THOMAS HORNER says, that Sir J. C. HIPPESLEY did not agree with the mover of the address as to his description of the state of the country. But, did he deny, that, in the last 20 years, that is to say, since the commencement of the war against the Jacobins and Levellers, the poor-rates had increased from *two millions* a year to nearly *six millions a-year,* that there were now *eight hundred millions of debt* instead of *two?* Did he deny this? I do not think he did; for, if he had been so disposed, the proof of the falshood of the denial was at hand.——Aye, but, he adverted, in answer to Mr. HUNT, to the recent answer of the Prince to the City of London, in which it was stated, that, "the people of this country had *hitherto* "*enjoyed unrivalled prosperity* and *happi-* "*ness.*"——Did he say this? Did Sir John Cox Hippesly say this? Did he make this statement his own, and, as such, present it to the county of Somerset?——Well, then, here we have *him* in two ways? for, first, he well knows that this was the *answer of the present ministers,* AGAINST WHOM HE ALWAYS VOTES, and thus he was compelled to come forth in their praise, or else let the people's cause triumph; and next, if he was of this opinion, if he thought that the statement was true, if he really thought that the people of this country have hitherto enjoyed *unrivalled prosperity and happiness,* if this was his sincere opinion, how can he answer it to his country or his conscience for *having constantly opposed the ministers,* for many many years past, and for opposing them, upon all occasions, at this hour? Let Mr. Thomas Horner, who has taken upon himself the office of answering for Sir J. C. Hippesly, answer me this question. Let him, if he can, reconcile the political integrity of Sir John with the sentiments he gave forth as his own, or of his own adoption, at Wells on the day of the County Meeting. Let him get his protégé out of this dilemma.——The truth is, as I before stated, the *two factions* united against the people. It was, therefore, if they opened their lips in opposition to Mr. HUNT, impossible for them to avoid inconsistencies. They have been, for many years, accusing each other of *ruining the country;* but, when the people, at last, begin to think and act for themselves, and to take measures for correcting the evil, they both join, and say, "*we* "*are all very well off. We are a very* "*happy people. Look at France. Look at* "*other countries.*"——And, was it doing nothing for Somersetshire to expose them in this light? Was it doing nothing to stick them thus up to the scorn of the people? A "*rebuke,*" indeed! If the people got such a rebuke in *every* county, a reform, a real reform, and not one waiting for *times* and *circumstances,* would come in spite of all the bank-notes in the world.——But, it seems, though we are all very well off, and are in such a *prosperous* and *happy* state, our "*blessings,*" as Mr. HORNER tells me, "cannot be secured without great *sacrifices.*" This is a quaint idea enough. One would think he were a priest, and had been used to the prices of benedictions. *Sacrifices* mean, in this sense, *sufferings;* loss of property; loss of comfort; loss of happiness; loss of blessings. So that, according to him, our blessings are to be *secured* by the *loss* of our blessings. ——But, what does he mean by *blessings?* Does he mean the million and a half of paupers; or the multitudes of bank-notes; or the loan to the merchants and manufacturers; or the income tax; or assessed taxes; or the funds which Mr. Huskisson

says have depreciated to 17 shillings in the pound? What does he mean?—— Mean what he will, however, he says they must cost *sacrifices;* but that the people of Somersetshire "look with confidence to "a *successful* issue of the struggle (meaning the *war*) *though Europe be confederated against us.*"——Do they indeed? Well, leaving that to "*times* and *circumstances*," let me ask Mr. THOMAS S. HORNER who, or what, was *the cause* of Europe being *confederated against us?* He, in this manner, calls upon the people to make *sacrifices* in order to secure those blessings which he says they enjoy, and which are endangered by the *confederation of all Europe against us.* What, then, was *the cause* of this enormous evil? There was a time, when all Europe was confederated *with us* against our present enemy. There was a time, when one of our great statesmen was just about to pull on his jack-boots to *march to Paris,* and when the question amongst profound 'Squires was, what part of France should be given to the Emperor of Germany, and what part to the King of Prussia, and what part we should keep for ourselves.—How changed are *times* and *circumstances!* and what, Sir, was it produced the change? Who have been the cause of it? You cannot say that it was the Jacobins and Levellers, those whom you have now been making such great exertions to oppose and keep down. They had nothing to do with the matter. They have had no power. They have made no warlike leagues and no treaties of peace. They have had the selecting of no Envoys or Commanders; they have planned and executed no expeditions; they have made no loans; they have had nothing to do with bank restrictions; they have had nothing to do with the concern from first to last. It has all been the work of those, under whom we have enjoyed "*unrivalled prosperity* and *happiness.*" It has all been the work of the two parties who united at Wells to oppose the address of Mr. HUNT. How they came to do what they have done; how they came to be supported in doing it; what has been their object, and where they have found their means; all this I leave you to settle amongst you. But, upon this I insist, that it is shamefully childish for you now to come out with a crying story about dangers and about the confederation of Europe against you. No: get out of the thing as you got into it. That is the manly way. There were whole hordes of "life and fortune" men at the out-set of the war against the French; and, as these persons have still the sway, it is a shame for them to set up a howl about the confederation of Europe.—— Mr. THOMAS HORNER, in his statement of the amount of the majority, contradicts that of Mr. HUNT. From a very full account of this matter, which has appeared in the Statesman news-paper, and from every other account that I have heard, I am disposed to believe, that he is mistaken, and that Mr. Hunt's account was correct; especially as Mr. Thomas Horner, who was present, choose rather to appeal to the *Bath papers* than to hazard the statement upon his own explicit assertion.——He takes this occasion of paying a compliment to the *yeomen* of the county. Did he ever do this *before?* Did he ever dream of this *before?* And, was it doing nothing to extort this from such men as he? The yeomanry are, then, something, are they? They are not mere beasts of burden? They are worthy of an attempt to *coax* and *wheedle* them? Let them *meet frequently,* and they will soon see and feel their consequence. This was the *yeomen's meeting.* It was they who *called* the meeting. It was they who *compelled* their haughty and conceited neighbours to come to Wells upon pain of losing all their weight and influence. Was there any thing good in the address that was carried? Was that address a proper thing, and was it grateful to the Prince to receive it? To the *yeomanry,* the *tradesmen,* the *farmers,* of Somersetshire, *his thanks are due;* and not to those who have arrogated to themselves the title of *leading men.* Had it not been for the farmers and tradesmen there would have been *no meeting,* and, consequently, no address.——If *the people* will but stir themselves, they may be sure of success in the end. Meetings produce *discussion;* discussion disseminates *truth;* and truth, give her fair play, is quite sure to prevail in the end.——But, the greatest good of all is the *exposure of the factions.* If you succeed in that, your success is complete. If you can compel a couple of dozen of "leading men" to come together and join in praising all that has been doing for the last twenty years, while the lookers-on know that one dozen of them have been condemning all that has been done for the last twenty years, you post the whole up to the people's scorn. This is the principal object of such meetings, in the present state of a

county like that of Somerset; and, this object was, I am convinced, fully accomplished by the yeomen who recently called the meeting in that county.——At such meetings, too, the people have an opportunity of judging of the *talents* of their "leading men;" for, here they see no *sham* opposition; and they are quite surprised at discovering what miserable stuff the far greater part of them are made of. Poor stammering, boggling, shiftless things, that shrink into air when pitted against men of mind and of independent views. Even their own dependants, their tenants, their tradesmen, their very menial servants, go home with an impression to their disadvantage, and no longer view them with the same eyes that they did before. They hold up their hands or their hats for them, they bawl for them; but, for these acts of involuntary dagradation, of which their hearts cease not to accuse them, they indulge the hope of one day or other being able to compensate themselves by an open avowal of their contempt. The arrogant "leading man" has generally sense enough to perceive that this is a natural consequence of his exposure, and, accordingly, he is sure mortally to hate those from whom that exposure has arisen. But, what is there in this hatred except that which ought to excite contempt? Why need any man fear it? The condition of the world is not now such as to make a farmer or a tradesman shrink into his shell at the name of any of those who have been called "*leading men.*" There is, as Mr. THOMAS HORNER says, a *struggle* going on; but, it is not merely a *military* struggle. It is a great struggle of another sort also; and, think of it what such men as Mr. Thomas Horner will, the struggle will end in favour of freedom. The struggle, before it is over (and it has scarcely well begun,) will call forth all the mental and physical powers of man; and, those who have most sense and most strength and most virtue will finally prevail. There is now too much knowledge in the world for mankind ever again to be contented in a state of slavery or of degradation of any kind. *Force* may and will prevail for a time; but, in the end (and, I trust, I shall live to see it) justice and freedom will obtain the predominance in every part of the world. ——As to this country, we who are for *a reform,* have no need to be in a *hurry.* Our part is to keep steadily on in the track that we are pursuing: act where we can, and where we cannot, let the thing work its own way, perfectly satisfied that reform *must come,* and hoping that it will come in due time. It is for our enemies to fret and rage and discover impatience and dread. We have nothing to make us impatient, and nothing to fear; having no places or pensions or jobs, either in prospect or possession. The oftener we can *expose the two factions* the better, because that will infallibly produce good; but, with this we ought to rest satisfied; and when they storm and curse, we ought to *laugh.* How I should have enjoyed their exposure in Somersetshire! Their uneasiness, their anxiety, their alarms! They have been, for the last three or four years, in a state of continual perturbation; a sort of political purgatory, and, that, too, without any advances towards purification or atonement. They know not what to do, or which way to look. They can master us; they can out-vote us at meetings of almost any sort, and almost any where; but they cannot out-vote *events,* of which so many and such important ones succeed each other; of which time is teeming. They can out vote the reformers, but they cannot out-vote the increase of paper-money; they cannot out-vote the diminution of commerce; but they cannot out-vote the bankruptcies. None of their ridings and writings about the country can keep down depreciation or call back gold and silver into circulation, or retard, for only one moment, the consequences that hang upon such a state of things. There are other events too, which stare them in the face and fill their hearts with dismay, and which none of their votings will affect.——I now dismiss these remarks upon the Somersetshire Meeting with assuring Mr. THOMAS HORNER that, if he be satisfied with the result of it, I am, and that thus, for once, there is that *unanimity* amongst us, for which he and his associates professed so anxiously to wish.

MONITEUR.——In another part of this Number will be found a commentary, taken from the MONITEUR (the official French news-paper), on the Speech of the Prince Regent at the opening of the Session of Parliament. This commentary is well worthy of the reader's attention, especially as far as it relates to the *war in Portugal.* Certainly, it was always my opinion, which I have frequently expressed, that that war could be made *most* destructive to us by being *protracted*; and,

why, then, should this not be the *intention* of Napoleon? It is my real belief that it is; and, that he will resort to some device to induce us to send more and more troops and more and more food to that all-swallowing country.——But "we shall *beat* "the French there." Oh, yes! I am aware of that. We have had so many assurances upon that head, that to doubt of it would argue a degree of incredulity greater than that of Thomas the Apostle. ——This, indeed, will blast all the hopes of the French Emperor. But, as our army is very expensive, *why do we let him* protract the war? Why do we not fall on upon the Serjeants and their myrmidons and destroy them all at once? We have often been told, that they were upon the point of starving. They begun to starve just about the time that I was committed to Newgate. But, if they are so long in starving, they may be at it for years. In my humble opinion therefore, the best way would be to slaughter them without further ceremony.——Upon the subject of the newly conquered islands, the Moniteur observes, that those islands will scarcely support the garrisons and the civil establishments in them; that the drawing away from home those garrisons will tend to make England and Ireland vulnerable; that the coffee and cotton and sugar produced in them are not worth the carriage to England; that they will be restored at the peace; and that, in the mean while, the expence of maintaining them will be saved to France, and will be better employed in building ships of war. ——At these remarks the COURIER and MORNING POST laugh most heartily, saying that the passage reminds them of the fable of the *sour grapes.* But, the very next day after these facetious remarks, out came the Report of the Committee for mercantile relief, gravely and in sober sadness stating, that our *conquests* had contributed towards those evils which threatened the *most solid* houses with *insolvency;* and, further, that the goods coming thence were become *a burthen.*——The closing part of the commentary is upon the subject of our *revenue;* and, the MONITEUR having said, that the system of Napoleon had already made the city of London *turn pale,* the COURIER observed in answer, that, as to *ruin* from *financial* causes, the example of France herself would show, that such an effect was not very *ruinous.*—— Ruinous to *whom,* or to *what?* The destruction of credit, the fall of paper-money, the annihilation of all commerce; these did not injure *France,* that is to say the French *nation;* but made it more powerful, and, I dare say, more happy; but, what was its effect upon the French *government?* The COURIER makes not this distinction; yet it is very material. Indeed, it is *every thing;* because the Moniteur does not pretend, that the destruction of our commerce will ruin the *nation,* but merely that it will embarrass the government. If the COURIER had shewn us, that the French *government* was not embarrassed by the ruin of its finances, the answer would have been good for something: as it is, its answer was not worth a straw.—— For my part, I see, and I always have seen, no danger at all in the crisis which threatens our finances. I do not see, provided wise measures are adopted, that any evil of any sort need be apprehended either to the kingly government, or to the people; and, in this respect, therefore, if wise measures be adopted (amongst which I always include *reform*), I think the Moniteur is wrong in its calculations. But, as to the answer of the COURIER, the French writer must laugh indeed, when he hears a venal writer in England point out to his readers consolation in the successful *example of republican France!*

W^M. COBBETT.

State Prison, Newgate, Friday, March 15, 1811.

COBBETT'S
Parliamentary Debates:

It was notified before that the Debates of this Session, and in future, would be published in PARTS, four of which will form a Volume. The SECOND PART of the Eighteenth Volume, continuing the Debates of the present Session from the 20th of December to the 2nd of January, on the important question of the Regency, is now ready for delivery at the Publishers.

Also,

COBBETT'S
Parliamentary History
OF
ENGLAND,

From the Norman Conquest in 1066 to the year 1803. The SEVENTH Volume of this Work, comprizing the Period from

the Accession of GEO. I. 1714, to the opening of the Sixth Parliament of Great Britain in Oct. 1722,—is now ready for delivery.

ADVERTISEMENT
TO THIS VOLUME.

'THE present Volume embraces the 'Period from the Accession of King George 'the First, in the month of August 1714, 'to the Meeting of the Sixth Parliament 'of Great Britain (being the Second of the 'said King's Reign) in the month of Oc-'tober 1722. The Materials have been 'principally collected from the following 'Works: 1. The Journals of the House 'of Lords: 2. The Journals of the House 'of Commons: 3. The Political State of 'Great Britain, by Mr. A. Boyer; of 'which Chandler's History and Proceed-'ings of the House of Commons, during 'this period, is a careless Abridgment: '4. The Historical Register: 5. Timber-'land's History and Proceedings of the 'House of Lords: 6. Tindal's Continua-'tion of Rapin's History of England: and, '7. Mr. Coxe's Memoirs of the Life and 'Administration of Sir Robert Walpole; 'together with the valuable original Cor-'respondence and authentic Papers con-'tained therein.

'The whole of the very important Pro-'ceedings, relating to the fatal South Sea 'Project, have been detailed with great 'accuracy: and it is confidently pre-'sumed, that the Reader will find in the 'following pages, the fullest and most 'complete History of that disastrous 'Scheme, from the first Proposition of the 'South Sea Company to Parliament, in 'January 1720, to the passing of the Bill 'of Pains and Penalties against the Direc-'tors of the said Company, in July 1721, that has hitherto appeared.—*February* 1, 1811.'

SOMERSETSHIRE MEETING.

Letter from Mr. Tho. S. Horner.

Sir;—Observing in your last Register a Letter addressed to the Freeholders and Inhabitants of the County of Somerset, signed "H. Hunt," and dated "Bath, 6th "March 1811," on the subject of the proceedings at the County Meeting held at Wells, and having had the honor of moving the Address which has since been presented to the Prince Regent, I think it my duty to make a few observations on the assertions contained in that letter, especially as I perceive, in your introductory article, that yourself have been led into a very erroneous conclusion.—It is first stated by the writer of the letter, that this Meeting of the 4th inst. was the first public Meeting ever called in the County of Somerset.—This assertion I must decidedly negative. A Meeting of the County was, I know, convened on the subject of the Cyder Tax, when first imposed; another about the year 1784, when Col. Coxe and Mr. Philips were the County Members, and that professedly on the subject of redress of grievances; others have been also held, though my memory will not now serve me to state their precise objects, exclusive of those for the ordinary purpose of nominating members to Parliament. It is also stated in this letter, that Sir J. C. Hippisly "explicitly acknowledged that "the cause of the distressing situation of "the Country arose from a want of a fair "and equal representation of the People "in Parliament." Sir J. C. Hippisly unquestionably did avow himself friendly to "a moderate reform with a sedulous "deference to times and circumstances," but he objected, in the strongest manner, to such a discussion making any part of the proceedings of that day, and so far was he from coinciding in the opinions of the Mover of the Address which was rejected, that he took a very different view of the state of the Country, and adverted to the recent declaration of the Prince Regent, in his reply to the Address of the City of London, namely, "That the People of this "Country had hitherto enjoyed unrivalled "prosperity and happiness." I must negative the assertion that "the united in-'fluence of all the leading men, and of "the magistrates and all the men of large "landed property, was actively exerted in "opposition to the measures of the Mover "of the rejected Address;" on the contrary, I maintain, that, for a considerable time, there was no effort made by any person of these descriptions to oppose it at all, but when the force of anticipated numbers was so loudly proclaimed by those who promoted the requisition, it was deemed advisable by some Gentlemen of the County, certainly not exceeding half a dozen, to apprise their neighbours that a respectable appearance, and particularly of the yeomanry of the County, would be desirable on such an occasion, to evince their feelings on the subject of such topics as were likely to be introduced.—The inde-

pendency of the great mass of Freeholders of the County of Somerset, I need not say, has been proverbial, and as such very recently held forth to successful imitation;—the choice of their representatives has never been governed by party or faction: The yeomanry will not be readily led to distrust the rectitude of their neighbours; though raised, in the scale of society, in a class somewhat above themselves, they live with them in the reciprocity of kind and friendly offices, and Providence has gifted them with understandings amply and justly to estimate the value of the blessings they enjoy: they know nevertheless that those blessings cannot be secured without great sacrifices, but they look with confidence to the sucessful issue of the struggle, though Europe be confederated in arms against them.—In opposition to the statement of the relative numbers, I must also observe that the County Papers (Bath, &c.) have truly stated that the Division was at least 8 to 1 in favour of the Address which was carried, and if the lowest description of labourers and even children had been excluded from the minority, the disproportion would have manifested itself in a much higher degree.—Of that majority three-fourths were of respectable yeomanry.—I will make no further comment, but trust, Sir, that I shall have the full advantage of that candour which I know has distinguished your paper on many occasions, in admitting the correction of erroneous statements, though countenanced by yourself. I beg to be understood however as not inviting controversy, and feeling the correctness of this statement, I shall certainly not reply to any other.—I am, Sir, your very obedient humble servant,

THO. STRANGWAYS HORNER.

St. James's St. 14*th March* 1811.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

AMERICA and ENGLAND.——*Letters of Mr.* PINKNEY, *laid before Congress by the President Mr.* MADISON, 12 *Jan.* 1811.

A Bill supplementary to the Act concerning the Commercial Intercourse between the United States and Great Britain and France, and for other purposes.—Jan. 1811.

(*Continued from page* 640.)

an informer, not being in the service of the United States, be given to such informer, and in cases where there is no such informer, shall be given to the collector, to be apportioned amongst the collector, naval officer, and surveyor, in the same manner as is provided by law for the distribution of one half of the penalties and forfeitures accruing by reason of infractions of the laws for the collection of duties on the importation of merchandize into the United States; and in all cases whatever the other half shall be distributed in the same manner as is already provided by law.

Sec. 15. And be it further enacted, That in all cases of seizure of merchandize, in any district adjacent to the colonies or possessions of a foreign nation, made on account of any infraction of the provisions of this act, or of the act to which this act is a supplement, it shall be necessary for the claimant or claimants to prove that the merchandize thus seized was legally imported into the United States, and that the duties payable on the importation of the same had been paid, or secured to be paid, and in failure of making such proof the merchandize thus seized shall be forfeited.

Sec. 16. And be it further enacted, That the President of the United States be, and he hereby is authorised to hire, arm, and employ, seventy-five vessels, not exceeding in tonnage one hundred and thirty tons each, belonging to citizens of the United States, and so many seamen as shall be necessary to man the same for immediate service, in enforcing the laws of the United States on the sea coast thereof, and to dismiss the same from the service of the United States whenever he shall deem the same expedient,—Provided however, that such hiring or employing shall not be for a term exceeding one year.

Sec. 17. And be it further enacted, That for enabling the President of the United States to carry into effect the sixteenth section of this act, the sum ———— to be paid out of any money in the treasury, not otherwise appropriated, shall be, and the same is hereby appropriated.

EXTRACT

From the French Paper, the Moniteur. Paris, Feb. 26, 1811.—*Comments on the Speech of the Prince Regent, delivered by Commission, in the House of Lords,* 12*th Feb.* 1811.

The Lord Chancellor read the speech of the Regent for opening the Session, which was as follows:—

[Here follows the whole of the Speech, from which we select such passages only as are commented upon.]

SPEECH — (1) "The capture of the islands of Bourbon and Amboyna have still further reduced the colonial dependencies of the enemy."

Note in the Moniteur.—The naval superiority of the enemy necessarily placed at his disposal all the small French colonies. Martinique, Guadaloupe, the Isle of Reunion, the Isle of France, must of course belong to the squadrons which had the command of the ocean. Their garrisons could not have amounted at most to more than 2,000 men. Had they been more numerous, they could not have procured means of subsistence. It was evident that 2,000 men, at a thousand leagues distance from their country, could not make an effectual resistance when they should become the object of the successive attacks of 12,000 men.—But is the occupation of these colonies by the English, a misfortune to France under existing circumstances?—These colonies suffered much from the strict blockade in which they were held. The connection which binds these colonies to the mother country will become more close, and their haughtiness will encrease under the tyranny of a Government which finds no greater pleasure than that of humbling every thing that falls under its power. The inhabitants of Canada, who have been separated from France for a century, are still as much French as the inhabitants of the banks of the Loire. In the present state of affairs, Martinique, Guadaloupe, the Isles of Reunion and France, furnished nothing to the parent State, and cost it more than twenty millions a year. These twenty millions would build ten ships of the line a year; which, at the end of the five or six years that the war may probably last, will produce fifty ships of the line.—The coffee, sugar, and cotton, which these colonies produced, are at so cheap a rate in London, that their sale will not pay the expence of carriage to Europe. It is doubtful whether these islands will support the expence of the Government and the military which the English Government will be obliged to maintain there. They must keep up garrisons in them. In scattering her forces England will become vulnerable in a great number of points.—The colonies occupied by England will be restored to the mother country at a peace, or when the empire will have 120 sail of the line, and 200 frigates or smaller vessels. This period, which is foreseen and calculated, is not far distant from us.—The possibility of having so great a naval force, arises from the particular situation of the empire. The woods of Istria, Italy, France, and Germany, reach us by the rivers of which we command the navigation. The Adriatic, the Zuder-zea, the Scheldt, the roads of Brest and Toulon, the coasting trade of the immense maritime borders of the empire, serve to instruct our sailors, and furnish us with the means of manning all the vessels we can build.

(2) SPEECH. "The attack upon the Island of Sicily, which was announced to the world with a presumptuous anticipation of success, has been repulsed (3) by the persevering exertions and valour of his Majesty's land and sea forces."

Note in the Moniteur.—This expression is that of a writer who is more accustomed to the bold assertions of a pamphleteer, than of a person who is in the habit of drawing up the official declarations of a Government.—For the purpose of occupying Sicily 30,000 men must have been detached from the Continent, which was not deemed advisable in the year 1810. In consequence, no pledge of any kind was given at that time that it was intended to conquer Sicily.—The King of Naples had assembled at Reggio, notwithstanding all the efforts of the English, 600 small vessels, all manned by Neapolitan sailors. He kept 12,000 British in check, and compelled England to recall the force that threatened Corfu. Effecting daily disembarkations in Sicily, his flotilla was daily engaged and as often victorious. His subjects gave proofs to the English of the ardour with which they fought against them. Sicily will be conquered whenever it is desired; but is it so trifling an advantage then, to oblige the English to keep 12,000 men so far removed from England and Ireland? It is attended with this three-fold advantage: the dispersion of the British military force; the deterioration of their finances; and of a very useful moral effect upon the minds of the Sicilians. The appearance of an heretical military force, always brutal and intoxicated, and of that British haughtiness, so offensive to all countries, has irritated all classes of persons in Sicily.—(3.) *Repulsed!* The person who prepared the speech will be good enough to tell us how it was possible to repel an attack that was never made.

SPEECH.— "The judicious arrangements adopted by the officers commanding on that station, derived material support from the zeal and ardour that were manifested during this contest by the inhabitants of Sicily, and from the co-operation of the naval means which were directed by his Sicilian Majesty to this object."

Note in the Moniteur.—The English people are better informed than their Government.—Every one in London knows that the Sicilians were very far from manifesting either zeal or ardour, and that they hate the English. The Court itself does not conceal its aversion for them. But it was necessary to speak of the cooperation of the naval forces of his Sicilian Majesty, to induce a belief that the flotilla of the King of Naples was victorious merely because the force opposed to it was composed partly of English and partly of Sicilians. This affectation of mentioning the *naval forces of Sicily* can have no other motive.

(5) SPEECH.—"In Portugal and at Cadiz, the defence of which constituted the principal object of his Majesty's exertions, in the last campaign, the designs of the enemy have been frustrated (6) hitherto (7)."

Note in the Moniteur.—It was only a year ago that the English Government aimed at nothing less than expelling the French from Madrid, and driving them beyond the Pyrenees. Now it is Portugal and Cadiz which constitute the *principal object of its exertions:* we flatter ourselves that in the speech of 1812, his Majesty will have equally succeeded in the principal object of his exertions; because at that time Portugal and Cadiz will not be the principal objects of his exertions, but the defence of Gibraltar.—(7.) The designs of the enemy, you say, have been frustrated in Portugal. Should it have so happened that they had made a landing at Edinburgh; that after having taken possession of Scotland, Northumberland, &c. it had driven your armies before it for 15 days at the point of the bayonet; that prudently retreating with the torch in the one hand, and the steel in the other, you had devastated your plains, destroyed your cattle, your farms, your parks, your country-seats; that having arrived, &c. at the heights of London, resting one wing on the sea and the other on the Thames, posted on desert and inaccessible mountains, fortified with 1,500 pieces of heavy artillery, thirty-six, twenty-four and eighteen pounders, drawn from your ships and your arsenals, and having your flanks so covered that it was impossible to turn you and cut you off from the sea, would you then boast that you had defended England? But the inhabitants of Essex, Middlesex, &c. would tell you, that to burn and destroy a country is not defending it; that London is not the frontier to an army which comes from Scotland; that to take a position 80 leagues from the frontiers, leaving the enemy master of three-fourths of the country, is neither a measure of defence nor a proof of strength. This is the way, however, in which you have defended Portugal. You have abandoned Almeida, Cuidad Rodrigo, Olivenza, and Campo Mayor, and suffered 25,000 of your allies to be taken; you have surrendered the country between the Minho, the Douro, and Mondragone—between Beira and the Tagus; you have burned and laid waste; and still you have the impudence to say that the defence of Portugal, the principal object of his Majesty's exertions, has been accomplished, and that the designs of the enemy have been frustrated. May Wellington one day defend England in the same manner!—(7) *Hitherto.* This word is worthy of observation. Thus you boast of having abandoned three-fourths of Portugal, and of having laid waste the country of which you call yourselves the protectors, and which you consider as your own property; and still you are not sure of being able to maintain possession of it. You say *hitherto;* this is a confession extorted from the English government by facts. As to us, we will tell you plainly, that we wish this *hitherto* may be very remote; and that if the day upon which your army embarks is to be a holiday, it will be only for the English people; that the advantages of the actual contest will be the greater for us, the larger your stake is. It must be large to be decisive; it must be protracted to produce all the results we expect. An army of 60,000 English encamped upon the heights of Lisbon obliged to procure from London even the very straw they want; England obliged to keep at the mouth of the Tagus 600 transports and 20,000 sailors; having to subsist not only 80,000 soldiers or sailors, but 400,000 men, women, and children besides, who have taken refuge at Lisbon, and concentrated themselves in one point; being, moreover, obliged to

support all this expence, with a course of exchange which has fallen 33 per cent. gives to France, already, all the advantages she could desire from the present contest. It is part of the Continental system, which diminishes on one side your revenues by reducing your commerce, and on the other increases your expense by compelling you to maintain armies in Sicily and at Lisbon. It is, in vulgar language, to burn the candle at both ends. In the mean time, the French army, according to its fundamental law, subsists on the country upon which it makes war, and only costs us its pay, which we should be obliged to supply wherever it was.—In short, if Massena, having received his reinforcements and his heavy artillery, should be inclined to advance upon, after having silenced, your batteries; or if you yourselves, rendered impatient by this ruinous contest, march against him, what will be the consequence? If you are victorious, you will derive no advantage from it, for you will have scarcely made two marches before you are met by new armies. If you are conquered, you are lost. The loss of 60,000 men to England, is as great as that of 500,000 to France. The two countries are in the proportion of one to three to each other with respect to population; the same proportion prevails with respect to the extent of the countries where you are obliged to have troops, which on the whole produces a proportion of one to nine.—We are ignorant of the intentions of the cabinet of the Thuilleries; but we wish with all our heart, that the Prince of Essling may manoeuvre instead of attacking you, and by so doing keep you some years where you are. The consequences would be, you would add 100 millions more to your debt, and we should be certain of the more complete submission of the Peninsula. When the question is about a great extent of Continent, what are a few years? All the nations who have been subjugated, have defended themselves for several years; you alone have exhibited the solitary instance in history, of a nation conquered in one battle, and so subjugated by the Normans your conquerors, that your laws, your customs, every thing was torn from you by a single victory.

(8) SPEECH.—"And particularly by the brilliant part which they bore in the repulse of the enemy at Busaco."

Note in the Moniteur.—The affair at Busaco, whatever was its nature, or whatever accuracy there might be in the accounts on either side, did it answer the object of the French or of the English general?—The object of the English general, as he tells us himself in his dispatch of the 30th September, in the following words, "although I fear I shall not be able to obtain the object I had in passing the Mondego, and in occupying the Sierra of Busaco, yet I do not regret to have done so," was to defend the position of the Mondego, the right of which rested on that river, and on the inaccessible mountains of the right bank of the Zezere, which empties itself into the Tagus 30 leagues from thence, and whose left extended on the mountains which rest on the Douro. By this central position, the English General did not obtain the glory of defending Portugal, since he had already abandoned 30 leagues of the country to the enemy. To defend Portugal he should have raised the siege of Almeida, or at least have occupied the fine positions of Guarda. However, having thought proper to occupy the position of Busaco, he covered 3-4ths of Portugal: he protected the fine vallies of the Tagus and the Mondego; he kept the French army at 40 leagues from the capital; he kept up his communications with Oporto, and with all the provinces on the other side of the Douro, of which he remained master. The French army of Portugal remained separated for upwards of eighty leagues from the army of the south, and derived all its subsistence from a country which Wellington had intentionally laid waste, employing all the time that was necessary to make the devastation complete. It was thus reduced to the necessity of drawing its provisions from Spain by impassible roads; and when the rains began, the communication would be cut off with Spain, and the army would have been obliged to return to Almeida. The English army occupying the position of Busaco, all Portugal would have supplied it with provisions, and furnished nothing to the French army. If the English General, then, had maintained his position at Busaco only for 15 days, he could have boasted of having won the campaign, and saved Portugal. He would, in truth, have exposed himself to the imputation of having laid waste thirty leagues of country, but he could have found an answer to that imputation, if he had obliged the French to evacuate the country; and proved by the event that these ravages

contributed to the success of the campaign. —All these combinations and considerations were not unknown to the English General. He wished to defend his position, and he gave battle at Busaco; the result of the engagement was the passage of the Mondego, the evacuation of Coimbra, and a retreat by forced marches to Lisbon. In his flight Wellington could only lay waste to the extent of a league on the right and left of his line of march; and the French army arriving almost at the same moment that he did, in sight of his ships, found immense quantities of provisions in the fine vallies of the Tagus. The French General did every thing he wished; the English General effected nothing that he intended. The battle of Busaco rendered all the ravages he committed, and for which he will ever be execrated by the Portuguese, useless. When they wish to explain to their children the English manner of defending a country, they will point to the ruins of their villages, their castles, and their towns —That several brigades, hurried on by the noble impetuosity of French troops, should wish to bound over inaccessible heights—that they should not find on the crest of these mountains sufficient space to extend themselves—all this is very possible; but this does not give the enemy a right to claim the victory. All that occurred on that day tends to prove, that the composition and the spirit of the French troops were so far superior to those of the English army, that the latter neither could nor would defend a position upon which the fate of Portugal depended!—The English, then, were defeated at Busaco: whether it was the fault of the general, the officers, or the soldiers, is of no consequence. An army is composed of all these. The French general did every thing he wished; the English general did nothing, protected nothing, executed none of his plans; the battle of Busaco frustrated them all.

SPEECH (9)—"On which the liberties and independence of the Spanish and Portuguese nations entirely depend."

Note of the Moniteur.—It would be curious to read the speeches in Parliament during the last twenty years. When the expedition of the Duke of York to Belgium was to be defended, it was said that the war was carried on for the independence and liberty of Belgium. When the Duke of York landed in Holland, it was for the liberty and independence of Holland, so necessary to England, that he did so. Such is always the language, without paying any greater attention now than on former occasions, that it is not sufficient to justify a great undertaking, to shew the advantages arising from war followed by victory; but that it is necessary to calculate the probability of such victory. By this mode of reasoning, it would be much the plainer way to land at Havre and march to Paris; for certainly upon the supposition of victory, the advantages and the glory would be incontestible.—Is it probable that England can maintain a contest with France in Spain? This is the whole of the question. She was not able to do so when considerable Spanish armies occupied Sarragossa, Saint Andero, Bilboa and Burgos. The fine army of Moore was even then forced to a shameful flight, in which it lost a great many men, horses, a part of its baggage, and even its treasure. She could not do so upon the fifth coalition. Wellington advanced as far as Talavera; he gained some advantages, and almost immediately was compelled to abandon his hospitals, his sick, and to escape into Portugal. The presence of Moore was unable to prevent the defeat of Blake at Espinosa, of the army of Estremadura at Burgos, of Castanos at Tudela, and the capture of Saragossa and Madrid. Wellington, victorious at Talavera, was unable to prevent the passage of the Sierra Morena, the occupation of Jaen, of Seville, of Grenada, the blockade of Cadiz, and the capture of the camp at St. Roch. Wellington has not defended Portugal; he has suffered the fortresses to be taken; he has abondoned the country; he has retired to inaccessible heights, where he holds himself in readiness to embark with the first favourable wind. Such are the consequences of the pretended victory of Busaco. If the English lose 80 leagues of a country after victory, what events are they in expectation of to enable them to drive the French out of the Peninsula? And if it be admitted, as no man of sense can doubt, and as the English Generals themselves have declared, since Moore's expedition, that it is impossible for them to defend the Peninsula, why do they run such risks without the hope of success? It will be said—"all this is allowed, but still the English prolong the contest; they prevent the country from settling; is that nothing?" No man with the least sensibility, or possessing the common feelings of humanity, can contain his indignation in seeing

a nation so immoral as to excite every species of disorder among fourteen millions of people, without any other object than that of retarding for some moments the progress of a social organization. But the consequences of the conduct of England, on this occasion as on many others, will be to consolidate the power of France. In fact, if after Moore's retreat the English Administration had listened to the advice of all their Generals, and recognising the impossibility of withdrawing Spain from the influence of France, had renounced the Spanish war, the Spanish war would have been ended ; all the Provinces, united in their integrity and their energy, having experienced some checks balanced by some successes, would have formed a happy and powerful nation under the government of a Prince allied to the family of France ; and the integrity and independence of Spain would have been more confirmed thereby. France and Spain, governed by members of the same family, would have been in fact a revival of the relations which existed since the time of Phillip V. The only advantage that France would have derived from this arrangment would have been the security that Spain would never take part against her in any civil war. Spain, regenerated by the constitutions of Bayonne, and deriving fresh vigour from them, would have become more independent than she had been for 100 years before ; and the wish expressed in the speech from the throne would have been accomplished. England, though she knew to a certainty that she could not defend Spain, has indeed found employment for 300,000 French ; but Spain, conquered foot by foot, becomes wholly subjugated; and it is England herself who has endangered the independence and integrity of Spain by engaging in a contest in which it is proved by experience that all the chances are against her. The conquest of Spain will produce effects quite different from those of a simple change of dynasty, which would have turned to the advantage of the nation, the plans of reform, and the liberal ideas introduced by a government young, firm, and vigorous. Posterity, to whom years are only as a moment, will attribute the great results which have so conspicuously combined to the advantage of France, to the short-sighted policy of England alone.

SPEECH. (10)—" Have in some degree affected a part of his Majesty's revenue, particularly in Ireland."

Note of the Moniteur.—This is a remarkable passage. Last year you said, that the Orders in Council had all the success you expected, that your trade was augmented by that of America and neutral powers ; now you recant all this : you admit that your trade has laboured under difficulties, that your revenues are diminished, and yet the Continental system has been only three months in force. What will it be, then, in three years? The accounts of the French finances prove that it has had quite a contrary effect upon them. It is true, that in France, as well as in other places, numerous instances of private misfortune have occurred; but these have no effect upon the national revenues. Bankruptcies have taken place, because speculators, seduced by lucre, become the discounters of your credit. The canals by which you drew to yourselves the substance of the whole Continent of Europe, have been all blocked up by the shocks that you have received. It is for and by England that this circulation of paper has been created ; but the crisis is past, and new channels are disclosing themselves for the real trade of the Continent.—The English Government can have no credit when that of its trade declines. It feels every private bankruptcy. The French Government, on the contrary, has a credit independent of that of bankers or merchants. Nine hundred millions of revenue collected in specie constitute the proper revenue of the empire, represent the riches of its soil, and are more than sufficient for all its expences ; while 17 or 1,800 millions, necessary for the expences of England, can only be collected through the medium of a paper circulation, which only supporting itself by that immense currency which, through Amsterdam and Hamburgh, embraced the whole Continent of Europe; while 17 or 1,800 millions are not the consequence of the riches of the soil or the revenues of the country, but of industry and of a system of credit, which is not sufficient to provide for the wants that it has to satisfy, the moment it is prevented from extending to the Continent. A three months check has already made the city of London turn pale; and there is not an English speculator who can coolly contemplate the perspective of 10 years of a similar system. The French Exchange for the last four years has been constantly improving, and that in all the commercial towns of the world, at the rate of from three to ten per

cent. That of England is constantly losing. Within the last three months it has fallen from 30 to 40 per cent. Nothing can more completely represent the relative situation of the two countries. In point of finance, as well as politics, France owes every thing to the erroneous calculations of that hatred by which the English Government is constantly blinded.

PORTUGAL.—*Extracts of Dispatches from Lord Viscount Talavera to Lord Liverpool.—Published in London, 11th March 1811.*

Cartaxo, 16 *Feb.* 1811.

Since I addressed your Lordship on the 9th instant, I have received farther details of the affairs at and near Badajoz, from which it appears that the Portuguese cavalry having been unsupported in their passage of the Evora on the 6th inst. were obliged to retire across the Evora, in which operation they sustained some loss. The whole of the cavalry and infantry were then drawn into the fort of Badajoz; and, on the 7th instant, they made a sortie upon the enemy, in which they succeeded in obtaining possession of one of the enemy's batteries, but they were obliged to retire again, and, unfortunately, the guns in the battery were not spiked, or otherwise destroyed or injured.—Their loss was not less than eighty-five officers and five hundred soldiers killed and wounded, as I am informed, including the Brigadier-General Don Carlos D'Espagne among the latter. It appears that the Spanish troops behaved remarkably well upon this occasion.—While the troops were in Badajoz, the French cavalry again crossed the Evora, and interrupted the communication between that place and Elvas and Campo Major. They came out of Badajoz, however, on the morning of the 9th inst. and the French cavalry were obliged to retire across the Evora. The troops have since taken up a position on the heights between the Caya, the Evora, and the Guadiana, by which they will keep open the communication between Badajoz and the country on the right of the latter river.—The enemy have continued the siege; and, on the night of the 11th instant, they attacked the Redoubt of Pardalleiros, which they carried; but they had not, on the 13th, been able to establish themselves within the Redoubt, on account of the fire from the body of the place. They have likewise constructed a work on the left bank of the Guadiana, below the place, to fire upon the bridge of communication with the right bank, but the fire of this work had had but little effect.—A great number of the inhabitants have taken advantage of the communication being opened, to leave the place; and I understand that it is not ill supplied with provisions.—General Claparede's division of the 9th corps was still upon Guarda, on the 10th instant, when I last heard from that part of the country.—Although I have observed and heard of various movements by the enemy in the interior of their position, I have not found upon the whole any material alteration; and I imagine that these movements have been made principally to endeavour to obtain subsistence. The difficulty in finding any increases daily; and the inhabitants of Torres Novas and Thomar, who alone had generally remained in their habitations upon the enemy's invasion, are now coming into this part of the country nearly starving.—I have the pleasure to forward a report which I have received of the conduct of Cornet Strenuwitz, of the 1st hussars, who surprised a picquet of the enemy on the night of the 9th instant, with a small detachment of hussars, and brought in more prisoners than his detachment consisted of, without the loss of a man.

Cartaxo, Feb. 23.

I am much concerned to have to inform you, that the French attacked General Mendizabel on the 19th inst. in the position which he had taken on the heights of St. Christoval, near Badajoz, and totally defeated him.—The enemy had to cross the Guadiana and the Evora, but surprised the Spanish army in their camp, which was standing, and is taken, with baggage and artillery.—The enemy have not been able to establish themselves within the redoubt of Pardalleiros, since they carried it on the 11th instant; and have made no progress in the operations of the siege. Their position, however, on the right of the Guardiana, gives them great advantages, of which they well know how to avail themselves, and they actually commenced to entrench it on the evening of the day on which they obtained possession of it.

(To be continued.)

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

LIBEL CASE.——The writer of the *Stamford News*, MR. DRAKARD, has, as will be seen from the Report of the Trial, which I have subjoined to this Summary, been found GUILTY at the assizes at LINCOLN. ——The publication, thus prosecuted by way of Information *Ex Officio*, is the same as that for which the Examiner was prosecuted, but, it included other parts, which the Examiner *did not* publish.——Thus, the publication was not precisely the same; but, if I may judge from the report of the trial, the parts, upon which the prosecutor dwelt most, were the very parts, which the Examiner inserted.——The whole article was very well written. It struck me with admiration when I saw it; I looked upon it as calculated to do a great deal of good; I expected it would do a great deal of good; and a great deal of good, I am satisfied, it will do and has done.——Others, it seems, are of a different opinion, and MR. DRAKARD is likely to suffer for writing this famous article. But, in the meanwhile, let us make a remark or two upon what appears in this published report of the trial.——The place of the Attorney General appears to have been supplied, upon this occasion (and very *faithfully* supplied) by a person of the name of CLARKE, who is reported to have said, that the tendency of the publication was to deter men from entering the army, to breed mutiny therein, to subvert the military establishment, and to make us (by the disaffection of the soldiery) an *easy conquest to our implacable enemy*.——This notion seems to have become quite fashionable. It seems to be growing fast into an *axiom*, that the defence of this kingdom, where once a standing army was held in such jealousy, depends now *solely* upon soldiers; and that, if the army, the men who are *paid* for fighting, were to turn restif, we should, in an instant, become the slaves of Napoleon.——This is now become nearly an axiom. You hear it every day stated as a thing of course; or, rather, you hear it referred to as a point settled, as a position taken for granted.——I before observed how comfortable a reflection this was; and, I should have desired the reader to bear in mind, that it became him to look back a little to the *cause* of this pleasant state of things. If, indeed, there be any persons who like it; any persons who are fond of seeing the country in this state; any persons who are happy to see England reduced to such a situation as to depend solely upon soldiers for its defence against the French, whom Englishmen, without an army at their backs (or rather in their front) formerly spoke of with contempt and derision; if there are persons who are happy to see this, *they* need not trouble themselves with any reflections as to the *cause*; but, those who are not happy to see it, those who feel a little ashamed at hearing it become an axiom that the independence of England rests solely upon an army of paid troops, will do well to look back to the *cause*.——This CLARKE, when he was saying, that Mr. DRAKARD's pen was likely to deter men from entering the army, did not seem aware, that, in order to shew the guilt of Mr. Drakard, it was necessary to show that what he had written was *false*; for, if what he wrote was *true*, and if that had the effect of preventing men from going into the army, it followed, of course, that there was something in the army, which, if removed, would have a tendency to lessen the dislike of men to go into it.——But, if it be a *crime* to endeavour to dissuade men from enlisting in the army, how many people are there guilty? How many fathers and mothers would have to be jailed for endeavouring to keep their sons out of the army? And, make a distinction if you can. Why should not Mr. Drakard give his advice as well as any other person? And, if he might give advice to his neighbour or to his relation, he had as good a right to give it to the public at large, to whom it was his duty to communicate whatever knowledge he might happen to possess, and that he thought likely to be useful to them?——There is something, too, in this notion about exciting *mutiny* and *discontent* that strikes me as being

truly whimsical; as if the writing could, by no *possibility*, tend to a contrary effect, by *causing the grievance complained of to be removed.* This consequence never seems to enter into the minds of those who are so ready, upon all occasions, to cry out *libel! libel! libel!* They tell us that the *liberty of the press* is a very great blessing; that it is the *glory* of this country; and they bid us look at the miserable state of Napoleon's people, who possess it not. But, they always say, when we *complain* of any thing, that our object is to excite *discontent*, to produce *insurrection*, and to make the country an *easy prey to that same Napoleon!* It seems to be laid down as a maxim, that every thing, which is complained of through the means of the press, ought to remain just as it is; that nothing that the press complains of ought ever to be redressed; and, of course, that all the *complaints* of the press against the character or conduct of public men, must have a *mischievous* tendency and must arise from a *mischievous intention.* Praise them you may as long as you please; that is always right; you will never weary them with that; your efforts in that way are always most laudable; but, the moment you begin to find fault with them, or with any thing they do, you are *seditious* and almost guilty of *treason.* It never appears to strike them, that it would silence our complaints by *redressing the grievance* you complain of. This way of silencing you they never seem to dream of. No: all you *complain* of is *good*, and, therefore, you must complain from a wicked motive and with an intention to produce a mischievous effect. ——And this is what they call the *liberty of the press.*——In the present case, this CLARKE charges Mr. DRAKARD with an intention to *cause a mutiny* in the army. *Why* should that be his wish? Why should we not rather suppose, that his wish was according to his words: that is to say, to *do away the punishment of flogging?* This was much the more likely of the two, especially as Mr. Drakard avowed this to be his wish.——If I expose the character and conduct of a corrupt knave in power, and express my desire to see him put out of power, is it to be concluded, that I wish *to overturn the government*, and *not to put out the corrupt knave?* The government, indeed, will become endangered by the knave's remaining in power; because the just hatred I excite against him will divide itself amongst the whole government; but, then, I do not wish for this; for I wish to see him *put out.* But if you lay down and stick to the maxim, that *nothing complained of by the press is ever to be redressed*, then, indeed, all its complaints must tend to the destruction of the government and of the present order of things; then, indeed, it never can complain without striking a blow at the government. But, if this maxim be good, what pitiful mockery is it to talk about *Liberty of the Press!* What! must I complain of no man in power without incurring the charge of a wish to excite sedition? Suppose, for instance, I could prove that some man in power had taken a bribe from some other rogue to get the other rogue a good fat contract or job. Suppose me able to prove this? Must I not state it? Am I to be charged with a seditious intention for stating it? Am I to be told, that I wish to bring the *government* into hatred and contempt? I should say, NO. I had no such intention. My intention was to expose the two rogues to hatred and to punishment; but, the *government* ought to be obliged to me for that. Aye, but you should have gone *privately to the minister*, or should have proceeded in a *court of law* against the guilty parties. Oh! that might have done, perhaps; but, then, *what is the use* of my press? Pray tell me, where I shall look for the occasion when I am to *use* this precious LIBERTY *of the Press*, which you tell me I have. Do tell me that, or for ever hold your tongue.——The enemies of the press are in a dilemma: for, either they must give up the notions they have been endeavouring to inculcate; or, they must confess, that the *Liberty of the Press* is a mere empty sound; a mere mockery. This they do not like. They would fain see the press stifled; they would fain see it choaked; they would fain see it with no powers of censure or complaint left belonging to it; they would fain see this, while, at the same time, the people were made to believe that we had *Liberty of the Press;* it being very inconvenient for these enemies of the press that the mass of the people should perceive, that there was no such liberty. But, in this these enemies of the press *will not succeed.* We can, as yet, argue about what *is* Liberty of the Press and what is *not* Liberty of the Press; and, if the nation do but see the thing in its *proper light;* if they do not suffer themselves to be deceived with a sound; if they *clearly understand the truth of the matter*, that is all that is wanted.——

This lawyer CLARKE is stated to have said, in allusion to what had been said about the Liberty of the Press, "that *too much* was "assumed under that *misused phrase*; that, "in France, and other countries, the "Liberty of the Press existed not, because "*Licensers* were appointed to controul it; "and this *exemption from Licences in England* was what was rightly understood by "the *Liberty of the Press.*"——Now, you see, though Mr. DRAKARD was not allowed to strengthen his argument by a comparison of our practices with those of Napoleon, this lawyer made no scruple to do it. And what right had he to do this any more than Mr. DRAKARD? What right had he to appeal to the practice of France, in case of the press, any more than the other had, in cases of military punishments? Oh! but the lawyer's comparison *favoured our practice.* Did it? Let us see.——Napoleon suffers no man to print or publish any thing that has not been first approved of by persons whom he appoints for the purpose, and which this lawyer calls *Licensers.* Well, at any rate, no man can, then, get himself jailed for printing or publishing in France; and, though we are told, that Napoleon has *eight* Bastilles, they cannot be filled with men whose crime is printing and publishing.——But, really, lawyer CLARKE is to be applauded for his frank avowal; for, he is, I believe, the first who, since the time of the Stuarts, has openly declared, that our *Liberty of the Press* means nothing more, than that we are not compelled to show our works to a previous *Licenser;* and, of course, that we *may* be punished for *any* thing that we do publish. If this be the case, the *Liberty* of the Press is, indeed, "a *misused phrase.*" It should be called the *use of the press;* the *power of printing;* or, something other than the *liberty* of the press, as I have, I trust, clearly demonstrated, in former articles upon this subject.——Yet, to this they must come, or give up the point. They must contend, that we *may* be punished for *any* thing that we publish, or they must concede to us the right of publishing without risk to ourselves, any thing that we can *prove to be true.*——Lawyer CLARKE is stated to have said, that Mr. DRAKARD's publication was not to be regarded in the same light as that of SIR ROBERT WILSON, the latter being *meant* for the *libraries of men of judgment,* while the former was *meant* to be read in *public-houses* by persons *incapable* of *deep thinking.*——It is always thus. The *people* are always, in those cases, considered as a set of senseless brutes, quite incapable of discovering the tendency of any publication, and so perverse and wicked in their natures as to be able to give to every publication the *worst of meanings* and to *like it the better for being of a bad tendency.* A pretty compliment this to the hearts as well as to the heads of the people of England.——But, as to the fact of *intention,* how was this lawyer to know that Sir Robert Wilson meant his book to be read only by those who are here called *men of judgment?* And how was he to know, that Mr. DRAKARD did *not mean* his writing to be read by such men? Compare the two writings, and you will see, I believe, that Mr. DRAKARD's is by far the most worthy of the attention of men of judgment, and to have a place in their libraries. Nay, the very *stir* that the latter has made is an undeniable proof of its superior efficacy; and, after all, what is the sure test of the literary merit of a publication, if not *its degree of efficacy in relation to its object?* SIR ROBERT WILSON's pamphlet was written about six years ago. It has long been gone, in company of that of SIR JOHN STUART, to line trunks, or to pack up snuff and tobacco. These publications made no more noise than Curwen's art of stewing straw and fattening the poor upon milk. They went out as quietly and were as completely, and *more* completely, extinguished than the book of which it is related that the author *burnt the whole edition with his own hands.* Not so the little article of MR. DRAKARD. It produced *effects;* and effects, too, that will *long be remembered.* For, whatever lawyer CLARKE may think of it, this is become a great cause, and as such it will hereafter be known.——Sir Robert Wilson and Sir John Stuart wrote against flogging soldiers *five or six years* ago. But, *no alteration* took place. The work of flogging went on as usual; just in the same way as if they had never written a word in all their lives. Five or six Mutiny Acts were passed afterwards, and no alteration was proposed. *Now,* however, an alteration (at least, so it is said) has been made; and, if this should prove to be true, *why* are we not to ascribe it to the *exertions of the Press?* At any rate, it does so happen, that no alteration, in this respect, followed the pamphlets of Sir Robert Wilson and Sir John Stuart, and that, if the parliamentary reports are correct, an alteration is *now* to take place; though, I beg leave to be clearly understood as

giving no opinion as to *the nature of that alteration*, because I have not yet seen the new Mutiny Bill.——Hence, then, I think, it is pretty clear, that Mr. DRAKARD had not only as good a right to publish his reprobation of flogging as Sir Robert Wilson had; but, that there is a possibility, at least, that the writing of the former was much better calculated for the libraries of those whom this lawyer calls *men of judgment* than the writings of the latter.—In comparing the merits of *writings* we ought to follow the principle upon which we proceed in comparing the merits of other labours, when we always set the most value upon that which is *most efficacious in effecting its intended object.* That is the best reaper, who cuts the most corn and in the best manner, in any given space of time, whether he work with a *sickle* or a *hook*, or whether he be *left-handed* or *right-handed.* Both these gentlemen wrote against flogging soldiers; and he whom the public shall think has done most towards effecting the abolition of flogging, has, as a writer, the most merit. The best missionary is he who makes the most converts, without any reference to his arguments or his mode of using them.——Lawyer CLARKE is stated to have observed, that, "notwithstanding the boasted excellence of the system of Buonaparté, our soldiers never yet met those of the tyrant, without *proving the superiority of their courage.*"——Well, but what of that? What does that make against Mr. DRAKARD's objection to flogging them? It, surely, cannot be meant, that our men owe any part of their courage to the cat-o'-nine-tails. This is too monstrous to suppose. This, indeed, would be to insult the very hearts in their bosoms. What is, then, meant as the deduction from this? Are we to gather from it, that flogging men does not make them cowards? Well, but, surely, then, it is well worth while to consider, whether such a mode of punishment might not be dispensed with amongst men so brave as those here spoken of; to which might be added, that, after all those proofs of their bravery, of which lawyer CLARKE spoke, there would seem to be no argument wanted against the practice complained of by the defendant.——But, the lawyer added, that, "if the soldiers were to be seduced "by such *miscreants* as the author of the "present libel, if they were to be *insulted* "and taunted and taught that they *bled* "*for those who treated them only with cruelty,* "while Buonaparté respected *his* soldiers "and made their condition superior, *the* "*safety of the country was no longer to be re-* "*garded as certain.*"——The lawyer seems to have waxed wroth here at the close of his speech. Passion, however, was quite useless. It could not alter the case; and, I will engage, that, illiterate and stupid and brutish as this man seems to think the people of England, they will not fail to understand and to put a proper construction upon the whole of this, which would not call forth a word of commentary from me, were it not for the word "*insulted.*" This is a charge, which, really, it is quite astonishing to hear preferred against Mr. DRAKARD. Did he *insult* the soldiers? He most strongly protested against their being flogged; but, was that to *insult* them? They must be made of odd sort of stuff indeed, if they could look upon this as an *insult*——This will naturally put the reader in mind of the Attorney General's telling the Judges, in my case, that the ARMY called upon them to punish me most severely.——Well, but if this was really insulting the soldiers; if this was really an insult to them; if it was, in good earnest, an insult to them to remonstrate against flogging them, what will lawyer CLARKE say of *the new clause in the Mutiny Act*, which, if truly represented in the parliamentary debates, is intended to lessen, at least, the quantity of flogging; and, he should recollect, that this Act will, or ought to be, read several times in the year, at the head of every Company in the army? What will he, then, say to this; and to those members of the House of Commons, who said they approved of the clause, *because they looked upon it as leading to the abolition of flogging altogether?* If Mr. DRAKARD was guilty of an insult to the soldiers, what will lawyer CLARKE call all this?——I have only one more passage of the lawyer's speech to remark on.——He said, and very truly, that "it was a strange way of encouraging "the English soldier, to hold him out as "a *degraded slave, cut off from the pale of* "*the constitution, and below the level of his* "*fellow subjects.*" Yes, lawyer, a very strange way indeed; but it was a way that Mr. Drakard did not pursue. It was the COURIER that said this; and, which is very curious, he said it in an article, intended to shew, that Mr. DRAKARD and the whole of us, who had written against flogging, were "MUTINOUS LIBELLERS," and ought to be punished; and he condemned in us, and especially in Mr.

DRAKARD, an attempt to *make the soldier believe, that he was upon a level with the rest of his fellow subjects;* for an attempt to persuade him *that the laws of the country were applicable to him;* for an attempt to persuade him that he was NOT cut off from civil society; for an attempt to make him suppose, that he was *not put out of the pale of the constitution.*——This was the charge preferred against us all by the venal COURIER; and, yet, Mr. DRAKARD is accused of the very opposite; and the sentiments and the words of his unmanly, his base and cowardly adversary, are put into his mouth.——Here I quit the lawyer, referring the reader to his whole speech, as published in the report of the trial.——The speech of the JUDGE, I shall leave to the perusal of the reader; but, I must beg leave to express my hope, that that perusal will be *attentive.*—— While we have subjects like this before us, that man must be little better than a brute beast who can suffer his mind to be drawn *abroad,* and his attention to be fixed upon marches and counter-marches. Sugar and Coffee islands and the firing of Park and Tower guns, may, at such times, engage the attention of men whose skulls are empty, or who are intent upon contracts and jobs; but subjects like that now before us are the only ones that will, or can, command the serious attention of men of sense who love their country; because in them we may easily read some, at least, of the events that are to come.

BANK DOLLAR TOKENS.——Reader, rub your eyes; if you wear spectacles wipe them clean; and, if you are blind, bid your reader raise his voice; for, here is an article that demands all the attention that you can, in any wise, muster up. Ye ancient spinsters, whose incomes are fixed in nominal sums; ye widows and orphans whose all is what is called *vested,* lay aside your cards and your baubles; and you, GRIZZLE GREENHORN, away with your knitting needle and your half-made purse, which cruelly mocks you; come the whole of you gather round me, and hear the confirmation of what I have, in vain, so long been endeavouring to make you believe. ——"BANK OF ENGLAND, 18 March "1811.——BANK DOLLAR TOKENS.—— "Whereas the price of Silver has risen so "much since the first issue of Bank Dollar "Tokens at FIVE SHILLINGS each as now "to make them *worth more to be sold as "bullion* than the price at which they are "current; and whereas it has been "deemed expedient at the recommenda-"tion of the Right Honourable the Lords "Committee of Privy Council for Coin, "in order to PREVENT THEIR BEING "WITHDRAWN FROM CIRCULA-"TION, that an ADDITIONAL VALUE "nearly proportionate to that at which "they were first issued in relation to their "INTRINSIC VALUE be now assigned "to them: The Governor and Company "of the Bank of England do therefore "hereby give notice, that they have "given orders to their Cashiers and other "officers from henceforth (until a public "notice to the contrary of not less than "six months shall have been given,) to "receive all Bank Dollar Tokens tendered "in payment at the Bank, at the rate of "FIVE SHILLINGS AND SIXPENCE "EACH instead of 5s. as heretofore; and "*to pay and to issue all such Bank Dollar "Tokens as shall be paid or issued hereafter by "them at the same rate of 5s. 6d. each.*—— "ROBERT BEST, Secretary."——There! Now you may all to breakfast or dinner or supper "with what appetite you may." ——There it is. You have it now; and if you are amongst those, who have so long abused me for my warnings, much good may it do you.——Oh! "that "the great statesman now no more" were still alive and here amongst us! His death, at which so many thousands, I might say millions, so sincerely rejoiced, was always a subject of sorrow with me; and I cannot help wondering, that Mr. HUNT should, at the Somersetshire Meeting, have expressed *his satisfaction* that the great man was now no more.——The moment I clapped my eyes upon this notice, my pen dropped, and my hands flew instinctively to my pockets, where, alas! I found but two dollars, and so I became only one shilling richer than I was the minute before.——If poor GRIZZLE GREENHORN should not yet understand the matter, she will the next time she goes to the grocer's, with a pound note, for a pound of tea, price five shillings; for, Mr. FIGGINS will not give her three dollars in change as he used to do, but will hand her *two dollars and four shillings,* thus:

1 lb. fine Bohea	£	0	5	0
2 Dollars at 5s. 6d		0	11	0
Small change............		0	4	0
Total	£	1	0	0

Oh! "that the great man" could come again! I shall not easily forgive Mr. Horner for expressing satisfaction at his premature end. The great man wished to have *his name inscribed on a monument raised to Public Credit.* He said so. I have his speech. Of all the malicious pranks that Death ever played us, the taking off the great man so soon was the worst.——However, his *school* are alive. We shall have them *to talk to*, and, that at any rate, will be some little consolation.——I have been asked by a score of correspondents, why I do not finish my series of Letters to the Farmers and Tradesmen in and near Salisbury, upon the subject of *Paper against Gold.* The reason is, that I wait to see the Report of the Bullion Committee *discussed in the House of Commons.* I was come to the place where I must have offered my opinion as to their proposed *remedy*, and I was not willing to do that, until I had fully heard them, until I had *heard them out*, Until, indeed, I had heard what all the statesmen of our age and country had to say.—But, really, if this discussion does not come on soon, I must proceed; for, I begin to be alarmed lest the *accomplishment* should precede the *prophecy*.——The discussion appears to have been put off on account of Mr. Horner's absence upon the Circuit. If he looked upon the thing in the light that I do, he would look sharp and get back again. Even now, the discussion will have lost half its interest, for this *tenth*, at a slap, *added* to the nominal value of the dollar, or, in other words, the *two shillings* deducted from the value of the pound note, will, in the course of a few days, enable every creature of common sense to judge very correctly of what is going on.——What strikes me most is the admirable coolness, or what the French call, *sang froid*, with which this notification is given from the Bank, who tell us, in so many words, that their *silver* notes or tokens are now *worth more* than when they were issued, that they will be *withdrawn from circulation* (that is sent abroad or melted) unless their *value is raised*, and that, therefore, they have raised the value, and mean to issue them at the raised value in future. And, all this with as much coolness and composure as if nothing at all was the matter! The man is a fool who frets and teazes himself at this, seeing that it is a thing that is *sure*, quite sure, to *correct itself.*——The Jacobins and Democrats can do nothing here. No human power can stop the progress of this, nor retard, for only one single moment, the event, or, rather the numerous and most important events, with which it teems, and which I have no hesitation in believing to be far greater than any that modern Europe has yet witnessed.——We shall now soon see (it will not be *three years* first) what degree of knowledge is possessed by such men as Sinclair and Huskisson and Chalmers and the rest of the rabble of authors, who have been choaking up the shops of the book sellers with pamphlets about the Bullion report. That hardened and inexorable scribbler, Chalmers has stated Bank Notes not convertible into specie, to be "*a miraculous means of salvation* to the "British constitution." Very true in *his* sense of the constitution.——But, there will be time to speak of this hereafter. At present I will leave what has been said to the consideration of the reader, and with my earnest advice to him to open his eyes and *look before him*, being well satisfied, that the time is not far distant when he will repent it sorely, if he remain deaf to my advice.

Englishman's Right.——In another part of this Number, I have begun the insertion of an excellent little work on the *Rights and Duties of Jurie*. It was written a long while ago by a very eminent and excellent person.——I have had the whole treatise printed in the form of a pamphlet, and it is now for sale (Price *one shilling*) at Mr. Bagshaw's and Mr. Budd's, but so excellent do I think the work and so much good do I think it calculated to produce, that I shall continue to insert parts of it, 'till the whole may have reached those, who are not within reach of the pamphlet. My object is to communicate its contents to every body, if I can, and therefore, I have put only such a price upon it as will pay *a part of the expence*, being very willing to bear some part of it myself.

Wm. COBBETT.

State Prison, Newgate, Tuesday, March 19, 1811.

LIBEL CAUSE.

Mr. Drakard of the Stamford News.

Report of this Trial, at the Assizes at Lincoln, on Wednesday, 13th March, 1811, before Judge Wood, and a Special Jury.

At nine o'clock on Wednesday morning

this trial came on, before Mr. Baron Wood and a Special Jury; only six special jurymen of the pannel answered to their names, but a tales being prayed, the following gentlemen were sworn:—

George Uppleby, Esq.
Wm. Graburn, Esq.
John Richardson, Esq.
John Green, Esq.
John Manners, Esq.
John Eliott, Esq,
J. Ellis (Cherry Willingham)
Thomas Brown
Christopher Norwood
George Sanders
John Coulson
William Mossop.

The pleadings were opened by Mr. Reynolds, and the case was stated by Mr. Clarke, who, with Serjeant Vaughan and Mr. Reader, conducted the prosecution.—The libel was stated to have been published in the paper called "Drakard's Stamford News," of the 24th of August last, and to be embodied in some observations headed "One Thousand Lashes," tending to create disaffection amongst the soldiers, to alienate their affections from their officers, and to occasion a general prejudice to the military service of the country, by holding up the discipline of the army to abhorrence, and deterring his Majesty's subjects from entering therein. The publication, Mr. Clarke stated, was of a nature so infamous, so seditious and dangerous, that no good man who heard it read, could restrain his resentment, or hesitate in his judgment upon it; and he thought the Attorney-General would have been grossly derelict of his duty, had he not proceeded to prosecute the author and publisher of venom so foul as that contained in the libel. He then read various passages of the libel complained of, commenting with severity as he proceeded. The tendency and object of such a doctrine, he maintained, could only be to breed mutiny, subvert the military establishment of the country, and make us, by the disaffection of our soldiery, an easy conquest of our implacable enemy; and he called upon the Jury, by their verdict, to pronounce their sense of the heinousness of the publication laid before them.—The printing and publishing of the libel were proved by the production of a copy of the paper of the 24th of August; and the responsibility of the defendant, by some official regulations of the Stamp Office, of which John Booth, Esq. Mr. M. Elgie, and an Officer from the Stamp Office in London, gave testimony.

Mr. Brougham (who had been brought from the York Circuit) then rose, and, on behalf of the defendant, addressed the Jury in a most eloquent speech of two hours and a quarter.

After some observations upon the ingenious and sophistical manner in which, he said, the advocate for the prosecution had tortured the tendency of the alledged libel and the intention of the author, he alluded to the late trial of the Messrs. Hunts in London, for publishing the greater part of the article which was the subject of this prosecution, in their Paper called the Examiner. They had copied and adopted three-fourths of the disquisition on military discipline, from the defendant's paper; and on trial for the alleged offence of so doing, had, by a Jury of their country, been acquitted of criminality:—"and," said Mr. Brougham, "can that be innocent in Westminster which is criminal in Lincolnshire!"—The learned Gentleman proceeded to assert the right of Englishmen to form and deliver their opinions upon any subject upon which they chose to exercise their judgment. He begged to be informed since when it was (that he might know the æra for the purpose of cursing it) that an Englishman, feeling strongly upon an interesting subject, might not strongly and freely express his opinion? The right of forming an opinion was incontestible; and was it to be told to any man, that he must adopt a particular form of words in expressing it? The publication before the Jury was a piece of reasoning in support of an honest judgment; and was the defendant to be visited with two years' imprisonment in a dungeon, because, in support of his opinion, he had not argued dully, supported it feebly, and illustrated it obscurely? Surely not: Whatever were the inconveniences of warm expressions, we must submit to them, if we would have discussion at all; and as to popular clamour, in a free country, it was desirable rather than not, as tending to a right understanding of affairs, and a just appreciation of measures. "Uproar in England is wholesome; whilst in France," said Mr. Brougham, "every whisper is pestilential." The beneficial consequence of discussion, like that now complained of, was, that in attacking the flaws and blots of our establishments, it produced something near perfection; such

discussion was the inalienable right of Englishmen; and the most vital part of the Constitution under which they lived.—In palliation of that part of the libel which in strong terms reprobated the military system of flogging, called it a greater curse than the Inquisition, and the most heart-rending tyranny on this side hell, the Learned Council read passages in the publication of Sir Robert Wilson on the subject of military punishments, in which flogging was condemned in equally strong terms—and when he sat down, a considerable clapping was set up in the gallery and extremities of the Court. The Judge, with great indignation, censured this indecency, and threatened one person, whom he selected from the crowd, with imprisonment for the offence.

MR. CLARKE, rising to reply to the defence, observed that a stronger proof of the evil tendency and influence of the publication of the Defendant could not be shown, than in the gross attempt which had been just made to overawe by popular clamour, and to beat down the free agency of the Jury. The defence made for the present Defendant, he said, was ever the sort of defence made for men of similar sentiments and conduct; the advocate who had defended the author of "The Rights of Man," had taken precisely the same ground, and pleaded the same rights. The allusion of the Learned Gentleman to the trial of the Messrs. Hunts, gave him (Mr. Clarke) a right he had not assumed before, of making those very persons witness against the Defendant; for although their will to say all they dare was not to be doubted, it was a powerful circumstance against the present defendant, that in copying the article from his paper for which they had been prosecuted, they had omitted the strongest parts of it, and thus shewn their own judgment of the libellous tendency of the original. The present prosecution, therefore, was for a libel infinitely stronger than those men had dared to publish; and yet the opinion of the eminent Judge who tried the cause in which they were criminated was, that even their softened publication was a seditious and mischievous libel. Alluding to the liberty of the press, about which so much had been advanced, the Learned Gentleman said that too much was assumed under that mis-used phrase; in France and other countries the liberty of the press existed not, because licensers were appointed to controul it; and this exemption from the interference of the licensers in England, was what rightly was understood by the liberty of the press; it was not to be supposed that any man was to print whatever his seditious views, or a malignant disposition might suggest, and to call that the liberty of the press which he had a right to enjoy uninterruptedly—no such thing; but the press was a free agent to all, but every man must answer for his use of it; and it was the office of a Jury to stand between the liberty and the licentiousness of it.—As to the publication before the Court, read as it was, and was meant to be, in public-houses, *by illiterate persons*, incapable of *deep thinking*, it was not to be regarded in the same light as Sir Robert Wilson's publication *(meant for the libraries of men of judgment)*; its bane was unaccompanied by any antidote, and might do inconceivable mischief. It was a strange way of encouraging the English soldier, to hold him out as a degraded slave, *cut off from the pale of the Constitution*, and *below the level of his fellow subjects*. Notwithstanding the boasted excellence of the system of Buonaparté, whose service the defendant so much admired, our soldiers never yet had met those of the Tyrant without proving the superiority of their courage, and their love for their officers; and if they were not reduced or seduced by *such miscreants, as the author of the present libel*, would still repel the enemy and save their country; but if they were to be *insulted* and taunted, or taught that they bled for those who treated them only with cruelty, whilst Buonaparté respected *his* soldiers and made their condition superior—the safety of the country was no longer to be regarded as certain.

The JUDGE, in his address to the Jury, observed, that they had heard a very eloquent and powerful harangue in favour of the Defendant, and the Learned Counsel had done his duty to his client; it was the duty of the Jury to consult the justice of the country. The Learned Counsel had asked, whether what was innocent at Westminster should be criminal at Lincoln? He (the Judge) did not wish to speak disrespectfully of Juries, but he might be permitted to say, that the Gentlemen he then addressed were not to be bound by the conduct of any other Jury, and he thought them at least as competent as that referred to at Westminster, to form a just judgment in the matter brought before them. "I am sorry," said Sir George Wood, "to say, that *we live in an*

"*age when the liberty of the press is most scan-" "*dalously abused, and libelling is become a*" "*trade.*" Violent and inflammatory expressions, he added, were not to be mixed up with discussion, and to pass under the cloak of warm feeling for the public good. Let the Jury examine the publication before them, and see whether any good motive could reasonably be supposed to have actuated the writer. It was to be feared that many persons in this country *were endeavouring to assist the enemy in his project of disgusting the people with institutions by which they were governed.* With respect to the observations of the learned Gentleman (Mr. Brougham) on the subject of military flogging, he could not but think his speech of this day would have been *better delivered in that hon. House of which he was a member*; he hoped he should soon see him agitate the subject there: if he did not, it must be inferred that the Gentleman did not mean as he said. The Learned Judge then alluded to the *case of Mr Finnerty,* as an instance of the extraordinary temper for libelling which was prevalent, and the *extravagant notions* which prevailed about the right of saying and publishing whatever it was fancied could be justified. It was said that individuals had a right to discuss the very laws of the country; were we then to have *a power* beyond the Legislature itself? If such were the case, there was *no security to our establishments*; but the notion was not only highly dangerous, but in the highest degree unconstitutional. If the Jury could be of opinion that any thing but mischief was meant by the publication under their consideration, they would acquit the defendant; but he (the Judge), in the conscientious discharge of his duty, had no hesitation in saying, that he considered it a most wicked libel.

The Jury withdrew for about ten minutes, and brought in a verdict of GUILTY.

THE ENGLISHMAN'S RIGHT:

A Dialogue between a Barrister at Law and a Juryman; plainly setting forth, I. The Antiquity, II The Excellent Designed Use, III. The Office, and Just Privileges, OF JURIES, by the Law of England.——By SIR JOHN HAWLES, *Solicitor-General to King William III.*

Barrister. My old Client! a good morning to you; whither so fast? you seem intent upon some important affair.

Juryman. Worthy Sir! I am glad to see you thus opportunely, there being scarce any person that I could at this time rather have wished to meet with.

Barr. I shall esteem myself happy, if in any thing I can serve you.—The business, I pray?

Jurym. I am summoned to appear upon a Jury, and was just going to try if I could get off. Now I doubt not but you can put me into the best way to obtain that favour.

Barr. It is probable I could; but first let me know the reasons why you desire to decline that service.

Jurym. You know, Sir, there is something of trouble and loss of time in it:— and men's lives, liberties, and estates (which depend upon a jury's *guilty* or *not guilty,* for the plaintiff, or for the defendant) are weighty things. I would not wrong my conscience for a world, nor be accessary to any man's ruin. There are others better skilled in such matters. I have ever so loved peace, that I have forborne going to law (as you well know) many times, though it hath been much to my loss.

Barr. I commend your tenderness and modesty; yet must tell you, these are but general and weak excuses.

As for your *time* and *trouble,* it is not much; and, however, can it be better spent than in doing justice, and serving your country? To withdraw yourself in such cases, is a kind of sacrilege, a robbing of the public of those duties which you justly owe it. The more *peaceable* man you have been, the more fit you are; for the office of a Juryman is, conscientiously to judge his neighbour; and needs no more *law* than is easily learnt to direct him therein. I look upon you therefore as a man well qualified with estate, discretion, and integrity; and if all such as you should use private means to avoid it, how would the king and country be honestly served? At that rate we should have none but fools or knaves entrusted in this grand concern, on which (as you well observe) the lives, liberties, and estates of all *England* depend.

Your *tenderness not to be accessary* to any man's being wronged or ruined, is (as I said) much to be commended. But may you not incur it unawares, by seeking thus to avoid it? *Pilate* was not innocent, because he washed his hands, and said, 'He would have nothing to do with the blood of that just one.' There are faults

of omission as well as commission. When you are legally called to try such a cause, if you shall shuffle out yourself, and thereby persons perhaps less conscientious happen to be made use of, and so a villain escapes justice, or an innocent man is ruined, by a prepossessed or negligent verdict; can you think yourself in such a case wholly blameless? '*Qui non prohibit cum potest, jubet*: That man abets an evil, who prevents it not, when it is in his power.' '*Nec caret scrupulo societatis occultæ, qui evidenter facinori desinit obviare.* Nor can he escape the suspicion of being a secret accomplice, who evidently declines the prevention of an atrocious crime.'

Jurym. Truly, I think a man is *bound* to do all the good he can; especially when he is lawfully called to it. But there sometimes happen nice cases, wherein it may be difficult to discharge one's conscience without incurring the displeasure of the court, and thence trouble and damage may arise.

Barr. That is but a vain and needless fear. For as the jurors privileges (and every *Englishman*'s in and by them) are very considerable; so the laws have no less providently guarded them against invasion or usurpation. So that there needs no more than, first understanding to know your duty; and, in the next place, courage and resolution to practise it with impartiality and integrity, free from accursed bribery and malice, or (what is full as bad in the end) base and servile fear.

Jurym. I am satisfied, that as it is for the advantage and honour of the *public*, that men of understanding, substance and honesty, should be employed to serve on juries, that *justice* and *right* may fairly be administered; so it is their *own interest*, when called thereunto, readily to bestow their attendance and service, to prevent *ill precedents* from men otherwise qualified; which may by degrees fatally, though insensibly, undermine our just birth-rights, and perhaps fall heavy one day upon us, or our posterity. But, for my own part, I am fearful lest I should suffer through my ignorance of the duty and office of a juryman; and, therefore, on that account principally it is, that I desire to be excused in my appearance; which, if I understood but so well as I hope many others do, I would with all my heart attend the service.

Barr. You speak honestly, and like an *Englishman.* But if that be all your cause of scruple, it may soon be removed, if you will but give yourself a very little trouble of enquiry into the necessary provisions of the law of *England* relating to this matter.

Jurym. There is nothing (of a temporal concern) that I would more gladly be informed in; because I am satisfied, it is very expedient to be generally known. And first, I would learn *how long* trials by juries have been used in this nation *.

Barr. Even time out of mind;—so long, that our best historians cannot date the original of the institution; being indeed cotemporary with the nation itself, or in use as soon as the people were reduced to any form of civil government, and administration of justice. Nor have the several conquests or revolutions, the mixtures of foreigners, or the mutual feuds of the natives, at any time, been able to suppress or overthrow it. For,

1. That juries (the thing in effect and substance, tho' perhaps not just the number of twelve men) were in use among the *Britons*, (the first inhabitants of this island) appears by the ancient monuments and writings of that nation; attesting that their Freeholders had always a share in all trials and determinations of differences.

2. Most certain it is, that they were practised by the *Saxons* †, and were then the only courts, or at least an essential, and the greater part, of all courts of judicature: for so (to omit a multitude of other instances) we find in king *Ethelred*'s Laws, '*In singulis Centuriis, &c.*' 'In every hundred let there be a court, and let twelve ancient freemen, together with the Lord, (or rather, according to the *Saxon*, the Greve, i. e. the chief officer amongst them) be sworn, that they will not condemn any person that is innocent, nor acquit any one that is guilty.'

3. When the *Normans* came in, *William*, tho' commonly called the *Conqueror*, was so far from abrogating this privilege of Juries ‡, that in the fourth year of his

* Our author, in his title-page, told us, that he intended to point out, with respect to Juries, 1. their *antiquity*; 2. their *excellent designed use*; 3. their *office* and *just privileges*. In answer to the Juryman's question, and in compliance with his own promise, he is now going to treat of the *antiquity* of Juries.

† *Lamb.* p. 218. *Coke, 1 part,* Institutes, fol. 155.

‡ See *Spelman*'s Glossar. in the word *Jurata.*

reign, he confirmed all king *Edward* the Confessor's laws, and the ancient customs of the kingdom, whereof this was an essential and most material part. Nay, he made use of a Jury, chosen in every county, to report and certify on their oaths what those laws and customs were; as appears in the proem of such his confirmation.

4. Afterwards when the *Great Charter*, commonly called *Magna Charta*, (which is nothing else than a recital, confirmation, and corroboration of our ancient *English* liberties) was made and put under the great seal of *England*, in the ninth year of king *Henry* the Third, (which was *anno Domini* 1225) then was this privilege of trials by Juries in an especial manner confirmed and established; as in the fourteenth chapter, 'That no amerce-'ments shall be assessed, but by the oath 'of good and honest men of the vicinage.' And more fully in that golden nine-and-twentieth chapter—'No freeman shall be 'taken or imprisoned, nor be disseised of 'his freehold or liberties, or free customs, 'or be out-lawed, or exiled, or any other 'way destroyed, nor shall we pass upon 'him, or condemn him, but by the lawful 'judgment of his peers,' *&c.* Which Grand Charter having been confirmed by above thirty acts of parliament, the said right of Juries thereby, and by constant usage, and common custom of England, which is the common law, is brought down to us as our undoubted birth-right, and the best inheritance of every *Englishman*. For as that famous lawyer, chief justice *Coke* *, in the words of *Cicero*, excellently avers, '*Major hæreditas venit unicuique nostrum a jure & legibus, quam a parentibus*' It is a greater inheritance, and more to be valued, which we derive from the fundamental constitution and laws of our country, than that which comes to us from our respective parents:' for without the former, we have no claim to the latter.

Jurym. But has this method of trial never been attempted to be invaded or justled out of practice?

Barr. It is but rarely that any have arrived to so great a confidence: 'For it is 'a most dangerous thing to shake, or alter, 'any of the rules, or fundamental points 'of the common law, which in truth are 'the main pillars, and supporters of the 'fabric of the commonwealth;' these are judge *Coke's* words†. Yet sometimes it has been endeavoured; but so sacred and valuable was the institution in the eyes of our ancestors, and so tenacious were they of their privileges, and zealous to maintain, and preserve such a *vital part* of their birth-right and freedom; that no such attempts could ever prove effectual, but always ended with the shame and severe punishment of the rash undertakers. For example,

1. *Andrew Horn*, an eminent lawyer, in his book, entitled *The Mirror of Justices*, (written in the reign of king *Edward I*, now near 400 years ago) in the fifth chapter, and first section, records, That the renowed *Saxon* king *Alfred* caused four and forty justices to be hanged in one year, as murderers, for their false judgments. And there recites their particular crimes, most of them being in one kind or other infringements, violations, and encroachments of and upon the rights and privileges of Juries. Amongst the rest, that worthy author tells us, he *hanged one justice* Cadwine, *because he judged one* Hackwy *to death without the consent of all the Jurors; for whereas he stood upon his Jury of twelve men, because three of them would have saved him, this* Cadwine *removed those three, and put others in their room on the Jury, against the said* Hackwy's *consent.* Where we may observe, that though at last twelve men did give a verdict against him, yet, those, so put upon him, were not accounted his Jurors, by reason all, or any of them, who were first sworn to try him, could not (by law) be removed, and others put in their stead: And that such illegal alteration was then adjudged a capital crime, and forthwith the said *Cadwine* was hanged.

2. A second instance I shall give you in the words of the lord chief justice *Coke**: 'Against this ancient and fundamental 'law, and in the face thereof, there was in 'the eleventh year of king *Henry* VII *cap.* '3. an act of Parliament obtained (on fair 'pretences, and a specious preamble, as to 'avoid divers mischiefs, &c.) whereby it 'was ordained, "That from thenceforth, "as well justices of assize, as justices of the "peace, upon a bare information for the "king before them made, without any "finding or presentment by the verdict of "twelve men, should have full power and "authority, by their discretions, to hear "and determine all offences and con-"tempts committed or done by any per-

* 2 Institut. fol. 56. † Ibid. p. 74.

* Coke 2 part of Inst. fol. 51.

"son or persons against the form, ordi- "nance, or effect of any statute made and "not repealed, &c." 'By colour of which 'act,' saith *Coke*, shaking this fundamental 'law', (he means, touching all trials to be by Juries) 'it is not credible what 'HORRIBLE OPPRESSIONS and EX- 'ACTIONS, to the undoing of MULTI- 'TUDES of people, were committed by 'Sir *Richard Empson* knight, and *Edmond* '*Dudley*, esq. (being justices of the peace) 'throughout *England*; and upon this un- 'just and injurious act, as commonly in 'like cases it falleth out, a new office was 'erected, and they made masters of the 'king's forfeitures.'

But not only this statute was justly, soon after the decease of *Henry* VII. repealed by the stat. of the 1 *Hen.* VIII. *cap.* 6. but also the said *Empson* and *Dudley* (notwithstanding they had such an act to back them, yet it being against *Magna Charta*, and consequently void) were fairly executed for their pains; and several of their under-agents, as promoters, informers, and the like, severely punished, for a warning to all others that shall dare, on any pretence whatsoever, infringe our *English* liberties *. For so the lord † *Coke*, having, elsewhere, with detestation mentioned their story, pathetically concludes; '*Qui eorum vestigiis insistant, exitus* '*per horrescant.* Let all those who shall 'presume to tread their steps, tremble at 'their dreadful end.' Other instances of a later date might be given, but I suppose these may suffice.

Jurym. Yes, surely; ‡ and by what you have discoursed of the long-continued use of Juries, and the zealous regards our ancestors had not to part with them, I perceive that they were esteemed a special privilege. Be pleased, therefore, to acquaint me, wherein the *excellency* and *advantages* to the people, by that method of trial above others, may consist.

Barr. This question shews you have been much conversant abroad to observe the miserable condition of the poor people in most other nations, where they are either wholly subject to the despotic arbitrary lust of their rulers; or at best under such laws as render their lives, liberties, and estates, liable to be disposed of at the discretion of strangers appointed their judges; most times mercenary, and creatures of prerogative; sometimes malicious and oppressive; and often partial and corrupt *. Or suppose them ever so just and upright, yet still has the subject no security against the attacks of unconscionable witnesses. Yea, where there is no sufficient evidence, upon bare suspicions, they are obnoxious to the tortures of the rack, which often make an innocent man confess himself guilty, merely to get out of present pain. Is it not then an inestimable happiness to be born and live under such a mild and righteous constitution, wherein all these mischiefs, as far as human prudence can provide, are prevented? where none can be condemned, either by the power of superior enemies, or the rashness or ill will of any judge, nor by the bold affirmations of any profligate evidence; but no less than twelve honest, substantial, impartial men, his neighbours (who consequently cannot be presumed to be unacquainted either with the matters charged, the prisoner's course of life, or the credit of the evidence) must first be fully satisfied in their consciences, that he is guilty; and so all unanimously pronounce him upon their oaths? Are not these, think you, very material privileges? †

Jurym. Yes, certainly; though I never so well considered them before. But now I plainly see our fore-fathers had, and we still have, all the reason in the world to be zealous for the maintenance and preservation thereof from subversion or encroachments, and to transmit them entire to posterity. For if once this bank

* See Sir *Rich. Baker's* Chron. *p.* 254, printed in 1674.

† 4 *part* Institut. *fol.* 41.

‡ The Juryman having been instructed in the *antiquity* of Juries, is now going to enquire wherein their *advantage* consists The Barrister accordingly shews the benefits which may arise from them. Thus the author performs the *second* part of what he proposed in the title page.

* See all this excellently made out and more at large by the L. C. J. *Fortescue*. afterwards Chancellor to K. *Hen.* VI. in his Book *De laudibus Legum Angliæ*, cap. 26, 27, 28, 29.

† It may be of importance to add one observation here;—Though a parliament, to supply the necessities and purposes of an abandoned administration, should oppress us with taxes; while the constitution remains, in other respects, unviolated, the continuance of Juries in their legal force will secure our reputations, our personal liberties, our limbs and our lives.

be broken down or neglected, an ocean of oppression and the ruins of infinite numbers of people, (as in *Empson* and *Dudley's* days) may easily follow, when on any pretence they may be made criminals, and then fined in vast sums, with pretext to enrich the king's coffers, but indeed to feed those insatiate vultures that promote such unreasonable prosecutions. But since you have taught me so much of the *antiquity* and *excellency* of juries, I cannot but crave the continuance of your favour to acquaint me somewhat more particularly of their *office* and *power* by law.

*Barr.** I shall gladly comply with so reasonable and just a request. † 'A jury 'of twelve men are by our laws the only 'proper judges of the matter in issue be'fore them.' As for instance,

1. That testimony which is delivered to induce a jury to believe, or not to believe, the matter of fact in issue, is called in law EVIDENCE; because thereby the jury may out of many matters of fact *Evidere veritatem*; that is, see clearly the truth, of which they are proper judges.

2. When any matter is sworn, or [when a] deed [is] read, or offered, whether it shall be believed, or not, or whether it be true, or false, in point of fact, the jurors are proper judges.

3. Whether such an act was done, in such or such a manner, or to such, or such an intent, the jurors are judges. For the court is not judge of these matters, which are evidence to prove or disprove, the thing in issue. And therefore the witnesses are always ordered to direct their speech to the jury; they being the proper judges of their testimony. And in all pleas of the crown, or matters criminal the prisoner, 'is said to put himself for trial upon his country;' which is explained and referred by the clerk of the court, to be meant of the jury, saying to them 'Which country you are.'

Jurym. Well then, what is the part of the king's justices, or the court? what are they to take cognizance of, or do, in the trials of mens' lives, liberties and properties?

Barr. Their office, in general, is to do equal justice and right; particularly,

1. To see that the jury be regularly returned and duly sworn.

2. To see that the prisoner, in cases where it is permittable, be allowed his lawful challenges.

3. To advise by law, whether such matter may be given in evidence, or not; such a writing read, or not; or such a man admitted to be a witness, &c.

4. Because by their learning and experience, they are presumed to be best qualified to ask pertinent questions, and, in the most perspicuous manner, soonest to sift out truth from amongst tedious impertinent circumstances and tautologies: they therefore commonly examine the witnesses in the court; yet not excluding the jury, who of right *may*, and where they see cause, *ought* to ask them any necessary questions; which undoubtedly they may lawfully do with modesty and discretion, without begging any leave. For if *asking leave* be necessary, it implies in the court a right when they list to deny it; and how then shall the jury know the truth? And since we see, that council who too often (——*Pudet hæc opprobria nobis*) for their fees strive only to baffle witnesses, and stifle truth, take upon them daily to interrogate the evidence; it is absurd to think that the Jurors should not have the same privilege, who are upon their oaths, and proper judges of the matter.

5. As a discreet and lawful assistant to the jury,* they do often recapitulate and sum up the heads of the evidence: but the Jurors are still to consider whether it be done truly, fully and impartially; for one man's memory may sooner fail than twelve's. He may likewise state the law to them; that is, deliver his opinion where the case is difficult, or they desire it. But since, *ex facto jus oritur*, all matter of law arises out of matter of fact, so that till the fact is settled there is no room for law: therefore all such discourses of a judge to a Jury are, or ought to be, hypothetical, not coercive; conditional, and not positive: viz. 'If you find the fact thus or 'thus' (still leaving the Jury at liberty to find as they see cause) 'then you are to 'find for the plaintiff; but if you find the 'fact thus, or thus, then you are to find 'for the defendant or the like;' guilty, or not guilty, in cases criminal.

Lastly, they are to take the verdict of the Jury, and thereupon to give judgment according to law. For the office of a judge (as *Coke* well observes) is *jus dicere*,

* The author now proceeds to the execution of the third, and last part of his proposed plan.

† See *Coke*, 4th part of Instit. *fol.* 84.

* Vaughan's Reports in Bushell's case, *fol.* 144.

not *jus dare;* not to make any laws by strains of wit, or forced interpretations, but plainly, and impartially to declare the law already established Nor can they refuse to accept the Jury's verdict when agreed: for if they should, and force the Jury to return, and any of them should miscarry for want of accommodation, it would undoubtedly be murder, and in such case the Jury may, without crime, force their liberty, because they are illegally confined (having given in their verdict, and thereby honestly discharged their office,) and are not to be starved for any man's pleasure

Jurym But I have been told, that a Jury is only judge of naked *matter of fact,* and are not at all to take upon them to meddle with, or regard, *matter of law,* but leave it wholly to the court.

Barr 'Tis most true Jurors are judges of matters of fact, that is their proper province, their chief business, but yet not excluding the consideration of matter of law, as it arises out of, or is complicated with, and influences the fact For to say, they are not at all to meddle with, or have respect to, law in giving their verdicts, is not only a false position, and contradicted by every day's experience, but also a very dangerous and pernicious one, tending to defeat the principal end of the institution of Juries, and so subtilly to undermine that which was too strong to be battered down

1 It is false. For, though the direction, as to matter of law separately, may belong to the judge, and the finding the matter of fact does, peculiarly, belong to the Jury; yet must your Jury also apply matter of fact and law together, and from their consideration of, and a right judgment upon both, bring forth their verdict For do we not see in most general issues, as upon not guilty—pleaded in trespass, breach of the peace, or felony, though it be *matter in law* whether the party be a *trespasser*, a breaker of the peace, or a felon, yet the Jury do not find the fact of the case *by itself*, leaving the law to the court; but find the party guilty, or not guilty, *generally*? So as, though they answer not the question *singly*, what is law? yet they determine the law, in all matters, where *issue is joined.* So likewise is it not every day's practice, that when persons are indicted for murder, the Jury not only find them guilty, or not guilty, but many times upon hearing, and weighing of circumstances, bring them in, either guilty of murder, *manslaughter, per infortunium,* or *se defendendo,* as they see cause? Now do they not, herein, complicately resolve both law and fact? And to what end is it, that when any person is prosecuted upon any statute, the statute itself is usually read to the Jurors, but only that they may judge, whether, or no, the matter be within that statute? But to put the business out of doubt, we have the suffrage of that oracle of law, *Luttleton,* who, in his Tenures, sect. 368, declares, '*That if a Jury will take* '*upon them the knowledge of the law upon the* '*matter they may*' Which is agreed to likewise by *Coke* in his comment thereupon * And therefore it is false to say that the Jury hath not power, or doth not use frequently to apply the fact to the law, and thence taking their measures, judge of, and determine, the crime, or issue, by their verdict †

2 As Juries have ever been vested with such power by law, so, to exclude them from, or disseize them of the same, were utterly to defeat the end of their institution‡ For then, if a person should be

* Before the present disputes arose, an able writer of our own times considers this, as a settled and allowed rule See Blackstone's Commentaries, vol I, p 8, vol III p 377, 378, particularly vol IV, p 354 355, 4th ed

† Not only the express assertion of lawyers—and the practice of the courts prove, that Juries are authorized to determine the law, so far as it relates to the fact, but, in the third place, the *words,* in which verdicts must be given, indicate that they have this power If Juries had been appointed to judge of fact only, the words 'done,' or 'not done,' or words of a like import, would have been substituted for the words 'guilty,' or 'not guilty' However, as our ancestors have placed it in their option to determine the law, so far as it is connected with the fact: the language of their verdicts comprehends, when necessary, their sentiments upon both. If an action is said to be criminal, it is *necessary* to determine whether the action happened.—So that when a Jury declares that a man is guilty, the fact is implied; because they cannot affix guilt, where there is no fact When a Jury declares a man not guilty, the determination of the fact is left uncertain, because it is *unnecessary*, for the law concerns itself with actions, only so far as they are criminal.

‡ From the doctrine, that Juries in the

indicted for doing any common innocent act, if it be but clothed, and disguised, in the indictment, with the name of treason, or some other high crime, and proved by witnesses, to have been done by him; the Jury, though satisfied in conscience, that the fact is not any such offence as it is called, yet because, according to this fond opinion, they have no power to judge of law, and the fact charged is fully proved, they shall, at this rate, be bound to find him guilty: And being so found, the judge may pronounce sentence against him, for he finds him a convicted traitor, &c. by his peers. And thus, as a certain physician boasted that he had killed one of his patients with the best method in the world; so here should we have an innocent man hanged, drawn, and quartered, and all according to law.

Jurym. God forbid that any such thing should be practised! and indeed I do not very fully understand you.

Barr. I do not say it ever *hath been*, and I hope it never *will be* practised: But this I will say, that according to this doctrine, it *may be;* and consequently Juries may thereby be rendered, rather a snare, or engine of oppression, than any advantage or guardian of our legal liberties against arbitrary injustice; and made mere properties to do the drudgery, and bear the blame of unreasonable prosecutions. And since you seem so dull as not to perceive it, let us put an imaginary case; not in the least to abet any irreverence towards his Majesty, but only to explain the thing, and shew the absurdness of this opinion. ——Suppose then a man should be indicted, For that he as a false traitor, not having the fear of God before his eyes, &c. did, traiterously, presumptuously, against his allegiance, and with an intent to affront his Majesty's person, and government, pass by such, or such, a royal statue, or effigies, with his hat on his head, to the great contempt of his Majesty and his authority, the evil example of others, against the peace, and his Majesty's crown and dignity. Being hereupon arraigned, and having pleaded not guilty, suppose that sufficient evidence should swear the matter of the fact laid in the indictment, viz. That he did pass by the statue, or picture, with his hat on; now imagine yourself one of the Jury that were sworn to try him; what would you do in the matter?

Jurym. Do? why I should be satisfied in my conscience, that the man had not, herein, committed any crime, and so I would bring him in, not guilty.

Barr. You speak as any honest man would do: but I hope you have not forgot the point we were upon. Suppose therefore, when you thought to do thus, the court, or any one of your brethren, should take you up, and tell you, that it was out of your power so to do: 'For look ye, saith he, my masters! we Jurymen are only to find matter of fact; which being fully proved, as in this case before us it is, we must 'find the party guilty. Whether the thing 'be treason, or not, does not belong to us 'to enquire; it is said so here, you see, in 'the indictment; and let the court look to 'that, they know best. We are not judges 'of law. Shall we meddle with niceties 'and punctilios, and go contrary to the 'directions of the court? So perhaps we 'shall bring ourselves into a *Præmunire*, as 'they say, and perhaps never be suffered 'to be Jurymen again. No, no, the matter 'of fact you see is proved, and that is our 'business; we must go according to our 'evidence, we cannot do less: truly it is 'something hard, and I pity the poor man,

case of libels, are not judges of the law, as well as fact, necessarily flows the following absurdity; viz. that it is the duty of Juries to declare men guilty, or not guilty, in whom they perceive neither guilt, or innocence.——Again: If, because a circumstance is established as a fact, it is to be reputed as a crime, every incident which happens, is a crime. Now, if printing and publishing only be criminal, it is criminal to print and publish the Book of Common Prayer, and the Bible. —It is hard to say, on what principles this right of Juries can be disputed. "If Jurymen, because not bred to the law, are supposed incapable of knowing what is, or what is not, law; it follows that none but lawyers can justly be punished for a breach of the law: for surely, that man is rather unfortunate, than faulty, who ignorantly transgresses the law."—Besides, if it is wise to vest the determination of law, where it concerns facts, in the Jury when any civil or criminal suit is in question: certainly it is wise to entrust the Jury with the same power, in all suits which particularly concern the state: because, in such suits, the determination is always of more consequence, and judges are more likely to be under an influence, which is injurious to the rights of the people.

'but we cannot help it,' &c. After these notable documents, what would you do now?

Jurym. I should not tell what to say to it; for I have heard several ancient Jurymen speak to the very same effect, and thought they talked very wisely.

Barr. Well then, would you consent to bring in the man guilty?

Jurym. Truly I should be somewhat unwilling to do it; but I do not see which way it can be avoided, but that he must be found guilty of the fact.

Barr. God keep every honest body from such Jurymen! Have you no more regard to your Oath? to your Conscience? to Justice! to the life of a man?

Jurym. Hold! hold! perhaps we would not bring him in guilty generally, but only guilty of the fact; * finding no more, but, guilty of passing by the statue with his hat on.

Barr. This but poorly mends the matter, and signifies little or nothing; for such a finding hath generally been refused by the court, as being no verdict; though, it is said, it was lately allowed somewhere in a case that required favour. But, suppose it were accepted, what do you intend should become of the prisoner? Must not he be kept in prison till all the judges are at leisure, and willing, to meet, and argue the business? *Ought* you not, and what reason can you give why you *should* not, absolutely acquit, and discharge him? Nay, I do aver, you are bound, by your oaths, to do it; by saying with your mouths to the court what your conscience cannot but dictate to yourselves, '*not guilty.*' For pray consider, are you not sworn, That you will well and truly try, and true deliverance † make? There is none of this story, of matter of fact, distinguished from law, in your oath; but you are, 'well,' that is, *fully*, and 'truly,' that is, *impartially*, to try the prisoner. So that if upon your consciences, and the best of your understanding, by what is proved against him, you find he is guilty of that crime wherewith he stands charged, that is, deserving Death, or such other punishment as the law inflicts upon an offence so denominated; then you are to say, he is guilty. *(To be continued.)*

* Is not this exactly similar to a late verdict given in the case of the King against *Woodfall?*

† Of their *verdict*, this is meant.

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SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

FLOGGING OF SOLDIERS.——It was, I thought, time for this sad subject to begin to give place to others, especially as it must always be, in itself, so painful to all concerned in the discussion, and more particularly to those, who were in hopes that *something had been done* towards the attainment of their great object, the abolition of the punishment. But, it seems, that the tools of corruption, the enemies of *reform* of all sorts and of every sort, are resolved to keep the odious topic before the eyes of the public and the army; they appear resolved to have the last word, to leave nothing undone with a view of making the public believe, that all those, who wish to see the punishment of flogging our soldiers done away, are something very little short of *traitors* to their country, and ought, at least, to be sent to expiate their crime at *Botany Bay*.——In the COURIER news-paper of the 21st instant, there is not only a laboured *defence*, but a highly-wrought *eulogium* on flogging. One would think that the writer was a Drum-Major, and was afraid of losing the *fees*, which, formerly at least, were paid by the flogged party for the use of the cat-o'-nine-tails.——This "busy slave" has gone further than any other of those who have, in any manner, assailed the opponents of the system of flogging; and, according to him, the measure now introduced, and which (it is said) has a tendency to diminish the quantity of flogging, must be *an evil*. Really, I can form an idea of nothing upon earth so likely to produce mutiny, outrageous mutiny, in the army, as the cold-blooded manner, in which this writer speaks about flogging the soldiers; the placid manner, in which he insults them.——It will be recollected, that this venal slave, sometime ago plainly, and in so many words, declared, that the soldier was cut off from civil society; that no law but the military law applied to his case; that he was "*out of* "*the pale of the constitution.*" Not, as far as *hanging* goes, at any rate; for the "busy slave," if he reads the Mutiny Act, will find, that, for all *capital* offences, soldiers are amenable to the law of the land; so that, in *this respect*, they have the full benefit of the constitution.——But, to return to the assertion, that the soldier is "*out of the pale of the constitu-* "*tion,*" it is curious enough, that this assertion, which was made in an article, written *against* the publication of Mr. *Drakard*, should have been, apparently, attributed to Mr. Drakard himself; and, it is still more curious, that this same slave of corruption should now *renew his assaults* upon Drakard by imputing to him words having a *tendency* towards a meaning which he himself had plainly expressed as *his own*.——This corrupt tool sets out by observing, that his article was ready some time ago, but that he refrained from publishing it, until the *Trial* of MR. DRAKARD was over, lest he should subject himself to the charge of a design to prejudice his judges.——But, if he had been actuated by any motive of this sort, why did he publish the *former* article? And, besides, though the *trial* has taken place, the *sentence* has not. Now, either he looks upon his article as likely to have some weight, or he does not: if he does not, then is his motive of forbearance an hypocritical pretence; and, if he does, then is he, not baser than he was before, but certainly one of the basest of all mankind; for, his endeavour now is to make the public believe, that Mr. DRAKARD may think himself well off if he be not sent to *Botany Bay*, and, indeed, he plainly says, that that is the manner in which he *ought* to be punished.——The wretch well knows what odium this must expose him to amongst all the good part of the public; but, he also knows, that this is the way, and the only way, of recommending himself to *another* part of the community, from whom, no doubt, he looks for full compensation, in the only way that he values, for his turpitude.——This writer endeavours to answer, or rather to cavil down, some of the arguments that were urged in defence of the prosecuted publication as it stood in the *Examiner*. He denies that there was any similarity between the

publications of SIR ROBERT WILSON and SIR JOHN STUART and that of Mr. DRAKARD; for, says he, *they* did not *disapprove of flogging*, but merely of the *indiscreet manner* of flogging. I never read either of their pamphlets; but, if they did *not* disapprove of flogging; if they did not think flogging a bad thing, all that I can say of the matter is that they have been *misrepresented*, and that the real truth should be known. But, this has nothing at all to do with the *argument*, which was that Mr. DRAKARD had as good *a right* to express his disapprobation of flogging the soldiers as these two officers had, and as much a better right as he manifestedly possessed literary talents superior to those of both put together.——This pander of corruption finds himself puzzled with what has been said of late about the *Liberty of the Press*, and wishes to make it out that there may still be a vast deal of this precious liberty, though a man may not make a publication like that of Mr. DRAKARD: and, this is what he says upon the subject.——"Does the article in the News-"papers make any distinction? Does it *ad-*"*mit of the practice of flogging under any* "*circumstances?* Does it not *condemn such* "*a mode of punishment totally, without con-*"*dition or reservation?* But this is no of-"fence! Certainly not. The offence "consists in the *manner of carrying on the* "*discussion*, not in the *subject* of discussion. "There is no subject, to *discuss* which is "an offence, especially if discussed in "the *abstract*, as the practice of flogging "might be. "But," cry out some of our "opponents, call you this *liberty?* Is this "the *liberty* of the press? You would grant "us the privilege of *discussing* any subject, "but you would punish us for *freedom of* "*language* in discussing it! MOST UN-"DOUBTEDLY; we answer. *Language* "must be limited though *subjects* are not. "The conduct of a judge may be *discussed*: "but does it follow that he may be called "a *corrupt villain*, or a *cruel tyrant, per-*"*verting the laws* to *oppress the people?* Par-"liamentary Reform may be *discussed*; "but does it follow that parliament may "be charged with every *crime*, and *branded* "*as infamous?* A man may publish a "book preferring a Republic to a Mo-"narchy; but is he therefore to be en-"titled to stigmatize the *English Monarchy* "as *cruel, base*, and *detestable?*"——So, so! Here we have it! This is the whole of the old cant condensed into a small compass. We may *discuss* any thing, according to this corrupt tool; but if we speak *freely* (whether *truly* or not), woe be unto us, for he plainly tells us, we ought to be punished. We may *discuss* as long as we please; but we must take care of our *language*. We are quite *free* to discuss, but if we are free in our *language* we are to be punished.——He tells us, that the conduct of a judge may be *discussed*, but that it does not follow that he may be called a *corrupt villain*, a *cruel tyrant, perverting the laws to oppress the people*. But, suppose the said Judge TO BE a *corrupt villain*, a *cruel tyrant, perverting the laws to oppress the people*. Answer me, tool; suppose the said Judge to be all this, must we not say so? Must we not *call* him a corrupt villain and the rest of it? If we must not, what, you "meddling slave," do you mean by *discussion?* What do you mean by our being *free* to *discuss?* And, again, as to Parliamentary *Reform*, what *freedom* can there be in discussing it, unless we are at liberty to state the *reasons* for such reform, and to describe truly and fully the *evil* of which we complain? It does not follow that Parliament may be charged with *every crime*. Oh, no! Only with such as can be *proved*. No man, no reformer asks for more. No reformer wishes to have liberty to tell *lies* of the Parliament. No one of us wishes to say any thing of it but what he can *prove to be true*; and, if he cannot do this, how is he to *discuss* the question of *reform?* How am I to ask any man to reform his life unless I first point out to him his vices? We are, it seems, quite *free*; free as air to discuss the question of Parliamentary Reform, but we must not for our lives, point out that *which renders such reform necessary*. It is, however, curious enough, that this same venal man, in another part of his article, says, that "MANY MEM-'BERS OF PARLIAMENT BRIBE 'VOTERS, who would themselves PERISH rather than BE BRIBED TO VOTE. The abstract guilt in either case is equally great, but in the one case, the EXTENT OF THE PRACTICE has wiped away ALL DISGRACE from 'it, while, in the other, the RARITY of the practice has rendered it INFAMOUS."——This slave takes liberties, which I shall not take, and, therefore, I shall say nothing as to the truth or falshood of his primary position, namely, that *members of Parliament bribe voters*, but shall argue the matter hypothetically; and, I have no scruple to say, that, if the

primary position be *true*, all the subsequent ones are false. The man who *gives* a bribe, will never refuse to *take* one; and whoever *purchases* a seat by such means is disappointed if he cannot *sell* it to a profit. Indeed, it is absurd to suppose the contrary; it is to set one's face against all the known maxims as to the motives and conduct of men; and, if there be any miscreants base enough to *give bribes*, reason says, that, in one shape or another, they *mean* to get the amount back again with interest. Having been so lost to all sense of honour as to tender and to give bribes, where are you to look for that which is likely to restrain them from taking bribes in repayment; and, as to whether they take the bribes in money or in *money's worth*, where is the difference, either in a moral or a political sense? What is the difference, whether the briber be bribed with a purse of guineas (or a handful of paper money, rather), or with a place or a pension or a contract for either himself or some relation or dependent? The hypocrites, who cunningly think "to cheat the devil," may persuade themselves that there is a difference; but, in the mind of any just man, there can be none. ——But, this venal man says, that the *extent of the practice of bribery by members of parliament* has wiped away *all disgrace* from it. Indeed! And yet, oh, base slave! you reproach the Parliamentary Reformers with being actuated by *wicked motives*! You treat as seditious incendiaries all those who wish to put an end to the possibility of a practice like this! Here you hold up the whole mass of the electors as corrupt; here you hold up the source of the present representation as being the most foul and filthy and abominable; and yet, you have the audacity to accuse of *treasonable* views, those who wish to reform it! The Parliament, you tell us, in one place, is not to be branded as *infamous;* and, in two columns farther on, you tell us, that *many* members of this parliament enter the House by the means of bribery, that is to say, by means, which are not only morally infamous, but which are regarded and, now and then, punished as *infamous*, by the *law*, and to prevent which infamous practices, Act upon Act has been passed by, and are now in force under the authority of, that same parliament! —— And, after having told us, that *many* members of the House are guilty of this infamous crime, do you expect that even any of your readers are beasts enough to believe that the same members would rather "*perish* than be *bribed?*" You certainly mean, rather perish than *not* get a bribe. *Rarity!* And, do you expect that any one, who believes what you say about their *giving* bribes, will believe that it is *rare* for them to *take* bribes? You hardly can; but, your desire to show yourself decided, zealous, abandoned to all sorts of abuse and corruption induced you to introduce the topic and to give your encouragers a specimen of the lengths you were prepared to go. —— Leaving you and them to enjoy the benefit of this episode, let me return to the subject of *free discussion*. We may, it seems, *discuss* even the subject of *government*, and may write a book *preferring* a *Republic* to a *Monarchy*; but we are not "entitled to stigmatize the *English* Monarchy as *cruel, base*, and *detestable*." We may *discuss* the subject, but not *say what we please* upon it! We may execrate *any other* monarchy; we are *quite free* to do that? Oh, no! We must take care what we say of the *Portuguese* Monarchy or the *Sicilian* Monarchy or the *Spanish* Monarchy, for a remark upon the *second* of which a proprietor of a daily news-paper was lately threatened with, if not actually under, a criminal prosecution. ——In short, this is the result: we may *discuss* whatever subject we please; we are *quite free* to discuss any subject; but, we have *no freedom to say any thing that displeases any man in power*. That is it. The whole doctrine lies in a nut shell. Provide we *write nothing to displease any body that has power to prosecute us*, we may write on as long as we live, without the smallest risk of losing either our property or our liberty. —— "Busy slave," we thank you for this learned exposition of the *law of libel*. We now know the length of the tether you have given us. We may discuss the conduct of a "*corrupt villain*" of a judge (if such an one should ever be found); the conduct of a corrupt villain, a cruel tyrant, a base perverter of the law, we may *freely* discuss; but if we *call* him, either by words or innuendo, a corrupt villain, a cruel tyrant, a base perverter of the law, we must beware of our property, liberty, and eventually our lives.——Thank you, "busy slave;" your illustration is the most happy that could have been discovered; and, thus placed in its proper light, it cannot fail to do a great deal of good. Never was there any thing more to the point. We may *discuss* the subject of

flogging; *freely* discuss it; but, if we say any thing about it calculated to produce an impression likely to lead to an abolition of it, we incur all the pains and penalties of libel. In short, we are quite free to *discuss*, so long as we say nothing to displease any man who has the power to prosecute us. This is the sum total of your doctrine of the law of libel.——But, this is only in *common* cases. We are allowed this large portion of liberty only in *civil* matters; for, as to *military* matters, it appears that this "busy slave" would not allow us even to open our lips, or mark a single word upon paper, good, bad, or indifferent.——"Such a subject (that of "*flogging* of soldiers) is," says he "a "DELICATE, a dangerous one at *all* "*times*, in a Newspaper, and should be "discussed with *great caution*. It should, "indeed, *be left wholly to military men in* "EMPLOYMENT, whose proper pro"vince it is, and *to Parliament*. Taken "up by such parties, a due caution will "be observed, and soldiers will feel re"spect, nay, gratitude, on finding *their* "*governors* their proper protectors, anxi"ous to secure them the kindest treat"ment consistent with discipline. But if "*weekly Newspapers*, instituted and written, "to flatter and corrupt the lower ranks, "to spread discontent and feed sedition, "every Sunday among the labouring "classes, to the exclusion of RELIGIOUS "duties; if such publications take up the "subject, and treat it in the manner de"scribed, soldiers will feel very different "sentiments. They will *easily be persuaded* "*their officers betray and oppress*, and that "Government neglects them; they will "look up to the alehouse democrats as "the expounders of their duties, the "champions of their rights; and thus "they will be prepared for revolt. The "*privilege of discussion in a free state*, does "not necessarily include an unlimited "right in CIVIL citizens to animadvert "on the relations *between soldier and officer*; "or if such a right be assumed, it should "be touched with the *delicacy* shewn to a "thing which *does not properly belong to us*." ——Why this everlasting use of the words *delicate* and *delicacy*, as applied to the subject of flogging of soldiers? How is one to speak upon such a matter with *delicacy*? Oh! you are very delicate upon this point; by why are you so? The reader will answer the question.——It is, you see, reader, not to be touched upon in the newspapers, at all, and particularly in the *weekly* news-papers; and, I really wonder that the slave had not proposed to punish us for the use of the word FLOG, or any of its derivatives, and to make it criminal in us to write about *flogging* even dogs or horses or mules or asses. To use the word *flog* at all seems to be so offensive to this venal man, that we must expect soon to hear him propose that we shall be punished for printing it in any shape or for any purpose whatsoever, lest it should offend *delicate ears*.——But our *members of parliament* (*many* of whom he accuses of getting their seats by *bribery*) may, it seems, touch upon the matter, because, by such parties, it will be handled with due *delicacy* and caution; and he allows, too, that it may be touched upon by *military men* in *employment*. Not any military man, who happens not to be employed, and, of course, Mr. WARDLE, though a military man, must not touch the matter except *in the Honourable House*. At any rate, the *press* is not to meddle with it; and thus, according to this backed-on slave, the half million of our countrymen, who are constantly or occasionally in arms for the defence of their country, are not only "*out of the pale of the constitution*," but also *out of the pale of the press*, which must take no more account of them than if they were so many stocks or stones. Not only are all the principles of the *laws* to be dead as towards this half million of our countrymen; but they are to be cut off from all *notice* on the part of the press, which, in one way or another, takes notice of every other creature. This venal man will allow us to write about sheep and pigs, and he has himself frequently urged *their* claims on the *humanity* of the legislature. Nay, I have seen him hold up to abhorrence (and very justly) a hard hearted ruffian, who had been seen *flogging* a poor horse 'till the animal dropped; but, he will not allow, that the public prints shall meddle *at all* with the treatment of the half-million of our countrymen who are subject to military law; and he tells us, that the *privilege* of discussion in a *free* state does not include the right in CIVIL citizens (meaning people out of the army) to animadvert on *the relations between soldier and officer*; and, he adds, that it is a thing which *does not properly belong to us*!——And, this is said *in England*, observe! The slave would not say it neither if he did not expect, and, indeed, knew, that it would, by *his* readers, be received with approbation. What a

pass, then, must he think things are coming to! What views he must have of the state of the nation's feelings and affairs! This article speaks a great deal more than meets the ear.——The *civil* citizens of a *free* state must not meddle with the relations between soldier and officer! This is cutting the soldier off from civil society with a vengeance. This is the true way. It is making short work of it. ——And yet, it must cut this man and his like to the very soul to be compelled to make these avowals. They would fain not do it. They would fain see the press muzzled, completely muzzled, and keep *talking* to us about its *liberty* all the while. That is what suits them best. That is their favorite. It is what they have long and long been at. So that it is beyond measure grievous to them to be obliged to throw off the mask, and to let their tyrannical principles stare us fully in the face. This they have been driven to by the recent discussions upon the subject of *flogging* and of the *Liberty of the Press*, in which discussions they have failed in all their attempts to make the existence of the latter reconcileable with a denial of the right to state freely and fully and in as strong language as we please, or are able, our disapprobation of that mode of punishment. This effort of the COURIER is, however, the last, and a desperate one it is. It was so very stupid, that I was inclined to let it pass, especially, as I was called from it by so many inviting topics; but, I could not find in my heart to leave such a mass of tyrannical principles without holding them up to the abhorrence of my readers; and, having begun upon it, I will go on to the end.——Mr. BROUGHAM (as I had done before) treated with ridicule the idea of any man being likely to succeed in *persuading* the soldiers to dislike flogging.——Hear the answer, which the venal man gives to this.——" But it is affirmed there can " be no danger in these inflammatory libels. " Men are so punished or they ' are not," it is said. " If they are not so punished, where is the danger? and " if they are, how can it be dangerous to tell them of it, since the fact is daily before their eyes. They are informed of nothing new to inflame them." By such miserable sophistry is this atrocious libel defended; and by one of the most renowned champions of the gang too. " Our first parents were found in content " by the Devil, but he opened their eyes " to their grievances! No men know *the* " *necessity of flogging* more than the *soldiers* " *themselves*, or APPROVE *of it more* when " *wisely* resorted to, and *moderately* exercis- " ed. But it evidently is *easy to persuade* " men of *their education and habits* that they " are cruelly treated, though they *knew it* " *not till they were told so*."——Now, reader, is not this considering the soldier in the light of a mere *beast?* Is not this a most galling insult? Is it not a most cutting stroke at half a million of our countrymen, to represent them as such stupid beasts as to be *easily* persuaded that they do feel that which they do not feel? Men of *their education and habits!* Why, they are *half a million* in number; they are a considerable part of the male population of the country; they are a 14th part or there abouts of all the males in the kingdom; they are, perhaps, a full *fourth* part of all the able-bodied men in the kingdom; and, all these, our own countrymen, too, are represented as being such senseless, such stupid, such brutal animals, as not to be able to discern the truth or falsehood of what is said to them about what they themselves experience! Never was any set of human creatures so shamefully insulted.——Besides, if they are such beasts, if their education and habits are so degraded, is it likely that they will READ; and, if they read not, how are they to be affected by our publications?——But, the venal man tells us, that the soldiers themselves know " the *necessity of flogging*, and *approve* of it." Well, then, what danger can there be in writing about it? How is it possible to excite mutiny amongst such men by writing against flogging? What a heap of inconsistencies and contradictions are here! What indubitable proof of a rotten cause! Verily, you had done well, if you had left the matter as it was, and not made this last desperate attempt to retrieve your defeat. The COURIER says, but produces no proof, that the flogging in our army is very *rare;* that it is a punishment very *seldom* inflicted; and that it is, on *that account*, held to be very disgraceful. But we must take the whole passage, for it is curious in the extreme.——" The French mode of punishment is preferred and recommended. ' An attempt to introduce it into the Eng- ' lish army could only be made by igno- ' rance or malignity. The characters and ' tempers of the two nations are quite dif- ' ferent. If two coblers quarrel in France ' they go out with pistols or swords and fight a duel. Englishmen are not so

"sanguinary and *sinful.* They have a "*greater love of life*, a greater veneration "for that first and greatest of God's bless- "ings, the *consequence of a better education.* "Are we to believe that Englishmen are "less shocked by lacerated backs, scream- "ings, blood-oozings, &c. than French- "men? Are British Officers, are English "Gentlemen such monsters as to delight "in such exhibitions? Are not, on the "contrary, humanity and generous feeling "their characteristics? Our habits of so- "ciety, *refined manners*, and *general reading*, "have *softened our hearts*, have made us, if "not so chivalrous, yet certainly a *more* "*humane* people than our ancestors; and "are we to be told that military punish- "ment is not to be entrusted to *the most* "*generous and noble part of such a people?* "Punishments in our army *are not now half* "*so frequent or severe* as they were former- "ly."——This last assertion is afterwards repeated several times; and, in one place the venal man says, that the assertions of the *heavy disgrace* of flogging prove the *efficacy* and *rarity* of the punishment.—— There might have been *better proof* of the *rarity*; for, Sir FRANCIS BURDETT moved, some time ago (and this man allows members of parliament to open their lips upon the *delicate* subject) for an account of all the floggings in a given time, inflicted in the several regiments; which motion was *negatived*, and for which motion this very man abused him, and averred that it could have arisen only from some *mischievous design.* Now, why so? If the floggings were *rare*; if they were seldom inflicted; if they were inflicted only in a wise and moderate way as this man asserts they are; if the soldiers do know the necessity of them; if they do approve of them, as he says they do; if all this was so, and is so, why not produce the return moved for, which would have, at once, silenced Sir Francis Burdett, and would have done a great deal of *good* instead of *mischief?* Why not *produce* it? Or, at any rate, with what face can such a man accuse Sir Francis of a *mischievous design* in moving for it? ——In the passage just cited we are told of our better *education* than that of the French, of our *refined manners*; and of our *general reading.* Indeed! Why, it was but now that you told us, that the men in our army were of such an *education* and such *habits* as to be easily made to believe that they were ill-treated when, all the while, they were well-treated. You, but now, represented half a million, a fourth part of the able-bodied men of the kingdom as being such brutes as to be unable to discern truth from falshood even as to the things daily under their eyes. It is said of some of the savages of Africa, that when they receive a cut with a knife, they do not know how to trace the effect to the cause any more than a cow or a horse does; and this is about the level upon which you, but just now, placed one fourth part of the able bodied men of this nation of "*refined manners*, and *general reading.*" How do you reconcile this? But, your whole article; the whole of this your eulogium, on the flogging of soldiers, is a mass of inconsistencies and contradictions. ——There is one more passage to notice, and it connects itself with what was, by the same writer, said, the other day, about the *meeting at Westminster.*——He says, that Sir FRANCIS BURDETT has, "in his "*bombastical* speeches called our army a "*flogged* army, and the English nation a "*flogged nation.*" In his comments upon the Westminster Meeting he says: "Sir "Francis Burdett made a short speech, in "which he particularly alluded to the "practice of flogging. It was now, he "said, sanctioned by Act of Parliament: 'just as it always has been, with the dif- 'ference, recently made, which Sir Fran- 'cis no doubt forgot, that that punish- 'ment may be *commuted for imprisonment.* '"The whole of the people of this coun- 'try were liable," he added, "*to be* '*taken or flogged*," an old expression of "his, "*a flogged nation.*" Because, a sol- "dier, if he deserts his colours, or dis- "obeys his officer, violating the first prin- "ciple and duty of a soldier, *may be flogged*, "the whole nation is "*a flogged nation.*" "forsooth. As well might he say, be- "cause some men, who commit murder, "felony, or forgery, *are hanged*, we are a "*hanged* nation."——This was said by this very identical tool of corruption, upon the occasion when the expression was first made use of by Sir Francis, namely during the discussions upon the Local Militia Law, of which, be it observed, LORD CASTLEREAGH was the inventor.——The best answer to this man are the very words of SIR FRANCIS BURDETT. He said, that "in the then circum- "stances of Europe, this country could "not rest in safety on any thing but an "armed population. The British nation "should be in a state to feel no alarm;

"even though it had not a ship on the "sea." He was not dissatisfied, that the "people should be made an armed peo- "ple. He would not, however, give up "*the people to be flogged*. He would not "allow Britain to be *a flogged nation*. "When men voluntarily sold themselves "into that situation it was a sufficient "shame to the country that permitted "such an abuse; but he would not allow the people to be brought into that situation by compulsory enactment. He was aware that the constitution of the country placed every man at the disposal of the King for resistance of the enemy in case of invasion. He objected not to this; but he wished, by the abolition of the disgraceful penalties attached to the condition of a British soldier, to make the situation such as a *freeman* might, without impropriety, be placed in."—— These were the very words spoken by him on the 2nd of May 1808, on LORD CASTLEREAGH's Local Militia Bill. Judge, then, of the baseness of this tool of corruption, who now says, that SIR FRANCIS BURDETT and the reformers "have always attempted to *shackle our* "*strength* and *cripple our arm*, when it was "to be raised against Buonaparté."—— What SIR FRANCIS BURDETT said, upon that occasion, he has oftentimes said since; and, do not men now begin to see that he was right? Yes, and this venal man sees it as clearly as any one; but, to say that he sees it would not suit his purpose, or the purposes of those to please whom he writes.—— He denies the right of any of us, whether at public meetings or in print, to complain of, or even to discuss, the practice of flogging; but *he* takes it boldly upon him to discuss it at full length; aye, says he, but, then, I speak in *praise* of flogging; which, I suppose, he will put forward as a specimen of the effects of those *refined manners*, that *humanity*, and *general reading*, of which he so loudly boasts as characteristics of the nation.—— The Meeting at Westminster was, of course, intended for the discussion of any matters of great importance that presented themselves to the minds of those who chose to speak; and, how was it possible for them to think of a subject of more importance than this? The *flogging in the army*, the *state of the press* (I wonder the COURIER does not propose to *flog* refractory writers and publishers), and the *state of the representation*: these were the topics of the speeches, and the admirable, the inimitable, Address itself; and, what other topics, except those of fulsome panegyric, was, at this time, to be found? What! did the COURIER imagine, that the people of Westminster; that the constituents of SIR FRANCIS BURDETT, were going to meet to pass a *hum-drum* address about confidence and condolence merely? Miserable indeed would our prospect be, if they could have had such an object in view. They would then have richly merited the charge of those persevering place-hunters, the EDINBURGH REVIEWERS, who accuse the reformers of having *formed an alliance with the creatures of corruption*. No, poor hungry lads, *we* have formed no such alliance; but *others* have; and, our crime, in your eyes, is, that we have *exposed that alliance* in all its odiousness. ——Here I put an end to this discussion, being very well persuaded, that the advocates of the lash will not be anxious to revive it.

BANK DOLLAR TOKENS.——Lord GRENVILLE, in the House of Lords, on the 21st instant, made a motion for papers upon this subject. He said, that he supposed no one would *now* deny the depreciation of Bank paper.—He was deceived; for, as the report states, Lord CAMDEN did deny it; and said, that it was SILVER that had RISEN!——Come, come! let us be grave, let us be serious; for, certainly, a more serious subject can never hardly present itself. —Let us see, then: paper has *not fallen*, but money has *risen!* Very good indeed. Very good, upon my word.——Well, we shall have the subject of *remedies* discussed soon. Oh! how I burn with impatience to hear that discussion! How I long to hear it proved, that there is a *remedy* for the rise in the price of silver and gold! ——Be this remedy, however, what it will, the disease has not been occasioned by the *Jacobins* and *Levellers*. They have had nothing at all to do with the matter. They have had nothing ot do with the Bank and India House. They have been beaten and kept down. They cannot be accused of having had the smallest share in producing the thing that now stares the country in the face. GRIZZLE GREENHORN, whatever be her fate, has nothing to reproach the Jacobins with; and those who burnt PAINE in effigy will have the happiness to reflect, let what will come, that they did their best, to support the wars against Jacobins and Levellers, and to keep down all that was opposed to "the

"great statesman now no more."——But, we must come back to this topic. This is cut-and-come-again. A dish for all days in the week, holidays and all. This is the great pivot, on which every thing turns, and the politician, who does not view it in that light, is but half a politician. Every thing but this may be affected by accidental circumstances; but this is a cause that works steadily. It is what a tree is in agriculture: it depends not upon seasons or management. It goes on of *itself* like the age of man, and its consequences are as certain.

WM. COBBETT.

State Prison, Newgate, Friday,
March 22, 1811.

THE ENGLISHMAN'S RIGHT:

A Dialogue between a Barrister at Law and a Juryman; plainly setting forth, I. The Antiquity, II. The Excellent Designed Use, III. The Office, and Just Privileges, OF JURIES, by the Law of England.——By SIR JOHN HAWLES, *Solicitor-General to King William III.*

(Continued from page 704)

.... But if you are not satisfied, that either the act he has committed, was *treason, or other crime,* (though it be never so often called so;) or that the act itself, if it were so criminal, *was not done*: then what remains, but, that you are to acquit him? for the end of Juries is to preserve men from oppression; which may happen, as well by imposing, or ruining them for that as a crime, which indeed is none, or at least not such, or so great, as is pretended; as by charging them with the commission of that, which, in truth, was not committed. And how do you well, and truly try, and true deliverance make, when indeed you do but deliver him up to others to be condemned, for that, which yourselves do not believe to be any crime?

Jurym. Well; but the supposed case is a case unsupposable. It is not to be imagined, that any such thing should happen; nor to be thought, that the judges will condemn any man, though brought in guilty by the Jury, if the matter, in itself, be not so criminal by law.

Barr. It is most true, I do not believe that ever that case will happen. I put it in a thing of apparent absurdity, that you might the more clearly observe the unreasonableness of this doctrine; but withal I must tell you, that it is not impossible that some other cases may really happen, of the same, or the like nature, though more fine, and plausible. And though we apprehend not, that during the reign of his Majesty, that now is, (whose life God long preserve) any Judges will be made, that would so wrest the law; yet what security is there, but that some successors may not be so cautious in their choice? and, though our benches of judicature be at present furnished with gentlemen of great integrity, yet, there may one day happen some *Tresilian*, or kinsman of *Empson's*, to get in, for what has been, may be, who, *Empson*-like, too, shall pretend it to be for his master's service to increase the number of criminals, that his coffers may be filled with fines, and forfeitures: and then such mischiefs may arise. And Juries, having *upon confidence* parted with their just privileges, shall then, too late, strive to re-assume them, when the number of ill precedents shall be vouched to inforce that as of right, which in truth was at first a wrong, grounded on easiness and ignorance. Had our wise, and wary ancestors, thought fit to depend so far upon the contingent honesty of judges, they needed not to have been so zealous to continue the usage of Juries.*

Jurym. Yet still I have heard, that in every indictment, or information, there is always something of form, or law, and, something else, of fact; and it seems reasonable, that the Jury should not be bound up nicely to find every formality therein expressed, or else to acquit, perhaps, a notorious criminal. But if they find the essential matter of the crime, then they ought to find him guilty.

Barr. You say true, and therefore must note, there is a wide difference to be made between words of course, raised by implication of law, and essential words, that either make, or really aggravate, the crime charged. The law does suppose and imply every trespass, breach of the peace, every felony, murder, or treason, to be done *Vi et Armis*, with force, and

* If the reader is desirous of seeing the many unhappy consequences, to which such a dependance would subject us; let him read the second postscript to the Letter to Almon in matter of Libel. There are many observations in that publication, which give great confirmation to the doctrines here laid down, and shew the writer to have been possessed of exceedingly great abilities, judgment, and learning.

arms, &c. Now, if a person be indicted for murder by poison, and the matter proved; God forbid the jury should scruple the finding him guilty upon the indictment, merely because they do not find that part of it, as to force, and arms, proved! for that is implied as a necessary, or allowable, fiction of law.

But on the other side, when the matter in issue, in itself, and taken as a naked proposition, is of such a nature, as no action, indictment, or information will lie for it singly; but it is worked up by special aggravations into matter of damage, or crime; as that it was done to scandalize the government, to raise sedition, to affront authority, or the like, or with such, or such, an evil intent: If these aggravations, or some overt act to manifest such ill design, or intention, be not made out by evidence, then ought the Jury to find the party, not guilty. For example:

Bishop *Latimer*, afterwards a martyr in bloody queen *Mary*'s days, for the Protestant religion, in his sermon preached before the most excellent king Edward VI. delivered these words: 'I must desire 'your grace to hear poor men's suits yourself. The saying is now, "That money is heard every where:"—"If he be rich, he shall soon have an end of his matter." Others are fain to go 'home with weeping tears for any help 'they can obtain at any judge's hand. 'Hear men's suits yourself, I require you 'in God's behalf: and put them not to 'the hearing of these velvet-coats, these 'up-skins. Amongst all others, one especially moved me at this time to speak: 'This it is, Sir: A gentlewoman came 'and told me, that a great man keepeth 'certain lands of hers from her, and will 'be her tenant in spite of her teeth. And 'that in a whole twelve-month she could 'not get but one day for the hearing of 'her matter, and the same day, when it 'should be heard, the great man brought 'on his side a great sight of lawyers for 'his council. The gentlewoman had but 'one man of law, and the great man 'shakes him so, that he cannot tell what 'to do. So that when the matter came to 'the point, the judge was a means to the 'gentlewoman, that she should let the 'great man have a quietness in her land. '—I beseech your grace, that ye would 'look to these matters.

'And you proud judges! hearken what 'God saith in his holy book; *Audite illos ita parvum, ut magnum*, Hear them, saith 'he, the small as well as the great; the 'poor as well as the rich; regard no person, fear no man, And why? *Quia Domini judicium est*, The judgment is God's. 'Mark this saying, thou proud judge: the 'devil will bring this sentence against 'thee at the day of doom. Hell will be 'full of these judges if they repent not, 'and amend: they are worse than the 'wicked judge that Christ speaketh of, '*Luke* the 19th, that neither feared God, 'nor the world. Our judges are worse 'than this judge was; for they will neither hear men, for God's sake, nor fear 'of the world, nor importunateness, nor 'any thing else; yea, some of them will 'command them to* ward if they be importunate.—I heard say, that when a 'suitor came to one of them, he said, '"What fellow is it, that giveth these "folks counsel to be so importunate: he "deserves to be punished, and committed "to ward.' Marry, Sir, punish me then; 'it is even I that gave them counsel. I 'would gladly be punished in such a 'cause; and if you amend not, I will 'cause them to cry out upon you still; 'even as long as I live.'——These are the very words of that good bishop, and martyr, father *Latimer*: 'But now-a-days the 'judges be afraid to hear a poor man against 'the rich; insomuch, they will either 'pronounce against him, or so drive off 'the poor man's suit, that he shall not be 'able to go through with it.'†

Jurym. Truly they are somewhat bold, but I think very honest ones. But what signify they to our discourse?

Barr. Only this;—Suppose the judges of those times, thinking themselves aggrieved by such his freedom, should have brought an indictment against him, setting forth, that 'falsly, and maliciously, intending to scandalize the government, 'and the administration of justice, in this 'realm, and to bring the same into contempt, he did speak, publish, and declare 'the false, and scandalous, words before 'recited.'

Jurym. I conceive, the judges had more wit, than to trouble themselves about such a business.

Barr. That is nothing to the purpose; but suppose, I say, by them, or any body else, it had been done; and his speaking the words had been proved; and you

* Prison.

† See also *Latimer's* Third Sermon.

had then been living, and one of the Jury?

Jurym. I would have pronounced him not guilty, and been starved to death before I would have consented to a contrary verdict; because the words in themselves are not criminal, nor reflecting upon any particulars: and as for what is supposed to be laid in the indictment or information, ('that they were published, or spoken, to 'scandalize the government, and the ad-'ministration of justice, or to bring the 'same into contempt') nothing of that appears.

Barr. You resolve, as every honest, understanding, conscientious man, would do in the like case; for when a man is prosecuted for that, which, in itself, is no crime, how dreadfully soever it may be set out, (as the inquisitors in *Spain* use to clothe innocent Protestants, whom they consign to the flames, with *Sambenitos,* garments all over bepainted with Devils; that the people beholding them in so hellish a dress, may be so far from pitying them, that they may rather condemn them in their thoughts as miscreants not worthy to live, though in truth they know nothing of their cause;)—yet I say, notwithstanding any such bugbear artifices, an innocent man ought to be acquitted, and not he and all his family ruined, and perhaps utterly undone, for words, or matters, harmless in themselves, and possibly very well intended, but only rendered criminal, by being thus hideously dressed up, and wrested with some far-fetched, forced and odious construction.

Jurym. This is a matter well worthy the consideration of all Juries; for indeed I have often wondered to observe the adverbs in declarations, indictments, and informations, in some cases to be harmless vinegar and pepper, and in others, henbane steeped in *aqua fortis.*

Barr. That may easily happen, where the Jury does not distinguish legal implications, from such as constitute, or materially aggravate, the crime; for if the Jury shall honestly refuse to find the latter in cases where there is not direct proof of them, (viz. That such an act was done falsly, scandalously, maliciously, with an intent to raise sedition, defame the government, or the like,) their mouths are not to be stopt, nor their consciences satisfied with the court's telling them—You have nothing to do with that; it is only matter of form or matter of law: you are only to examine the fact whether he spoke such words, wrote, or sold, such a book, or the like.* For now, if they should ignorantly take this for an answer, and bring in the prisoner guilty, though they mean and intend, of the naked fact, or bare act, only; yet the clerk recording it, demands a further confirmation, saying to them, thus; 'Well then, you say *A. B.* is guilty 'of the trespass, or misdemeanor, in 'manner and form, as he stands indicted; 'and so you say all;' To which the foreman answers for himself and his fellows, 'Yes.' Whereupon the verdict is drawn up—'*Juratores super sacramentum suum* '*dicunt,*' &c. 'The Jurors do say upon 'their oaths, that *A. B.* maliciously, in 'contempt of the king and the govern-'ment, with an intent to scandalize the 'administration of justice, and to bring the 'same into contempt, or to raise sedition,' &c. (as the words before were laid); spake such words, published such a book, or did such an act, against the peace of our lord the king, his crown and dignity.

Thus a VERDICT, so called in law *quisi veritatis,* because it ought to be the *voice,* or *saying,* of TRUTH† itself, may become composed in its material part of falshood. Thus twelve men ignorantly drop into a perjury. And will not every conscientious man tremble to pawn his soul under the sacred, and dreadful solemnity of an oath, to attest, and justify, a lye upon record to all posterity? besides the wrong done to the prisoner, who thereby perhaps comes to be hanged, (and so the Jury *in foro conscientiæ* are certainly guilty of his murder;) or at least by fine, or imprisonment, undone, with all his family, whose just curses will fall heavy on such unjust Jurymen, and all their posterity, that against their oaths, and duty, occasioned their causeless misery. And is all this, think you, nothing but a matter of formality?

Jurym. Yes, really a matter of vast importance, and sad consideration; yet I think you charge the mischiefs done by such proceedings a little too heavy upon the Jurors. Alas, good men! they mean no harm; they do but follow the direc-

* A prophet!—Our modern patriots have often been the subjects of ridicule, on account of their apprehensions; however, we have lived to see the completion of several predictions, here made by one of our ancestors; and our posterity may, in the same manner, have reason to be convinced, that those made in our times are not entirely without foundation.

† Verè *dictum.*

tions of the court: if any body ever happen to be to blame in such cases, it must be the judges.

Barr. Yes, forsooth! that is the Juryman's common plea; but do you think it will hold good in the court of Heaven? 'Tis not enough that we mean no harm but we must do none neither; especially in things of that moment. Nor will ignorance excuse, where it is affected, and where duty obliges us to inform ourselves better, and where the matter is so plain and easy to be understood.

As for the Judges, they have a fairer plea than you, and may quickly return the burthen back upon the Jurors; For 'we,' may they say, 'did nothing but our 'duty, according to usual practice: the 'Jury, his peers, had found the fellow 'guilty, upon their oaths, of such an 'odious crime, and attended with such 'vile presumptions, and dangerous cir'cumstances. They are judges; we took 'him as they presented him to us; and 'according to our duty pronounced the 'sentence, that the law inflicts in such 'cases, or set a fine, or ordered corporeal 'punishment upon him, which was very 'moderate, considering the crime laid in 'the indictment, or information, and of 'which they had so sworn him guilty. If 'he were innocent, or not so bad as repre'sented, let his destruction lie upon the 'Jury, *&c.*' At this rate, if ever we should have an unconscionable judge, might he argue; and thus the guilt of the blood, or ruin, of an innocent man, when it is too late, shall be bandied to and fro, and shuffled off from the Jury to the Judge, and from the Judge to the Jury; but really sticks fast to both; but especially on the Jurors; because the very end of their institution was to prevent all dangers of such oppression; and in every such case, they do not only wrong their own souls, and irreparably injure a particular person, but also basely betray the liberties of their country in general. For as, *without* their ill compliance and act, no such mischief can happen;—so *by it*, ill precedents are made, and the plague is increased; honester Juries are disheartened or seduced by custom from their duties; just privileges are lost by disuser; and perhaps within a while some of themselves may have a hole picked in their coats, and then they are tried by another Jury just as wise, and honest, and so deservedly come to smart under the ruinating effects, and example, of their own folly and injustice.

Jurym. You talk of folly, and blame Jurymen, when indeed they cannot help it. They would sometimes find such a person guilty, and such an one innocent, and are persuaded they ought so to do; but the court over-rules, and forces them to do otherwise.

Barr. How, I pray?

Jurym. How! why, did you never hear a Jury threatened to be fined and imprisoned, if they did not comply with the sentiments of the court?

Barr. I have read of such doings, but I never heard, or saw it done: and indeed I do not doubt but our seats of justice are furnished with both better men, and better lawyers, than to use any such menaces, or duress; for undoubtedly it is a base, and very illegal practice. But, however, will any man that fears God, nay, that is but an honest heathen, debauch his conscience and forswear himself; do his neighbour injustice; betray his country's liberties, and consequently enslave himself, and his posterity; and all this merely, because he is hectored, and threatened a little?

Jurym. I know it should not sway with any: but alas! a prison is terrible to most men, whatever the cause be; and the fine may be such, if one shall refuse to comply, as may utterly ruin one's family.

Barr. Fright not yourself; there is no cause for this ague-fit, to shake your conscience out of frame, if you are threatened, 'tis but *brutum fulmen*, lightning without a thunderbolt, nothing but big words; for it is well known, THAT THERE IS NEVER A JUDGE IN ENGLAND THAT CAN FINE, OR IMPRISON, ANY JURYMAN IN SUCH A CASE.

Jurym. Good Sir! I am half ashamed to hear a Barrister talk thus: have not some in our memory been fined and imprisoned? And sure that which has actually been done, is not altogether impossible.

Barr. Your servant, Sir! under favour of your mighty wisdom, and experience, when I said no judge could do it, I spake he more like a Barrister; for it is a maxim in law—*Id possumus quod Jure possumus*; 'a man is said to be able to do only so much, as he may lawfully do.' But such fining, and imprisoning, cannot lawfully be done; the judges have no right, or power, by law, to do it; and therefore it may well be said, they cannot, or are not able, to do it.

And whereas you say, that some Juries in our memory have been fined and imprisoned, you may possibly say true; but

it is as true, that it hath been only in our memory, for no such thing was practised in antient times; for so I find it asserted by a late learned judge,* in these positive words: 'No case can be offered, either 'before attaints granted in general, or 'after, that ever a Jury was punished by 'fine and imprisonment by any judge, 'for not finding according to their evi- 'dence and his direction, until *Popham's* 'time; nor is there clear proof, that he 'ever fined them for that reason, separated 'from other misdemeanours.' And fol. 152, he affirms, 'That no man can shew, 'that a Jury was ever punished upon an 'information, either at law, or in the Star- 'chamber, where the charge was only for 'finding against their evidence, or giving 'an untrue verdict; unless imbracery, 'subornation. or the like were joined.' So that, you see, the attempt is an innovation, as well as unjust; a thing unknown to our forefathers, and the ancient sages of the law: and therefore so much the more to be watched against, resisted, and suppressed, whilst young; lest in time this crafty cockatrice's egg, hatched, and fostered by ignorance, and pusillanimous compliance, grow up into a serpent too big to be mastered, and so blast, and destroy the first born of our *English* freedoms. And indeed (blessed be God) it hath hitherto been rigorously opposed as often as it durst crawl abroad; being condemned in parliament, and knocked o' th' head by the resolutions of the judges upon solemn argument: as, by and by, I shall demonstrate.

Jurym. Well, but are jurors not liable then to fine or imprisonment, in any case whatsoever?

Barr. Now you run from the point; we were talking of giving their verdict, and you speak of any case whatsoever. Whereas you should herein observe a necessary distinction, which I shall give you in the words of that learned judge last re-recited:† 'Much of the office of Jurors, 'in order to their verdict, is MINISTERIAL: 'as not withdrawing from their fellows 'after they are sworn; not receiving from 'either side evidence not given in court; 'not eating and drinking before their ver- 'dict; refusing to give a verdict, &c, 'wherein if they transgress, they may be 'finable. But the verdict itself, 'when 'given, is not an act ministerial, but 'JUDICIAL, and (supposed to be) according 'to the best of their judgment; for which 'they are not finable, nor to be punished, 'but by attaint;' that is, by another Jury, in cases where attaint lies, and where it shall be found that, *wilfully*, they gave a verdict, false and corrupt.

Now that Juries, otherwise, are in no case punishable, nor can (for giving their verdict according to their consciences, and the best of their judgment) be legally fined or imprisoned by any judge, on colour of not going according to their evidence, or finding contrary to the directions of the court; is a truth, both founded on unanswerable reasons, and confirmed by irrefragable authorities.

Jurym. Those I would gladly hear.

Barr. They are many, but some of the most evident are these that follow. As for reasons:

1. A Jury ought not to be fined, or imprisoned, because they do not follow the judge's directions; for if they do follow his directions, they may yet be attainted: and to say they gave their verdict according to his directions, is no bar but the judgment shall be reversed, and they punished for doing that, which if they had not done, they should (by this opinion) have been fined, and imprisoned, by the judge.—Which is unreasonable.

2. If they do not follow his direction, and be therefore fined, yet they may be attainted, and so they should be doubly punished by distinct judicatures for the same offence; which the common law never admits.

3. To what end is the jury to be returned out of the vicinage (that is, the neighbourhood) whence the issue ariseth? to what end must hundredors be of the Jury, whom the law supposeth to have nearer knowledge of the fact than those of the vicinage in general? to what end are they challenged so scrupulousy to the array and poll? to what end must they have such a certain freehold, and be *probi, & legales, homines,* and not of affinity with the parties concerned, &c. if after all this, they implicitly must give a verdict by the dictates and authority of another man, under pain of fines, and imprisonment, when sworn to do it according to the best of their own knowledge? A man cannot see by another's eye, nor hear by another's ear; no more can a man conclude, or infer, the thing to be resolved by another's understanding, or reasoning; unless all

* Lord chief justice *Vaughan,* in his Reports, fol. 146.

† *Vaughan's* Reports, fol. 152.

men's understandings were equally alike. And if, merely, in compliance, because the judge says thus, or thus, a Jury shall give a verdict; tho' such their verdict should happen to be right true and just; yet they being not assured it is so from their own understanding, are *forsworn*, at least *in foro conscientiæ*.

4. Were Jurors so finable, then every mayor, and bailiff of corporations, all stewarts of leets, justices of peace, &c. whatever matters are tried before them, shall have verdicts to their minds, or else fine, and imprison the Jurors till they have; so that such must be either pleased, humoured, or gratified, else no justice, or right, is to be had in any court.

5. Whereas a person by law may challenge the sheriff, or any Juryman, if of kin to his adversary; yet he cannot challenge a mayor, recorder, justice, &c. who 'tis possible will have a verdict for their kinsman, or against their enemy, or else fine and imprison the Jury till they have obtained it: so that by this means our lives, liberties, and properties, shall be solely tried by, and remain at the arbitrary disposal of every mercenary, or corrupted justice, mayor, bailiff, or recorder, if any such should, at any time, get into office.

6. 'Tis unreasonable that a Jury should be finable on pretence of their going against their evidence; because it can never be tried, whether or no in truth they did find with, or against, their evidence, by reason no writ of error lies in the case.

7. Were Jurymen liable to such arbitrary fines, they would be in a worse condition than the criminals that are tried by them; for in all civil actions, informations, and indictments, some appeals, or writs of false judgment, or of error, do lie into superior courts to try the regular proceedings of the inferior. But here can be no after-trial, or examination; but the juryman (if fining at all were lawful) must either pay the fine, or lie by it; without remedy to decide, whether in his particular case he were legally fined, or not.

8. Without a fact agreed, it is as impossible for a judge, or any other, to know the law, relating to that fact, or direct concerning it, as to know an accident that hath no subject; for as, where there is no law, there is no transgression, so where there is no transgression, there is no place for law; for 'the law (saith divine authority) 'is made for the transgressor.' And as *Coke* tells us, *Ex facto jus oritur;* upon stating the fact, or transgression, matter of law doth arise, or grow out of the root of the fact. Now the Jury being the sole judges of fact, and matter in issue before them, not finding the fact on which the law should arise, cannot be said to find against law, which is no other than a superstructure on fact: so that to say they have found against the law, when no fact is found, is absurd; an expression insignificant, and unintelligible. For no issue can be joined of matter in law; no Jury can be charged with the trial of matter in law barely; no evidence ever was, or can be, given to a Jury, of what is law, or not; nor can any such oath be given to, or taken by a Jury, to try matter in law; nor does an attaint lie for such oath, if false, &c. But if, by finding against the directions of the court in matter of law, shall be understood, that if the judge having heard the evidence given in court, (for he can regularly know no other, though the Jury may) shall tell the Jury upon this evidence, the law is for the plaintiff, or for the defendant, and the Jury are, under pain of fine, and imprisonment, to find accordingly; then it is plain, the Jury ought of duty so to do. Now *if this were true*, who sees not that the Jury is but a troublesome delay, of great charge, much formality, and no real use in determining right, and wrong, but mere echoes to sound back the pleasure of the court; and consequently, that trials by them might be better abolished than continued? which is at once to spit folly in the faces of our venerable ancestors, and enslave our posterity.

9. As the judge can never direct what the law is in any matter controverted, without first knowing the fact; so, he cannot, possibly, know the fact but from the evidence which the Jury have; but he can never fully know what evidence they have; for besides what is sworn in court, (which is all that the judge can know), the Jury being of the neighbourhood, may, and oft-times do, know something of their own knowledge, as to the matter itself, the credit of the evidence, &c. which may justly sway them in delivering their verdict; and which self-knowledge of theirs is so far countenanced by law, that it supposes them capable thereby to try the matter in issue, (and so they must) though no evidence were given, on either side, in court. As when any man is indicted, and no evidence comes against him, the direction of the court always is, 'You are 'to acquit him, unless of your own know-

'ledge you know him guilty;' so that even, in that case, they may find him guilty, without any witnesses. Now how absurd is it to think, that any judge has power to fine a Jury for going against their evidence, when he that so fineth, knoweth perhaps nothing of their evidence at all, (as in the last case) or at least but some part of it? For how is it possible he should lawfully punish them for that which it is impossible for him to know?

Lastly, Is any thing more common, than for two lawyers, or judges, to deduce contrary, and opposite conclusions out of the same case in law? And why then may not two men infer distinct conclusions from the same testimony? And consequently, may not the Judge, and Jury, honestly differ in their opinion, or result from the evidence, as well as two judges may, which often happens? And shall the Jurymen, merely for this difference of apprehension, merit fine, and imprisonment, because they do that which they cannot otherwise do, preserving their oath and integrity? especially when by law they are presumed to know better, and much more of the business, than the judge does, as aforesaid.

Are not all these, gross contradicting absurdities, and unworthy (by any man that deserves a gown) to be put upon the law of *England*; which has ever owned right reason for its parent, and dutifully submitted to be guided thereby?

Jurym. If the law as you say, be reason, then undoubtedly this practice of fining of Juries is most illegal, since there cannot be any thing more unreasonable: but what authorities have you against it?

Barr. You have heard it proved to be a modern upstart encroachment, so you cannot expect any direct, or express, condemnation of it in ancient times; because the thing was not then set on foot. And, by the way, though negative arguments are not necessarily conclusive, yet that we meet with no precedents of old of Juries fined, for giving their verdict contrary to evidence, or the sense of the court, is a violent presumption that it ought not to be done; for it cannot be supposed, that this latter age did first of all discover, that verdicts were many times not according to the judge's opinion and liking. Undoubtedly they saw that as well as we; but knowing the same not to be any crime, or punishable by law, were so modest and honest, as not to meddle with it. However, what entertainment it hath met with, when attempted in our times, I shall shew you in two remarkable cases.

1. When the late lord chief justice *Keeling* had attempted something of that kind, it was complained of, and highly resented by the then parliament; as appears by this copy of their proceedings thereupon, taken out of their Journal, as follows.

Die Mercurii, 11 *Decembris*, 1667.

'The House resumed the hearing of the 'rest of the report touching the matter of 'restraint upon Juries, and *that* upon the 'examination of divers witnesses in several 'cases of restraints put upon Juries by the 'lord chief justice *Keeling*; and thereupon 'resolved as followeth:

'First, That the proceedings of the said 'lord chief justice, in the cases now re-'ported, are innovations in the trial of 'men for their lives, and liberties. And 'that he hath used an arbitrary, and ille-'gal power, which is of dangerous conse-'quence to the lives and liberties of the 'people of *England*, and tends to the in-'troducing of an arbitrary government.

'Secondly, That in the place of judica-'ture the lord chief justice hath under-'valued, vilified, and contemned MAGNA 'CHARTA, the great PRESERVER of our 'lives, freedom, and property.

'Thirdly, That he be brought to trial 'in order to condign punishment, in such 'manner as the House shall judge most fit, 'and requisite.'

Die Veneris, 13 *Decembris*, 1667.

'Resolved, *&c.* That the precedents, 'and practice of fining, or imprisoning, of 'Jurors for giving their verdicts, are il-'legal.'

Here you see it branded in parliament: Next you shall see it formally condemned on a solemn argument by the judges. The case [is] thus:

At the sessions for *London*, *Sept.* 1670, *William Pen*, and *William Mead* (two of the people commonly called *Quakers*) were indicted, 'for that they with others, to the number of three hundred, on the 14th *Aug.* 22 *Regis*, in *Grace-church Street*, did with force, and arms, *&c.* unlawfully, and tumultuously, assemble, and congregate themselves together, to the dis-'turbance of the peace; and that the said '*William Pen* did there preach, and speak, 'to the said *Mead*, and other persons in the open street; by reason whereof, a great concourse, and tumult, of people in the street aforesaid then, and there, a

'long time, did remain, and continue, in 'contempt of our said lord the king, and 'of his law, to the great disturbance of his 'peace, to the great terror and disturbance, 'of many of his liege people, and subjects, 'to the ill example of all others in the 'like case offenders, and against the peace 'of our said lord the king, his crown and 'dignity.'

The prisoners pleading not guilty, it was proved, that there was a meeting at the time in the indictment mentioned, in *Grace-church-Street*, consisting of three or four hundred people, in the open street: that *William Pen* was speaking, or preaching, to them; but what he said, the witnesses (who were officers and soldiers sent to disperse them) could not hear.—This was the effect of the evidence; which Sir *John Howel*, the then recorder, (as I find in the print of that trial) was pleased to sum up to the Jury, in these words:

'You have heard what the indictment 'is; it is for preaching to the people in 'the street, and drawing a tumultuous 'company after them, and Mr. *Pen* was 'speaking. If they should not be disturbed, you see they will go on. There 'are three, or four witnesses that have 'proved this—that he did preach there, 'that Mr. *Mead* did allow of it. After 'this you have heard by substantial witnesses what is said against them: Now 'WE ARE UPON THE MATTER OF FACT, 'WHICH YOU ARE TO KEEP TO, AND OBSERVE, AS WHAT HATH BEEN FULLY SWORN, 'AT YOUR PERIL.'

This trial began on the *Saturday;* the Jury retiring, after some considerable time spent in debate, came in, and gave this verdict,—'guilty of speaking in *Grace-church Street.*' At which the court was offended, and told them, they 'had as 'good say nothing;' adding,—'Was it 'not an unlawful assembly?—you mean 'he was speaking to a tumult of people 'there?' But the foreman, saying, what he had delivered was all he had in commission; and others of them affirming, that they allowed of no such words as an 'unlawful assembly' in their verdict; they were sent back again, and then brought in a verdict in writing subscribed with all their hands in these words: '*We, the Jurors 'hereafter named, do find* William Pen, *to be 'guilty of speaking, or preaching, to an assembly met together in* Grace-church Street, '*the* 14*th of* Aug. 1670. *And* William 'Mead *not guilty of the said indictment.*'

* This the court resented still worse, and therefore sent them back again, and and adjourned till *Sunday* morning; but then too they insisted on the same verdict: so the court adjourned till *Monday* morning; and then the Jury brought in the prisoners generally 'not guilty;' which was recorded, and allowed of. But immediately the court fined them forty marks a man, and to lie in prison till paid.

Being thus in custody, *Edw. Bushell*, one of the said Jurors, on the ninth of *November* following, brought his *Habeas Corpus* in the court of *Common-Pleas.* On which the sheriffs of *London* made return, 'That he was detained by virtue of an 'order of sessions, whereby a fine of forty 'marks was set upon him, and eleven 'others, particularly named; and every of 'them being Jurors sworn to try the 'issues joined between the king, and *Pen*, 'and *Mead,* for certain trespasses, contempts, unlawful assemblies, and tumults, 'and who then, and there, did acquit the 'said *Pen*, and *Mead,* of the same, against 'the law of this kingdom, and against 'full, and manifest evidence, and against 'the direction of the court in matter of 'law, of, and upon the premises openly 'in court to them given, and declared; 'and that it was ordered they should be 'imprisoned till they severally paid the 'said fine, which the said *Bushell* not 'having done, the same was the cause of 'his caption and detention †.'

The court coming to debate the validity of this return, adjudged the same insufficient: For, 1. The words,—'against full, 'and manifest evidence,' was too general a clause: the evidence should have been fully, and particularly, *recited;* else how shall the court know it was so full and evident? they have now only the judgment of the sessions for it, that it was so: but said the Judges, 'our judgments ought 'to be grounded upon our own inferences,

* *Note,* Though this Jury for their excellent example of courage, and constancy, deserve the commendation of every good *Englishman;* yet, if they had been better advised, they might have brought the prisoners in not guilty at first, and saved themselves the trouble, and inconveniencies of these two nights restraint. See *State-Trials*, vol. II. p. 606, in fol. Vide note † to page 700.

† See *Bushell's* Case in *Vaughan's* Reports at large.

'and understandings, and not upon theirs.

2. It is not said, that they acquitted the persons indicted against full and manifest evidence, *corruptly*, and *knowing* the said evidence to be *full* and *manifest*. For otherwise it can be no crime; for that may seem full, and manifest, to the court, which does not appear so to the Jury.

3. The other part of the return, viz. That 'the Jury had acquitted those indicted, against the direction of the court 'in matter of law,' was also adjudged to be nought, and unreasonable; and the fining the Juries for giving their verdict in any case concluded to be illegal, for the several reasons before recited, and other authorities of law urged to that purpose; and, all the precedents, and allegations, brought to justify the fine, and commitment, solidly answered. Whereupon the chief justice delivered the opinion of the court, 'That *the cause of commitment was* '*insufficient*;' and accordingly the said *Bushell*, and other his fellow prisoners, were discharged, and left to the common law for remedy and reparation of the damages, by that tortuous illegal imprisonment, sustained.

Which case is (amongst others) reported by that learned judge Sir *John Vaughan*, at that time lord chief justice of the *Common-Pleas*; setting forth all the arguments, reasons, and authorities, on which the court proceeded therein: from which I have extracted most of the reasons which I before recited for this point, and, for the greatest part, in the very words of that reverend author.

Jurym. This resolution hath, one would think, (as you said) knocked this illegal practice on the head, beyond any possibility of revival; but may it not one day be denied to be law, and the contrary justified?

Barr. No such thing can be done without apparently violating, and subverting, all law, justice, and modesty: for though the *precedent* itself be valuable, and without further enquiry is wont to be allowed, when given thus deliberately upon solemn debate by the whole court; yet, it is not only that, but the sound, substantial, and everlasting *reasons*, whereon they grounded such their resolves, that will, at all times, justify fining of Juries in such cases to be illegal. Besides, as the reporter was most considerable, both in his quality as lord chief justice, and for his parts, soundness of judgment, and deep learning in the law: so such his book of Reports is approved, and recommended to the world, (as appears by the page next after the epistle) by the right honourable the present lord chancellor of *England*; Sir *William Scroggs*, now lord chief justice of *England;* my lord *North*, chief justice of the *Common Pleas;* and, in a word, by all the judges of *England* at the time of publishing thereof; so that it cannot be imagined how any book can challenge greater authority, unless we should expect it to be particularly confirmed by act of parliament.

Jurym. You have answered all my scruples; and since I see the law has made so good provision for Jurymen's privileges, and safety: God forbid any Juryman should be of so base a temper, as to betray that, otherwise, impregnable fortress, wherein the law hath placed him to preserve, and defend, the just rights, and liberties of his country, by treacherously surrendering the same into the hands of violence, or oppression, though masked under ever so fair stratagems and pretences. For my own part, I shall not now decline to appear according to my summons; and therefore (though I fear I have detained you too long already) shall desire a little more of your direction about the office of a Juryman in particular, that I may uprightly, and honestly, discharge the same.

Barr. Though I think, from what we have discoursed, being digested, and improved, by your own reason, you may sufficiently inform yourself; yet, to gratify your request, I shall add a few brief remarks, as well of what you ought cautiously to avoid, as what you must diligently pursue, and regard, if you would justly, and truly, do your duty.

First, As to what you must avoid.

1. I am very confident, that you would not willingly violate the oath which you take: but it is possible that there are such, who as frequently break them as take them, through their *careless custom* on the one hand or *slavish fear* on the other; against whom I would fully caution you: that you may defend yourself, and others, against any enemies of your country's liberties, and happiness, and keep a good conscience towards God, and towards man.

(*To be continued.*)

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

Jubilee Dollars.——I am very unwilling to enter at large upon the subject of *the paper depreciation*, until after the discussion has taken place, in the House of Commons, upon the subject of the *Bullion Report*. I wish to hear the *remedies*, which the Bullion Report Gentlemen have in store for us. I wish also to hear the statements and reasoning on the other side. I have, in my Letters, entitled, "PAPER AGAINST GOLD," already brought the history of the Bank and its paper and the paper-money system down to the time of the *Salisbury Bankruptcy*; and, in the letters which are to come, I shall endeavour to point out to my readers *what will yet happen* to that famous system. But, first, let me hear what the *statesmen* in parliament have to say. I have heard Mr. Huskisson and Sir John Sinclair, in their maudling pamphlets; I have heard them as *authors*; I have heard them as spoilers of paper; I have heard them as labourers for the trunk-makers and grocers and chandlers. I now wish to hear them as *lawgivers*. And, when I have so heard them, I will send forth my work as the record of *my* opinions; and then leave it to *time* to decide between us.——But, in the mean while, I cannot refrain from offering to my readers some few desultory remarks upon what is actually passing, lest the thing should *slip through my fingers*; for events are crowding so fast upon us, that there is no knowing, and scarcely any guessing, what may take place in each succeeding month.——Oh! that "the "*great statesman* now no more" was still with us!——It is stated, in the Morning Chronicle of Monday, the 25th instant, that the *Dollar Token* sold, on Saturday, the 23rd instant, at *five shillings* and *eight-pence*, and that *Gold* sold on the same day at *Five Pounds* an *ounce*.——Now, if this be true, as I suppose it is, the Dollar sells for 14-pence more than its *Sterling* value. The army, when I was in it, abroad, used to be paid in Dollars (Spanish Dollars), at the rate of 4*s.* 8*d.* a dollar; but, when we reckoned in *English money*, or Sterling, we reckoned the Dollar at 4*s.* 6*d.*, which, indeed, was, and is, its real sterling value; so that, as I said before, the Dollar, as pitted against our paper, has now risen 1*s.* 2*d.* in its value; or, which is the same thing, the paper has *fallen* in value in that same proportion.——Gold, the Morning Chronicle says, is worth, in our paper, *five pounds* an *ounce*. Its value, in the same paper, used to be about £3. 17*s.* 6*d.* But, the best, because the clearest way of stating this, is, to take the worth of *a pound* weight of gold, at this new rate, and compare it with the worth of *a pound weight of guineas*, at their present *nominal* value.

	£.	s.	d.
A pound weight of Gold (12 ounces) at £.5 an ounce ...	60	0	0.
A pound weight of guineas (44 guineas and ½ weighing a pound) at 21*s.* each	46	14	6
Difference	13	5	6.

Thus, you see, reader, the 44½ guineas will pass, in common payment, for only £.46 14*s.* 6*d.*; but, if sold as gold by weight, will fetch £.60; so that, by the latter mode of disposing of them, they would fetch £.13 5*s.* 6*d.* more than by passing them, in common payment!——This is a matter of infinitely more importance than the event for which the Park and Tower guns have been firing.——If a man were to receive 44½ guineas in payment of a debt to that amount, he might, at this rate, immediately clear £.13 5*s.* 6*d.* by selling them by weight. And, is it, then, any wonder at all, that no guineas are to be seen?——If Gold be worth £.5 an ounce, the Guinea is worth 27*s.* all but a fraction of less than a halfpenny, and, of course, the half guinea is worth 13*s.* 6*d.*——While this is the case, will any man pay a debt in guineas or half guineas or even seven shilling pieces, if he can avoid it? *Country Bank Notes* must, I am aware, be paid in Gold or Silver of standard weight, if people choose to demand and insist upon it; but, then, the consequence soon must be a *protecting* law, or, as it is called, a *restriction* act; or, the whole of the Bank-

ing concern must go to pieces in a month, or less time.——If what the Morning Chronicle states be correct; if the Dollar be really sold at 5*s.* 8*d.* and the ounce of Gold at £.5, the rise in the price of Gold and Silver has kept a pretty even pace; for, the 4 Dollars, which are worth 18*s.* Sterling, are now worth, in our paper, £.1 2*s.* 8*d.*; while the Guinea, which is worth 21*s.* Sterling, is worth, in the same paper, 27 *shillings* all but a fraction. Thus, if you pit *real* money against *paper-money,* you see how truly you arrive at the value, and the depreciation, of the latter.——It will be seen by a reference to my last Number, at page 681, that the price of the Dollars was raised, by the Bank and Privy Council, because they were *worth more* than 5*s.* for which they nominally passed. "To *prevent their being* "*withdrawn from circulation,*" the additional 6*d.* was put upon their nominal value. But, if it be true, that they have already risen to 5*s.* 8*d.* this notable scheme has failed. Indeed, it would be very surprizing if it did not fail; for, who could imagine, that the rise would *stop there?* Every one who had dollars or any specie of due weight and fineness would keep them, of course, to the last moment of necessity; and, it would naturally follow, that the Dollar would take *another rise in price.* In short, it is no matter what value the Bank fixes upon the Dollars. Be it what it may, they will *rise* against their paper, and that from causes so obvious that, even if it did not lead me into that which I wish, for the present, to avoid, it would be almost useless to state them.——What, then, is to be done? I have heard of a scheme of making guineas, or pieces of gold rather, worth 17*s.* and issuing them at 21*s.* This would do nothing for a duration. It would be a mere temporary expedient; for the gold to make these pieces of must be purchased with notes; and, in the course of a very little time, the pieces would *rise against the notes,* and then they would begin to disappear from circulation.——It appears to me, therefore, that we must have *small notes* to supply the place of small gold coin and the Dollars; and, as to the current shillings and sixpences, they do not weigh much above half the standard weight of those coins, and are for the most part debased into the bargain. A supply of these may, therefore, be kept up, perhaps; but, light and base as they are, they will, in both respects, continue to sink.——*Small notes,* however, appear to me to be unavoidable; for, whatever be the *nominal* value of the gold in silver coin, it must continue to raise against any paper not convertible into gold and silver. What turn the thing will take *in the end,* I shall not here give my opinion, or rather *repeat,* my opinion of. And, indeed, "sufficient unto *the day,* is the evil thereof;" for, what an effect must even the present rise of the Dollar, so palpable as the thing is, have upon all the pecuniary transactions of the country? The *annuitant* or the *landlord,* who, last week only, received his annuity or rent, in paper of which a pound was worth 4 dollars, now receives it in paper a pound of which is worth only 3 Dollars and about ⅗ of another Dollar. Suppose a man to receive an annuity ALL IN DOLLARS; and suppose his annuity to be £.100. Last week he would have received £.400 Dollars for his £.100 annuity; but *now* he would get only 362 Dollars and about ⅗ of another Dollar for the same £.100 annuity.——What a thing is this! What a situation are all *annuitants* and *landlords* now placed in? What a prospect; ah! what a prospect for those, whose means of *existence* are to come from sources of *fixed* nominal amount! It is not only public fund-holders who will be affected, but all annuitants of every description; and, what a prospect is here for the parent, who has been pinching himself for years in order to make a provision for his children to come from some INSURANCE COMPANY! What a prospect for *parents* and *husbands!* What a prospect for helpless widows and still more helpless children!—The father, who has been purchasing reversions with money at 4*s.* 6*d.* the dollar, would, if the time for payment were come, see his child receive his annuity in dollars at 5*s.* 6*d.* with all the daily dread of another and another addition to the nominal amount of the coin, and, of course, another and another diminution of the real value of the reversion or annuity.——Well, but they have done this with their *eyes open.* It is the work of their own hands. Yes: so it is; and, when I consider how often I have warned them of it for the last seven years, and how often I have been abused for my pains, I must say, that they have little claim to my compassion. I told them of their danger, and they would gladly have tied me to the stake and burnt me for it. But, for their children I must feel. Miserable as is the lot of the children of many labouring

men, it is enviable compared with that of those who have to depend upon any annuities other than such as are secured upon land.——This state, or rather, continual progress, of our currency, naturally leads one to consider what will be its effect upon *agriculture*, the prosperity of which in general, depends, in so great a degree, upon the letting of LEASES. The MORNING CHRONICLE of the 23rd instant, has an article upon this subject, which I cannot refrain from inserting, and that for reasons which will appear hereafter. ——"It becomes a most interesting question to the Land-Owners while they are discussing the restrictions on the sale of Corn by the substitution of sugar, to consider also the consequences of the depreciation of Currency.—It has hitherto been the test of an honourable Country Gentleman, that he has granted leases for a term that would justify and secure his tenant in improving his land, as it has been the proof of a narrow-sighted or of a depraved landlord, to keep his tenant in constant terror, or in positive slavery. This remark will be verified by looking at the difference between the lands of liberal and of sordid owners; and is one of the solid arguments against all collegiate and corporate property, where leases are so limited as to be an interdict on real cultivation.—But if the agriculture of the country is to be interfered and tampered with by boons to distant colonies (which though they are ours to-day, may be independent of us to-morrow), how can the tenant offer a fair price for land? —And if the depreciation of money shall continue with the same rapidity that it has done for some time past, how can any landlord, with justice to his family, *ask* a fixed price for his land?—The one-pound note, which was worth twenty shillings a week ago, is worth but eighteen shillings this week. Admit the principle that a private banking company, or a committee of coin, can cut off ten per cent. from the value of money; or, in other words, lay a tax of ten per cent. on the income both of landlord and tenant, without the concurrence of Parliament, and how can any rational man calculate for the future? Admit the principle, and the evil may be carried to any extent. Ten per cent. this month may require twenty per cent. next month. Nay, the principle leads to the consequence; for now that the public have been taught to believe that it is possible for the Bank to alter the denomination of the only species of coin which they give for their paper, they are encouraged to believe that they may hoard specie with a profit; and the very cure will thus aggravate the evil.—But how can the honourable land owner, who feels that his own interest, the interest of his tenant, and the interest of his country, are all united and inseparable—how can he save himself, and yet preserve the just policy of a patriot Englishman? How can he grant a long lease at a *fixed rent*, with a *falling currency?* A corn rent is subject to incessant disputes. We wish to know if a gentleman can fix a bullion rent; that is, a rent of a certain number of ounces of standard gold or silver? Or whether any rent could be fixed by the price of labour for the year? Something must be done now that clipping and debasing are begun by authority. And we throw out the queries for the consideration of the respectable body of Gentlemen who are to meet this day for the protection of the Agriculture of the Kingdom."——As to the "*respectable body of gentlemen*" here alluded to, I shall notice them by-and-by, and examine a little, whether their present conduct as to the question of *Corn against Sugar*, agrees so very well with the sentiments of *liberality* ascribed to them in the above article. But, first, as to LEASES.——Certainly no man with eyes in his head and with brains in his skull would let a lease for any length of time in the present state of our currency. But, where must have been the senses of any landholder, who has let a long lease, without an intention to *sell* upon it, for the last 13 years? Aye, or for the last 20 years? I do not pity any man who has let a long lease, or, indeed, any lease at all, during the last 13 years, that is to say, since the *stoppage at the Bank*, unless he was firmly resolved to demand and obtain his rent *in specie*, which, however, as the law *yet* stands, any man may do. ——The MORNING CHRONICLE seems to consider the recent circumstance of the rise in the nominal value of the Dollar as a cause for alarm with Landlords. But, how long ago did I take pains to caution Landlords against that which, apparently, they now see?——There is, in fact, nothing *new* to be said upon the subject of our Paper-money or its consequences. I have pointed out all its consequences long and long ago; and, if the reader will turn

to the VIIth Volume of the Register, page 305, he will there see the whole subject of *leases* and the impediments to the granting of them, fully discussed. He will see noticed, that the Surveyors of the Board of Agriculture had made very bitter observations upon Landlords for not granting leases; that they had complained of "*strong and unreasonable prejudices* against "granting leases;" and that they had thrown out hints pointing pretty directly towards the necessity of *a law to compel landlords to let leases.* With these gentlemen I expostulated, and prayed them not, in their zeal for the farmer, to lose all compassion for the land-owner and his children, whom I implored them not to force into the workhouse, to live upon the poor rates collected from their tenants.——The conclusion of this article I will here repeat; and, then the reader will be able to judge, whether any thing *new* is to be said upon the subject.——"Wheatley excepts the "landholders from those who suffer on "account of the depreciation of money; "because, says he, they can *raise their* "*rents* to keep pace with the depreciation. "Very true; and precisely for that rea- "son it is, that they will now let their "lands only from year to year. Previous "to the year 1795 (for it was not till then "that the rapid depreciation of money "began) landlords had no objection to let "long leases; because, as will be per- "ceived by the progress in the rise of "prices above exhibited, even a twenty- "one years' lease produced but a slight "falling off in the real value of their rents; "but, when the man who had granted a "twenty-one years' lease in the year 1780 "found, in 1798, that his rent, though it "preserved its nominal value, was really "worth little more than half as much as it "was when he let his farm; when he per- "ceived, that other farms of the same "value, now let for twice as much as he "was receiving for his; when he perceiv- "ed, that while he was daily sinking into "poverty, his tenant was swelling into "riches, and only waiting for the moment "to ride over him; he began to inquire "into the cause, and, when the lease ex- "pired, took good care not to grant ano- "ther for above two or three years at "most. Some landlords have continued "to grant leases; and there will be still "some found to do it for a year or two "longer perhaps. Habit is very power- "ful; and, besides, the cause is not well "enough understood to prevent all land- "lords from believing, that a good swing- "ing addition to the old rent will secure "them for the next 14 or 21 years. But, "if the present system of finance be pur- "sued, this purblind state will soon go off: "the consequences will become visible to "the dullest eyes: and then, as Mr. Kent "says, the landlord will, indeed, as soon "alienate the fee simple of his estate as "demise it for a term of years.——Such, "then, though the Agricultural Surveyors "do not appear to have obtained even a "glimpse of it, is the real cause of the "refusal, on the part of landlords, to grant "leases, which refusal is stated to be, and "undoubtedly is the most powerful impe- "diment to agricultural industry. And "how comes it that it has never attracted "the attention, or, at least, never engaged "the deliberative faculties, of parliament? "It certainly is not, because it lies too "deep for discovery, but, on the contrary, "because it is too obvious. The moment "the fact is ascertained, that the landlords "refuse any longer to grant leases, the "mind of every intelligent man traces "back the effect to its efficient and only "cause. But, where is the remedy? Who "shall *remove* that cause? The impedi- "ment to agricultural industry is found in "the refusal to grant leases; that refusal "in the rapid depreciation of money; that "depreciation in the excessive quantity "of paper-currency; that currency in "the stoppage of cash payments; that "stoppage in the immense sums quar- "terly demanded *in payment of the interest* "*on the national debt.* "Hah!" methinks "I hear some Pittite exclaim, in the hol- "low voice of a tragedy hero, "beware "how you touch the vitals of your coun- "try!" If such be her vitals, I would not stake much upon her existence for ano- "ther four years, either of war or peace. "Yet this is really the notion, which al- "most all men of all parties appear to have adopted! When a demand is made "for money, the *mode of raising it* is the only subject of censure or criticism; and, when the minister is driven hard upon that head; "Well," says he, "shew me a better way: if not you "cannot find fault that I pursue this, for "I tell you that so much must be got, "or I cannot pay the interest of the na- "tional debt." To put an end to the payment of that interest; to suspend the payment during war; even to reduce it in amount; never seems to come, for one moment, athwart the

"mind of any man. To hear people talk "upon this subject, a total stranger to our "situation and circumstances, would think "the national debt to be something be- "longing to the soil or the atmosphere of "the country. We look at its progress "with apprehension and even with terror; "but we seem to wait for its final effects "with that sort of feeling that male- "factors wait for the day of execution. "Here! here! and no where else, is the "canker-worm that is eating out the "heart of England! And till that ever- "gnawing worm be killed, one moment's "real peace she will never know."—— This was published on the 23rd of February, 1805; so that, if landlords have let any leases since that time, it was not for want of a warning. I remember, that I was most outrageously abused for saying this. I was accused of all sorts of *mischievous intentions* by some; others called me a *madman;* while many more had the charity to impute my notions to my *ignorance,* and were sorry to see me dabbling in matters out of my depth. I shall not easily forget those times, and it will require the actual sight of some very substantial misery to make me feel much compassion for those who then calumniated me, and endeavoured to render me an object of public reproach; nor must they be at all surprized if I laugh in my turn.—— Whoever has, since that time, let leases of their lands, have done it in despite of reason. They have done it in contempt of my warnings; and, really, I should not be much surprized, if some of them had done it out of pure contradiction to me. Much good may it do them! They spared no pains to impute my opinions, or my writings, upon this subject, to motives which were likely to excite a prejudice in the public mind against me; they wanted not the will (the far greater part of them) to answer me with a stiletto if they had not been too great cowards to use it; they would, if they could with safety, have [illegible] my throat and drank my blood; [illegible] because I foretold what was coming. [illegible]ll, then, much good may the dear [illegible]ollar do them, say I.——My opinion i[illegible] that we shall soon see *small notes;* I m[illegible] 10*s.* and 5*s.* notes, and this seems to me to be the only way in which, without the total destruction of the paper-money, *change* can be procured, unless in the light and base-metal shillings and sixpences, which it is *death* to make; for, as I said before, put what price you will upon the coins in circulation, they will (if made of pure metal) soon disappear, because the *fall of the paper* keeps, and must keep, an exactly *even pace* with the *rise in coin,* though the issuers of the late Notice seem not to have perceived it. If the Dollar was, to-morrow, to be made pass for *a pound,* still it would rise above the one pound note, and would sell for more. So that, for this and every other reason, it appears to me that *all* must be paper before it be long.——Amongst other *fixed* incomes are the salaries of *Judges* and other folks belonging to the government. Will these be *raised* to meet the effects of the depreciation in the currency, as Mr. CHALMERS's was, some years ago, at the very time that he was maintaining that the currency, in which he was paid, *had not depreciated?* I ask, will these salaries be raised? Suppose a Judge to receive his salary in dollars, it is manifest that he will receive about *one in ten* less this year than he received last year. It is just the same *in effect,* whether he be paid in dollars or in paper-money. Will, then, the nominal amount of his salary be *raised?* This is what I should be glad to know. If it be, the salaries of other persons, employed and paid by the government, will, of course, be raised. The salaries of Secretaries, Lords of the Treasury and the rest, Clerks, and the whole of that very formidable number of persons. Pensions, of course, and Sinecures will follow; and, in that case, the rise will naturally reach *the Navy* and *the Army.*——Whether any salaries will or will not be raised, or whether they ought or ought not, is what I shall not now discuss; but, if *any* be, the rise must, I think, be general.—— This is a matter for pretty serious reflection; but, at any rate, I am happy in remembering, that the *Jacobins* and *Levellers* (that is to say, the *Parliamentary Reformers*) have had nothing to do with the matter. There are the TWO PARTIES, who have both been in power. The thing is *wholly theirs* between them. Both pursued the same system. Both gloried in following the foot-steps of "the *great statesman* now "no more." Both have joined cordially to keep down the *Reformers.* Let them now join and *keep down the Dollar and Buonaparté,* and then I'll say, that they are clever fellows.——There is still going the old assertion, that *paper* has *not depreciated;* but that *Gold and Silver* have *risen;* and, as there are so many thousands and hundreds of thousands who have an in-

terest in disguising the real fact as long as possible, it is likely that this notion will be kept up for some time. But, to those who reflect, it may not be amiss to ask, how it happears, that, if Bullion is *so dear* in England as to drive gold and silver out of circulation: if this is the case, how it happens, that Bullion is *not equally dear* on the *other side of the channel*, only 20 miles off. *There* it produces no such effect. *There* it does not drive gold and silver out of circulation. *There* nothing but real money passes from hand to hand. And, so far from the high price of Bullion driving Gold and Silver out of circulation, all the *old* French coins are passing for *less* than their nominal value. This is a curious fact, and, as it serves so clearly to show the fallacy of this notion of a rise in the value of Bullion, I will here give a statement of the present circulating medium in France, for the correctness of which I will venture to vouch.

	Old Coinage.	Livres.	Sols.
Gold	Louis-d'ors	23 :	11
	Double Do.	47 :	5
Silver	Crowns, or Six Livre Pieces pass for	5 :	16
	3 Livre Pieces, or Petits Ecus pass for	2 :	15
	24 Sols Pieces	1 :	0
	12 Sols Pieces	0 :	10
	6 Sols Pieces	0	
	New Coinage.		
Gold	Napoleons	20	0
	Half Do	10	0
Silver	Sols Pieces	0	40
	Do	0	20
	Do	0	10
	Do	0	5
Copper	Sols Pieces	0	2

Thus, as the reader will perceive, all the old coins pass for considerably LESS than their nominal value. The new coinage is, I suppose, wished to replace the old, therefore, the old is made to pass for *less* than its former value; but, this would not be the case, if there was a *rise* in the price of Bullion. If there was such rise, the old coinage would, of course, go into the melting pot, or quit the country. It is evident, then, from this circumstance, that there is no *scarcity* of Bullion, no *rise in its price, upon the continent;* how, then, can it be said to have *risen here?*——However, let the thing wag on in its own way. It is one of those things that no cunning, no trick, no intrigue, no force, can change the course of. It must have its own way. It will have its own way. And all I have further to say about it, at present, is, that the *Jacobins* and *Levellers* (that is to say, the *Parliamentary Reformers*) have had nothing at all to do with the matter.——In the mean while, however, it is proper to give to these high-priced dollars a *distinctive* appellation. *Bank-Dollar Tokens* is a long name, and besides, they are not the *same thing* that they were before; and, as they were issued last year, which was the year of *Jubilee*, I think we ought to call them *Jubilee Dollars.*

Corn against Sugar.——That this subject should have been revived is somewhat surprizing to me, who have so fully in my mind all the arguments, upon which the question was decided before, and to which arguments there never was any thing worthy of the name of *answer* given.——It seems (for I have not yet seen the Bill) that the Minister proposes to cause a law to be passed, not to EXCLUDE *Corn* from the Distilleries, but to give it a fair chance with *Sugar;* that is to say, to leave people at liberty to distill spirits *from which they please*, or, from *both*, if they like.——This I understand to be the nature of the proposed measure; and, if it be, I should act a very wrong part in *disapproving* of it, seeing that I myself *recommended it* two or three years ago, and have not seen any good reason, nor heard any thing like reason, for changing my opinion.——As the law stood, until 30th of June, 1808, *Corn* was permitted to be used in the Distilleries, and the Duty upon the distillation from *Sugar* was so heavy as to amount to a prohibition. But, on that day, an Act (48 Geo. III. Chap. 118) was passed to *prohibit the distillation of Corn*, on account of the then *interruption of the importation* of Corn. This was the pretence, as stated in the preamble of the Act; but, the real motive was, to assist the colonists in getting rid of their Sugar; and, accordingly, on the 4th of July, in the same year, an Act (48 Geo. III. Chap. 152) was passed to *encourage the distillation from Sugar*, while the prohibition Corn should continue. These Acts to continue in force for a limited But, the next year they were renewed. And now the Minister, as it is said, means to pass an act, not of *prohibition*, but leaving both commodities to fight their own battle. Leaving the Cultivators of Jamaica to contend with their produce, against the Cultivators of England and Scotland with their produce. Nothing can be more fair and reasonable than this, provided the same duty be laid

on upon a gallon of Corn-poison as is laid on upon a gallon of Sugar-poison of the same strength, of the same powers of producing mortality.——It is all poison alike. I abhor the idea of it. It is truly shocking that two such great blessings, two of the choicest of all the blessings that man has received from his Maker, should be converted into the greatest of all curses; that the *staff of life* and the *infants' pap* should be changed into the means of destroying both body and mind, of corrupting the morals, brutalizing the character, of the people, burning out their vitals, maddening their passions, and sending many a score of them in a year to the gallows.——And, when one takes this view of the matter, how painful is it to see the owners of landed property, contending, with eagerness unparalleled, for a preference in the advantages to be derived from the deadly trade!——However, so it is; and, I must confess, that, for the West Indians, there is the apology of the starving Apothecary in Romeo and Juliet; but, for the English cultivator or land owner I can see none.——The minister's project has called forth a great deal of opposition from persons who stile themselves the *friends of agriculture;* and I am now to give an account of a Meeting of them, held last Saturday at the St. Alban's Tavern, which account I take from the Morning Chronicle of last Monday.——"A second meeting took "place on Saturday at the St. Alban's "Tavern, to consider the result of the com"munication made to the Chancellor of "the Exchequer by the Committee of "Noblemen and Gentlemen appointed at "the former meeting, relative to the ap"prehensions entertained of the injurious "effects likely to arise from the measure "now depending in Parliament respecting "Distilleries.——The DUKE of BEDFORD "stated, that the Committee had held a "conference with Mr. Perceval; but, he "was sorry to say, that no favourable im"pression had been made on his mind by "their representations. The Minister had "afforded them no prospect whatever of "any compliance on his part with their "wishes, and had even declined adopting "the suggestion of Sir John Sinclair, for "the appointment of a Parliamentary "Committee to examine the tendency "and probable consequences of the mea"sure.——The EARL of ABERDEEN, after "a few prefatory observations, moved se"veral resolutions, pledging the meeting "to exert themselves in opposition to the "Bill, and to prevent it passing into a "law.——The EARL of HARDWICKE se"conded the motion.——LORD SIDMOUTH "declared, that he felt an objection to the "resolutions now proposed, but it was be"cause he conceived they *did not go far* "*enough.* They expressed the *inexpediency* "and *impolicy* of the new regulations "lately discussed in the House of Com"mons; but they *did nothing more.* It was "not, however, to any details arising out "of a recent innovation, that the meeting "should confine its attention, or limit "*its condemnation:* it was the principle it"self of that innovation which it should "keep principally in view, and mark by "its *strongest hostility.* (*Hear! Hear!*) "In 1801, an experiment, similar to the present scheme of equalization, was projected, but he soon became convinced of its impracticability. The Bill about to be introduced into Parliament was, in his judgment, inimical in principle to the *interests of agriculture,* and conse"quently to the best interests of the coun"try; while he knew, at the same time, "by experience, that if expedient, it was impossible that it should have the effect contemplated by its authors.——"The MARQUIS OF LANSDOWNE coincided "fully with the Noble Viscount, and "hoped that every Gentleman present "who was a Member of Parliament, would "endeavour to obtain some formal de"claration, that might express a decided "opinion against any future deviations "from those salutary maxims, which had "for so many years governed the Legis"lature on this momentous subject.——"The EARL OF ROSSLYN supported the "sentiments of Lord Sidmouth.——MR. "SMITH said, that having understood it to "be the wish of several individuals at the "former Meeting, that he should attend "this day, he was quite prepared to give "his testimony to the justness of the opi"nion of the Noble Viscount, that the "scheme of equalization was impractica"ble. He understood the object of the "measure to be an equalization of price "to the consumer, but, the unrestricted "admission of sugar into the distilleries "would totally defeat it. It was impos"sible under such circumstances, that "grain could contend with sugar. It "would not only have to contend with it "in the open market, but must suffer se"verely from the extension of illicit dis"tillation, which was always carried on with molasses.——MR. CURWEN ex-

"patiated on the extreme unfavourable-"ness of the present period for making "rash experiments on the agriculture of "the country, or for departing from the "wise principles which had for many "years protected its interests and pro-"moted its improvements. The enemy "appeared to be resolved to use every "effort to reduce us to the alternative of "bankruptcy or starvation. By the mea-"sure now depending in Parliament, we "should abandon a system, which by "confining the distillation of spirits to "grain, had always *afforded a resource in* "*years of difficulty and scarcity*; we should "abandon the only means of rendering "ourselves independent for subsistence, "and forward the projects of the enemy "for our destruction.——It was then "agreed that the original Resolutions, "which went to the principle of admit-"ting sugar at all in the distilleries, should "be repealed, and that such further Re-"solutions should be added in consistency "with them, as the unsuccessful confer-"ence with the Chancellor of the Exche-"quer should render necessary.——Sir "MARTIN FOULKES and Sir JOHN SINCLAIR "made a few observations, and the former "trusted that *some resolution* would be "agreed to, for the purpose of counter-"acting a mischievous and *unfounded ru-*"*mour, that they were meeting to consider the* "*best means of starving the country.*—— "*A subscription was then directed* to be "opened to defray the expences arising "out of the prosecution of the above ob-"jects."——Now, the first thing to be noticed here is, that there are people *besides* SIR FRANCIS BURDETT and the *Reformers*, who can meet in Taverns and pass resolutions and make subscriptions for the purpose of opposing what is going forward in Parliament; aye, and those people being members of parliament too After this, let us hope that we shall hear no more said against members of parliament *meeting in Taverns* for the purposes of *reform*. This meeting was, I have no scruple in declaring, animated by *greediness of gain*, or by *ignorance*, perhaps, in respect to some of the parties, by both together; but, as to the *ignorance* manifest in some of these speeches, it is so palpable, so gross, that one can hardly condescend to enter the lists with such men: it really seems like insulting the understandings of my readers to offer them any thing in the shape of an exposure of such worse-than-pot-house ignorance. One would suppose most of the orators to have been inspired with nothing short of the genuine distillation from their own produce.——The whole of this subject was discussed, amply discussed, in all its bearings, in the Register, Vol. XIII. in the several Articles, referred to in the Index, under the title of "CORN AGAINST SUGAR." There were twelve articles written by myself and six by Anonymous Correspondents; besides some letters by Mr. ARTHUR YOUNG and MR. WAKEFIELD, which letters will be found by turning to their *names* in the Index of the same volume.——I cannot find in my heart to write another volume (for what I wrote before amounted to a common sized octavo) in answer to these Tavern speeches. When I see the *Resolutions*, I may, perhaps, make some observations upon them.——One remark or two I cannot, however, refrain from offering.——Mr. CURWEN's doctrine, that the encouraging of distillation from grain "af-"fords a *resource* in years of *scarcity*;" the folly, the supreme absurdity, the exquisite emptiness, of this was so fully exposed in Vol. XIII, that I cannot resume the matter, any further than just to remark, how strangely that brain must be formed in which the idea is engendered, that, in order to avoid *starvation* in the years of *scarcity*, you must raise corn to be made into stuff to *make you drunk* in years of *plenty*! A "*resource*!" Making corn into poison in years of plenty a *resource*, a *granary*, against years of *scarcity*! And, then, this gentleman, who would grant *relief* to the West India merchants in the shape of Exchequer Bills; he, who would lend them money out of the taxes, *because their sugar is locked up for want of a market*: he, who would do this, though the money were *never repaid*; he, who would give the West Indians money, *taken out of the pockets of the Londoners and farmers*; he, who would give them money, so taken, *because* their sugar has *no market*; he, this same man, will not let them distil that sugar, will not let them have a market for it, lest he should thereby *injure the landholder and farmer*!——Surely, the kingdom is fast becoming one great Bedlam!——But, LORD SIDMOUTH has had "*experience*." Aye, so have we; so have this poor nation had its *experience* of him as a minister; and, after that, much need not be said. We are now in *a war* of his beginning, following *a peace* of his making. We have our experience as well as he, and we shall not, therefore,

give up our judgment upon the ground of any of his experiences.——Does he *farm* it at *Richmond Park*, I wonder? Or, where has he gathered that superior experience, which, declared in a Tavern speech, is to be our guide?——Let him go home and write an answer to my articles in Vol XIII, and then we will hear him with some degree of patience; but, after that discussion, after the flagrant defeat of even such a man as ARTHUR YOUNG we shall not be disposed to listen to *bare assertions*, founded upon Lord Sidmouth's *experience* ——Sir JOHN SINCLAIR hoped, we are told, that "some *resolution* would be agreed "to, for the purpose of counteracting a "mischievous and unfounded rumour, that "they were meeting to consider of the "best means of starving the country" ——*Answer* it, Sir John *Show* that the fact is not so. *Prove* that you have met for other purposes; for, as to your *resolutions*, we shall treat them in a way that would most assuredly touch you to the quick——For my part, however, I do not believe the *rumour*, if such an one there be; but, if you cannot produce *good* grounds for your Meeting, is it at all surprizing, that ignorant people, who feel their bowels pinched with hunger, should fit you out with *bad* ones?——The distillation from sugar has been going on for *two years*, and yet, during those two years, immense quantities of corn have been *brought from foreign countries* Why, then, are these people afraid, that corn will be *too cheap*?——I have before (in Vol. XIII.) clearly shewn, that cheap corn is as *good* as dear corn for the farmer, and *better* for the people at large, especially the labourers, but, if this were *not* the case, is not corn dear enough? Is not 1s 3*d* enough to give for the quartern loaf? The average price of it, during last year, was 1*s*. 3¼*d*. Is not this *enough*? But, what I always say to these complainants against the distillation from sugar, is, that they ought never to complain, while *corn is imported*. Let them grow corn enough to *prevent importation*; let them grow corn enough to preclude the want of *foreign corn*, and then let them complain that they have not a market sufficient. But, it is an outrage to common sense to represent distillation from sugar as *choaking the out-let to agriculture*, while we are *paying the Emperor Napoleon* for *corn*; while the people of England, actually pay, in part price of their loaf, the export duties upon corn in France, which go to pay the armies to fight against our country. We thus pay the armies of France which are fighting in Portugal, while we pay the Portuguese to fight against them! Aye, and we import corn from France, and send it to be *eaten in Portugal*! If ever the equal of this; if any system of politics and war and economy was ever heard of like this before; why, then, I am a fool, and the orators at the St. Alban's Tavern are men of sense and profound reflection. ——I have only one more remark to make, if the reader has patience to hear it, upon this subject, and that refers to the friendship, which some of those persons have, at different times, expressed towards *commerce*——The reader will, perhaps, remember, that, in the year 1807, there appeared, in the Register, a series of articles, under the title of "*Perish Com-*"*merce*." They arose from my conviction, that the day was not very distant, when that unnatural state of things, that *ten*, called commerce, in this country, must produce effects such as are now coming on upon us——The point maintained by me, and by Mr SPENCE, was, that *external commerce* was not necessary to the *strength* or *happiness* of England——A meeting of agricultural people, amongst whom was the DUKE of BEDFORD (See Register, Vol XII. p 1007), at a Cattle show, took occasion, over their bottle, in my present neighbourhood, *Smithfield*, to *reprobate* this doctrine of ours, in the way of speech, and to conclude with a toast, to the "*Union of* "*agriculture, commerce*, and *manufactures*" ——But, what did they mean, then? Did they mean to exclude the commerce in *Sugar*? Did they mean to shut Jamaica and the other West India Islands out of their view of what constituted the commerce of the country?——Why, I will tell you what I think they meant, namely, that it was a good thing for there to be *manufactures* to *use their wool* and their *flax* and *commerce* to take them away; but, that the same commerce should be permitted to *bring nothing back* to lessen the demand for their *corn*; in short, that the West Indians should buy their wool and their flax and go to other nations, or to the internal regions if they could, to get the means of paying for them.——Here it lies, pinned up in one single sentence. Here are all their doctrine, and all their views, the whole of which do, I am convinced, proceed from as plentiful a lack of understanding as ever men were endowed with.——I love agriculture and England

full as well as my lord Sidmouth does, and I care as little about commerce as any man that ever breathed; but, without the most flagrant, the most base, injustice, can I quietly see laws that *compel* the West India Planter to buy his wool and flax of me, and, at the same time, call for laws to prevent the produce of *his farm* from having a fair competition with that of *mine?* ——It is said, that we ought to think of *home* first. And do not these gentlemen *think of home* when they are selling their wool and their flax to the West Indians? Is not that thinking of home? Will they agree to let the West Indians get their woollens and linens from America or France or any where else? Will they do that? No. Is it not, then, to discover a want of sense or a want of shame, to pretend that the Planters in those colonies are not entitled to the same market as themselves as an out-let for their produce?—— There is, indeed, through the whole of this opposition to the proposed measure such a mixture, such a confused mass, of greediness and of ignorance, that, really, one is almost ashamed to lift the pen against it, and yet I could not suffer it to pass wholly unnoticed.

W[M]. COBBETT.

State Prison, Newgate, Tuesday, March 26, 1811.

THE ENGLISHMAN'S RIGHT:

(Concluded from page 736.)

2. It is frequent, that when Juries are withdrawn, that they may consult of their verdict, they soon forget that solemn oath they took, and that mighty charge of the life and liberty of men, and their estates whereof then they are made judges; and that, on their breath not only the fortunes of the particular party, but perhaps the preservation, or ruin, of several numerous families does solely depend: Now I say without due consideration of all this; nay sometimes without one serious thought, or consulted reason, offered *pro* or *con*, presently the foreman, or one, or two, that call themselves antient Jurymen (though in truth they never knew what belongs to the place more than a common schoolboy,) rashly deliver their opinions; and all the rest, in respect to their supposed gravity, and experience, or because they have the biggest estates, or to avoid the trouble of disputing the point, or to prevent the spoiling of dinner by delay, or some such weighty reason, forthwith agree blindfold, or else go to holding up of hands, or telling of noses, and so the major vote, carries away captive both the reason, and the conscience, of the rest: thus trifling with sacred oaths, and putting men's lives, liberties, and properties (as it were) to the hap-hazard of cross or pile. This practice, or something of the like kind, is said to be too customary amongst some Jurors, which occasions such their extraordinary dispatch of the weightiest, or most intricate, matters; but there will come a time when they shall be called to a severe account for their haste, and negligence; therefore have a care of such fellow-jurors.

3. Such a slavish fear attends many Jurors, that let but the court direct to find guilty, or not guilty, though they themselves see no just reason for it; yea, ofttimes though their own opinions are contrary, and their consciences tell them it ought to go otherwise; yet, right, or wrong, accordingly they will bring in their verdict; and therefore, many of them never regard seriously the course, and force, of the evidence; what and how, it was delivered, more, or less, to prove the indictment; &c. but as the court sums it up, they find; as if Jurors were appointed for no other purpose but to echo back, what the bench would have done. Such a base temper is to be avoided, as you would escape being forsworn, even though your verdict should be right; for since you do not know it so to be, by your own judgment, or understanding, you have abused your oath, and hazarded your own soul, as well as your neighbour's life, liberty, or property; because you blindly depend on the opinion, or perhaps passion of others, when you were sworn, well, and truly, to try them yourselves. Such an implicit faith is near of kin to that of *Rome* in religion, and at least, in the next degree as dangerous.*

* Though Judges are likely to be more *able* than Jurymen, yet Jurymen are likely to be more *honest* than judges; especially in all cases where the power of the prerogative, or the rights of the people, are in dispute. Our rights, therefore, both as individuals and as a people, are more likely to be secure, while Juries follow the result of their own opinion; for less danger will arise from the mistakes of Jurymen, than from the corruption of Judges. Besides, improper verdicts will

4. There are some that make a trade of being Jurymen; that seek for the office; use means to be constantly continued in it; will not give a disobliging verdict, lest they should be discharged, and serve no more: these standing Jurors have certainly some ill game to play. There are others that hope to signalize themselves, to get a better trade, or some preferment by serving a turn. There are others that have particular piques, and humour of revenge against such, or such, parties: if a man be but miscalled by some odious name, or said to be of an exploded faction—straight they cry, hang him, find him guilty, no punishment can be too bad for such a fellow; in such a case they think it merit to stretch an evidence on the tenter hooks, and strain a point of law, because they fancy it makes for the interest of the government; as if injustice or oppression could in any case be for the true interest of government, when in truth nothing more weakens or destroys it. But this was an old stratagem, 'if thou suffer this man to escape, 'thou shalt not be *Cæsar's* friend:' when *Cæsar* was so far from either needing, or thanking them for, any such base services, that, had he but truly understood them, he would severely have punished their partiality and tyranny.

All these, and the like, pestilent biasses, are to be avoided, and abominated, by every honest Juryman.

But now as to the positive qualifications requisite.

1. You that are Jurymen should first of all, seriously regard the weight and importance, of the office; your own souls, other men's lives, liberties, estates, all that in this world are dear to them, are at stake, and in your hands; therefore, consider things well before-hand, and come substantially furnished, and provided, with sound, and well-grounded, consciences,—with clear minds, free from malice, fear, hope, or favour; lest instead of judging others, thou shouldest work thy own condemnation, and stand in the sight of God, the Creator, and Judge of all men, no better than a murtherer or perjured malefactor.

but seldom occur, since Juries will avail themselves of the abilities, and learning, of the Judges, by consulting them upon all points of law; and thus to the advantage of information, may add their own impartiality.

erve well the record, indictment, or information that is read, and the several parts thereof, both as to the matter, manner, and form.

3. Take due notice of, and pay regard to, the *evidence* offered for proof of the indictment, and each part of, as well to manner and form, as matter: and if you suspect any subornation, foul practice, or tampering hath been with the witnesses, or that they have any malice or sinister design; have a special regard to the circumstances, or incoherences, of their tales, and endeavour, by apt questions, to sift out the truth, or discover the villainy. And, for your better satisfaction, endeavour to write down the evidence, or the heads thereof, that you may, the better, recall it to memory.

4. Take notice of the nature of the crime charged, and what law the prosecution is grounded upon, and distinguish the supposed criminal fact, which is proved, from the aggravating circumstances, which are not proved.

5. Remember that in Juries there is no plurality of voices to be allowed; seven cannot over-rule, or, by virtue of majority, conclude five; no, nor eleven one. But as the verdict is given in the name of all the twelve, or else it is void; so every one of them must be actually agreeing, and satisfied in his particular understanding, and conscience, of the truth, and righteousness, of such verdict, or else he is forsworn. And, therefore, if one man differ in opinion from his fellows, they must be kept together; till either they, by strength of reason, or argument, can satisfy him, or he convince them. For he is not to be hectored, much less punished, by the court into a compliance: for as the lord chief justice *Vaughan* says well,* 'if a man differ in judgment from his fellows, whereby 'they are kept a day, and a night, though 'his dissent may not in truth be so reason-'able as the opinion of the rest that agree, yet, if his judgment be not satisfied, one 'disagreeing can be no more criminal, 'than four, or five, disagreeing with the rest.' Upon which occasion the said author recites a remarkable case out of an ancient† law book: 'A Juror would not agree with his fellows for two days, and being demanded by the judges, if he would agree, said he would first die in prison; whereupon he was committed,

* Rep. *fol.* 151.

† 41 *Isa. p.* 11.

'and the verdict taken; but upon better 'advice; the verdict of the eleven was 'quashed, and the juror discharged with-'out fine; and the justices said "the way "was to carry them in carts" (this is to be understood at assizes, where the Judges cannot stay, but must remove in such a time to another county) "until they agreed, "and NOT BY FINING THEM." And as the judges erred in taking the verdict of eleven, so they did in imprisoning the twelfth. And therefore, you see, on second thoughts released him.

6. Endeavour, as much as your circumstances will permit, at your spare hours to read and understand, the fundamental laws of the country; such as *Magna Charta*, the Petition of Right, the late excellent act for *Habeas Corpus's*, *Horn's Mirror of Justices*, Sir *Edw. Coke* in his 2nd, 3rd, and 4th Parts of the Institutes of the Law of *England*, and Judge *Vaughan's* Reports. These are books frequent to be had, and of excellent use to inform any reader, of competent apprehension, of the true liberties, and privileges, which every *Englishman* is justly entitled unto, and estated in, by his birthright; as also the nature of crimes, and the punishments severally, and respectively inflicted on them by law; the office, and duties, of Judges, Juries, and all officers, and ministers of justice, &c. which are highly necessary for every juryman, in some competent measure, to know: for the law of *England* hath not placed trials by Juries, to stand between men, and death or destruction, to so little purpose, as to pronounce men guilty, without regard to the nature of the offence, or to what is to be inflicted thereupon.

For want of duly understanding, and considering these things, Juries many times plunge themselves into lamentable perplexities; as it befel the jury who were the triers of Mr. *Udal*, a minister who in the 32d of queen *Eliz.* was indicted, and arraigned, at *Croydon* in *Surry*,* for high-treason, for defaming the queen, and her government, in a certain book, intitled, 'A Demonstration of the Discipline, '&c.' And though there was no direct, but a scambling shadow of proof; and though the book, duly considered, contained no matter of treason, but certain words which by a forced construction were laid to tend to the defamation of the government, and so the thing [was] prosecuted under that name; yet the Jury not thinking that in pronouncing him guilty, they had upon their oath pronounced him guilty of treason, and to die as a traitor; but supposing that they had only declared him guilty of making the book; hereupon they brought him in guilty: but when, after the Judges sentence of death against him, which they never in the least intended, they found what they had done; they were confounded in themselves, and would have done any thing in the world to have revoked that unwary pernicious verdict, when, alas! it was too late. Dr. *Fuller* has this witty note on this gentleman's conviction, 'that it was conceived *rigo-'rous* in the *greatest*, which at best (saith 'he) is *cruel* in the *least* degree.' And it seems so queen *Elizabeth* thought it, for she suspended execution, and he died naturally. But his story survives, to warn all succeeding Jurymen, to endeavour better to understand what it is they do, and what the consequences thereof will be.

7. As there is nothing I have said intended to encourage you to partiality, or tempt any juryman to a connivance at sin, and malefactors, whereby those pests of society should avoid being brought to condign punishment, and so the law cease to be a terror to evil doers, which were in him an horrible perjury, and indeed a foolish pity, or *crudelis misericordia*, a cruel mercy; (for *he* is highly injurious to the good, that absolves the bad, when real crimes are proved against them:) so I must take leave to say, that in cases where the matter is dubious, both lawyers, and divines, prescribe rather favour, than rigour. An eminent and learned judge* of our own, has in this advice and wish gone before me: *Mallam reverá viginti facinorosos mortem pietate evadere, quam justum unum injustè condemnari.* 'I verily,' saith 'he, 'had rather twenty evil-doers should 'escape death through tenderness, or pity, 'than that one innocent man should be 'unjustly condemned.'

I shall conclude with that excellent advice of my lord *Coke*,† which he generally addresses to all Judges, but may no less properly be applied to Jurors:—

Fear not to do right to all, and to deliver your verdicts justly according to the

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* See *State Trials*, fol. vol. I. p. 161.

* *Fortesque*, cap. 27.

† In the Epilogue of his 4th part of *Institutes*.

laws; for fear is nothing but a betraying of the succours that reason should afford: and if you shall sincerely execute justice, be assured of three things:

1. Though some may malign you, yet God will give you his blessing.

2. That though thereby you may offend great men, and favourites, yet you shall have the favourable kindness of the Almighty, and be his favourites.

And lastly, That in so doing, against all scandalous complaints, and pragmatical devices, against you, God will defend you as with a shield.——'For thou, Lord, 'wilt give a blessing unto the righteous, 'and with thy favourable kindness wilt 'thou defend him as with a shield.' *Psalm* v. 15.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

SPAIN.—*Action of Barrosa, near Cadiz, from the London Gazette Extraordinary, of Monday, March 25.*

Admiralty-Office, March 25.

Captain Carrol arrived at this Office last night with dispatches from Sir Richard Goodwin Keats, K. B. Rear-Admiral of the Red, addressed to John Wilson Croker, Esq. of which the following are copies:

Milford, Cadiz Bay, March 7, 1811.

Sir;—I have the honour to enclose, for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, copies of my dispatches to Admiral Sir Charles Cotton, Bart. of the 20th and 28th of February, and 7th of March. (Signed) R. G. KEATS.

Milford, Bay of Cadiz, 20th Feb. 1811.

Sir;—An Expedition having been determined upon by the Spanish Government, to which Lieutenant-General Graham has consented to give his personal assistance, together with that of a considerable portion of the troops under his command, I have felt it my duty, after fully stating in Council the uncertainty and risk to which, at this season of the year, all measures connected with naval operations on the coast are subject, to lend the expedition all the aid and assistance in my power; and a body of troops, exceeding three thousand, including cavalry, various military stores and provisions, are at present embarked either in his Majesty's ships named in the margin,* in such transports as I could avail myself of, or in Spanish men of war, and small transports of our ally; and the whole, together with a numerous fleet of Spanish transports, in which a body of seven thousand troops of that nation are embarked, are waiting in this bay a favourable opportunity to proceed into the Straits, with a view to force a landing between Cape Trafalgar and Cape de Plata, at Tariffa, or at Algesiras, in failure of the two former places. General Lapena is the Commander in Chief of this expedition; and as the object is to unite the Spanish forces at Saint Roche with the troops sent from hence, with a view to make a combined attack on the rear of the enemy's line before Cadiz; at the same time some demonstrations, and an attempt to open a communication with our troops, are to be made from this quarter, which is thought to require my particular attention; I have therefore placed the execution of the British naval part of the expedition under the able command of Captain Brace of the Saint Albans.

(Signed) R. G. KEATS.

Milford, Bay of Cadiz, Feb. 28, 1811.

Sir;—I have the honour, in further reference to my letter No. 20, of the 20th instant, to inform you, that it being determined to let the troops of the expedition proceed by the earliest opportunity; and it being conceived, from the appearance of the weather, that the Spanish part would be able to get out on the afternoon and night of the 21st, the British naval part, under Captain Brace, put to sea accordingly, and with the exception of one transport, got into the Straits; but it being impracticable to make a landing either in the vicinity of Cape Trafalgar or Tariffa, Captain Brace proceeded to Algesiras, where General Graham and the troops were landed and marched to Tariffa, to which place (the roads being impracticable for carriages,) the artillery, provisions, stores, &c. owing, as the General is pleased to express, to the extraordinary exertions of the navy, were conveyed in boats, notwithstanding the unfavourable state of winds and weather.

The Spanish part of the expedition, though it twice attempted to get out, was driven back to this bay; and it was the 27th, before it was enabled to reach Tariffa.

* The Supplement appearing to *lead* to a more clear understanding of the Gazette, is here placed first.

* St. Albans, Druid, Comus, Sabine, Tuscan, Ephira, Steady, and Rebuff.

Milford, Bay of Cadiz, March 7.

Sir;—I have the honour to inform you, that the combined English and Spanish army, under their respective commanders, General La Pena and Lieutenant-General Graham, moved from Tariffa on the 28th ultimo towards Barbate, attended by such naval means as circumstances of weather would permit. Preparations were made by me and our ally, and acted upon, to menace the Trocadero and other points, in order as the army advanced to favour its operations; and arrangements were made for a landing, and real or feigned attacks as circumstances might determine; and to this end the regiment of Toledo was embarked on board his Majesty's ships in the Bay.—On the 1st instant General Zayas pushed across the Santi Petri, near the coast, a strong body of Spanish troops, threw a bridge across the river, and formed a tête-du-pont. This post was attacked on the nights of the 3rd and 4th with vigour by the enemy, and though he was eventually repulsed, the loss was very considerable on the part of our ally on the 3d. As the weather, from the earliest preparation for the expedition, had been such as to prevent the possibility of landing on the coast or bay, even without great risk, and with no prospect of being able to re-embark, should such a measure become necessary; the apprehension of having a force, which, with such prospects, I could scarcely expect actively to employ, when its services might be positively useful elsewhere, in defending the tête-du-pont, or in opening a communication with the army from the Isle de Leon, induced me to state my sentiments on the subject, and the regiment of Toledo was in consequence disembarked.—The sea on the coast having considerably impeded our communications, we were still uncertain whether the advance of the army would be by Medina or Conil, and of its precise situation, until the 5th, when at eleven a. m. I was informed by telegraph, from the Isle de Leon, that it was seen advancing from the southward near the coast. But though the Implacable and Standard weighed, the pilots refused to take them to their appointed stations; and in the opinion of the best informed, the weather was of too threatening a cast to venture a landing; and which, as the army was engaged by noon, according to the telegraph, would not have favoured its operations.—Under such circumstances our measures were necessarily confined to feints, whilst that of the British troops, led by their gallant and able Commander, forgetting on the sight of the enemy their own fatigue and privations, and regardless of advantage in the numbers and situation of the enemy, gained, by its determined valour, (though not without considerable loss), a victory uneclipsed by any of the brave achievements of the British armies. I have the honour to be, &c. R. G. Keats.

Admiral Sir Charles Cotton, Bart. &c.

His Majesty's ship Milford, Bay of Cadiz, March 7.

Sir,—I have the honour to inform you, that the wind having come off the land, and the sea much abated, two landings were effected, by way of diversion, yesterday morning between Rota, and Catalina, and between that and Santa Maria's, with the Royal Marines, commanded by Captain English, of the Implacable, two hundred seamen of the squadron, and eighty of the Spanish Marine, one division of which was under the direction of Captain Spranger, of the Warrior, the other under Captain Kittoe, of this ship; at the same time Catalina was bombarded by the Hound and Thunder bombs, and that fort and the batteries on the north and east-side of the Bay were kept in check with much spirit by the gun and mortar-boats under the respective commands of Captains Hall and Fellowes. One redoubt of four guns, near Santa Maria's, was stormed by the marines of this ship, led by Captain Fottrell; a second, to the south of the Guadalete, was taken by Captain Fellowes's division of the Flotilla: the guns of all the sea-defences, together with the small fort of Puntilla, from Rota (which the enemy evacuated) to Santa Maria's, with the exception of Catalina, were spiked and the works dismantled. Preparations were also made to attack the tête-du-pont, and other defences of the bridge of Santa Maria's; but a strong corps of the enemy, consisting of two thousand cavalry and infantry, rapidly advancing on the Road from Port Real, aware that our troops had crossed the Santi Petri into the Isla de Leon, and that the purposes of a diversion had been answered, I ordered the seamen and marines to re-embark, and the boats (which got on board with difficulty) had not put off many minutes before the enemy arrived on the spot.—The enemy had one Officer and several soldiers killed and wounded, and an Officer and thirty prisoners were taken in the redoubt that was stormed, the rest

making their escape.—Lieut. W. F. Carrol, whose conduct on all occasions has been conspicuous, having had his gunboat sunk before Catalina, and thereby sustained a considerable loss, I have given him six weeks leave of absence, and with it duplicates of my dispatches.—I enclose a list of killed and wounded, and have the honour to be, &c. R. G. KEATS.

To Admiral Sir Charles Cotton, Bart. &c.

A Return of the Killed and Wounded in an Attack on Sta. Maria's, March 6, 1811.

MILFORD.—Sam. Allen, seaman, killed; William Spillar, marine, ditto; John Bayly, lieutenant of marines, wounded; William Nash, serjeant of marines, dangerously wounded (since dead;) James Darby, private marine, mortally wounded (since dead;) Joseph Peters, private marine, wounded; James Gill, private marine, ditto; William Billings, private marine, ditto.

ALFRED.—John Ingleby, corporal of marines, wounded.

St. ALBANS.—John Johnson, seaman, killed; Peter Dass, seaman, wounded; William Baldwin, seaman, ditto.

SAN JUAN —John Cato, seaman, wounded.

HOUND.—John Allen, ordinary seaman, wounded; William M'Donald, able seaman, ditto.

DIADEM TRANSPORT. -George Garbutt, seaman, wounded.

Total 3 killed, 13 wounded.

(Signed,) R. G. KEATS.

Downing-Street, March 25.

Dispatches, of which the following are copies, were last night received at the earl of Liverpool's office, addressed to his lordship by Lieut. Gen. Graham, dated Isla de Leon, 6th and 10th of March, 1811.

MY LORD, Isla de Leon, March 6.

Captain Hope, my first Aide-de-Camp, will have the honour of delivering this dispatch, to inform your Lordship of the glorious issue of an action fought yesterday by the division under my command against the army commanded by Marshal Victor, composed of the two divisions Rufin and Laval.—The circumstances were such as compelled me to attack this very superior force. In order as well to explain to your Lordship the circumstances of peculiar disadvantage under which the action was begun, as to justify myself from the imputation of rashness in the attempt, I must state to your lordship, that the allied army, after a night-march of sixteen hours from the camp near Veger, arrived in the morning of the fifth on the low ridge of Barrosa, about four miles to the southward of the mouth of the Santi Petri river. This height extends inland about a mile and a half, continuing on the north the extensive heathy plain of Chiclana. A great pine-forest skirts the plain, and circles round the height at some distance, terminating down to Santi Petri; the intermediate space between the north side of the height and the forest being uneven and broken.—A well-conducted and successful attack on the rear of the enemy's lines near Santi Petri, by the van-guard of the Spanish army under Brig. Gen. Ladrizabel, having opened the communication with the Isla de Leon, I received General la Pena's directions to move down from the position of Barrosa, to that of the Torre de Bermesa, about half-way to the Santi Petri river, in order to secure the communication across the river, over which a bridge had been lately established. This latter position occupies a narrow woody ridge, the right on the sea-cliff, the left falling down to the Almanza creek, on the edge of the marsh. A hard sandy beach gives an easy communication between the western points of these two positions.—My division being halted on the eastern slope of the Barrosa height, was marched about 12 o'clock through the wood towards the Bermesa, (cavalry patroles having previously been sent towards Chiclana, without meeting with the enemy). On the march I received notice that the enemy had appeared in force on the plain, and was advancing towards the heights of Barrosa.—As I considered that position as the key of that of Santi Petri, I immediately counter-marched in order to support the troops left for its defence; and the alacrity with which this manœuvre was executed served as a favourable omen. It was however impossible in such intricate and difficult ground to preserve order in the columns, and there never was time to restore it entirely.—But before we could get ourselves quite disentangled from the wood, the troops on the Barrosa hill were seen returning from it, while the enemy's left wing was rapidly ascending. At the same time his right wing stood on the plain, on the edge of the wood, within cannon-shot. A retreat in the face of such an enemy, already within reach of the easy communication by the sea-beach, must have in-

volved the whole allied army in all the danger of being attacked during the unavoidable confusion of the different corps arriving on the narrow ridge of Bermesa nearly at the same time.—Trusting to the known heroism of British troops, regardless of the numbers and position of their enemy, an immediate attack was determined on. Major Duncan soon opened a powerful battery of ten guns in the centre. Brigadier Gen. Dilkes, with the brigade of guards, Lieut. Col. Browne's (of the 28th) flank battalion, Lieut. Col. Norcott's two companies of the 2d rifle corps, and Major Acheson, with a part of the 67th foot, (separated from the regiment in the wood) formed on the right.—Colonel Wheatly's brigade, with three companies of the Coldstream Guards, under Lieut Col. Jackson (separated likewise from his battalion in the wood), and Lieut. Col Barnard's flank battalion, formed on the left.—As soon as the infantry was thus hastily got together, the guns advanced to a more favourable position, and kept up a most destructive fire.—The right wing proceeded to the attack of General Rufin's division on the hill, while Lieut. Col. Barnard's battalion and Lieut. Col. Bushe's detachment of the 20th Portuguese, were warmly engaged with the enemy's tirailleurs on our left.—General Laval's division, notwithstanding the havoc made by Major Duncan's battery, continued to advance in very imposing masses, opening his fire of musquetry, and was only checked by that of the left wing. The left wing now advanced, firing; a most determined charge by the three companies of guards, and the 87th regiment supported by all the remainder of the wing, decided the defeat of General Laval's division.—The Eagle of the 8th regiment of light infantry, which suffered immensely, and a howitzer, rewarded this charge, and remained in possession of Major Gough, of the 87th regiment. These attacks were zealously supported by Colonel Belson with the 28th regiment, and Lieut. Colonel Prevost with a part of the 67th.—A reserve formed beyond the narrow valley, across which the enemy was closely pursued, next shared the same fate, and was routed by the same means. Meanwhile the right wing was not less successful: the enemy, confident of success, met General Dilkes on the ascent of the hill, and the contest was sanguinary, but the undaunted perseverance of the brigade of guards, of Lieut. Col. Browne's battalion, and of Lieut. Col. Norcott's and Major Acheson's detachment, overcame every obstacle, and General Rufin's division was driven from the heights in confusion, leaving two pieces of cannon.—No expressions of mine could do justice to the conduct of the troops throughout. Nothing less than the almost unparalleled exertions of every officer, the invincible bravery of every soldier, and the most determined devotion to the honour of his Majesty's arms in all, could have achieved this brilliant success, against such a formidable enemy, so posted.—In less than an hour and a half from the commencement of the action, the enemy was in full retreat. The retiring divisions met, halted, and seemed inclined to form: a new and more advanced position of our artillery quickly dispersed them.—The exhausted state of the troops made pursuit impossible. A position was taken on the eastern side of the hill; and we were strengthened on our right by the return of the two Spanish battalions that had been attached before to my division, but which I had left on the hill, and which had been ordered to retire.—These battalions (Walloon guards and Ciudad Real) made every effort to come back in time, when it was known that we were engaged.—I understand, too, from General Whittingham, that with three squadrons of cavalry he kept in check a corps of infantry and cavalry that attempted to turn the Barrosa height by the sea. One squadron of the 2d hussars, King's German Legion, under Captain Busche, and directed by Lieutenant Colonel Ponsonby, (both had been attached to the Spanish cavalry), joined in time to make a brilliant and most successful charge against a squadron of French dragoons, which was entirely routed.—An eagle, six pieces of cannon, the General of Division Rufin, and the General of Brigade Rosseau, wounded and taken; the Chief of the Staff General Bellegarde, an Aid de-Camp of Marshal Victor, and the Colonel of the 8th regiment, with many other officers, killed, and several wounded and taken prisoners; the field covered with the dead bodies and arms of the enemy, attest that my confidence in this division was nobly repaid.

(To be continued.)

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL

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SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

MR BINGHAM.——Whatever appertains to the safety and freedom of the people is proper to become a subject of remark under this general head of my work; and, certainly, nothing has, for a long while, occurred more deeply interesting than the case of this gentleman, who, as being thought guilty of having *set his own house on fire* for fraudulent purposes, has, for some time past, been an object of general execration, which was the more bitter from the circumstance of his being a *Clergyman*.——He was tried at HORSHAM in Sussex, on Tuesday, the 26th instant, upon *two Bills of Indictment*. The *first* for writing a *threatening letter* to a farmer, telling him that his corn and houses and cattle should be destroyed; and, the *second*, for *burning his own house*.——He has been found NOT GUILTY upon both; and, while we rejoice at this, it is the duty of those who have it in their power to endeavour to prevent other innocent persons from being persecuted in the like manner. ——The foundation of the first charge was, that the threatening letter was picked up upon a road along which Mr. Bingham had just before passed. Two boys picked it up; and one of them said, that he *thought* he saw it fly from Mr. Bingham's clothes. ——No less than six people came to swear, and did swear, *that they believed the hand writing to be his*. He was, however, acquitted.——For the other charge there appeared to be *not the smallest shadow of proof*; but, on the contrary, the strongest possible presumptive proof of the negative of the charge.——The sufferings of this gentleman and his family are not to be described. If the malefactor, who expiates his crimes on the gallows, be, notwithstanding his guilt, an object of compassion, as he always will be with merciful minds, what is this gentleman? What ought our feelings to be for him? What ought we to feel for his *wife and six children?* I really know of no case so loudly calling for general commiseration, and, if it be required, of aid. Here is a stroke sufficient to ruin a man; and ought a man thus to be ruined without any, even the smallest, fault of his own? Surely, there ought to be some means of compensation discovered for injuries like this.—— Upon the swearing to the *hand writing* I cannot help making a few remarks, which may tend to put JURIES upon their guard against *bold swearers* of this sort.—— I have often taken one hand writing for another, and where is the man who has not. But, I have, in my own experience, such an instance of the uncertainty as to the identifying of hands writing, that I cannot refrain from mentioning it.—— The reader will easily suppose, that my hand writing must be pretty well settled; that it must be grown into a sort of *character of its own*, and that those who are in the habit of seeing it frequently would *safely swear to it*, especially when I tell him, that it is full of singularities, not only in the shape of the letters themselves, but in the general cast and appearance of it, the constant necessity of combining *great dispatch* with *perfect legibility* having produced it.——But, in spite of all this, the writing of all my children, who can write, is so much like mine, that, at the first look, every one would take it for mine; and, the writing of my eldest son (12 years of age) is such an exact likeness of it, in all respects whatever, even to the very *points* and *commas* and *dots*, that I defy any human being to tell one from the other. A letter shall be written between us, some of the paragraphs by one and some by the other, and I will defy any man in the world to point out which of them came from one hand and which from the other. Persons the best acquainted with my writing cannot distinguish mine from that of my son. In many instances the wonderful similarity has made gentlemen, who have witnessed it, *resolve never to swear to hands writing*; and, in scores of instances, *I myself have taken my son's hand for my own*.——Now, this being the case with a boy 12 years of age, who has never been *taught* this imitation, but, who has merely fallen into it from habit, I leave the reader to guess how dangerous it must be to make the

liberty and life of a man depend upon oaths as to similarity of hands writing. When Mr. Lemaitre, whose hard case has been so long before the public, was shown the address of a letter by the Privy Council, and asked whether that was his hand writing, he answered *yes;* but, when he came to see the contents of the letter, he said *he never wrote it.* This was looked upon as proof of his *guilt.* Yet, might not the same happen to me, if the address of a letter to an acquaintance of mine were written by my son?——I hope, that this case of Mr. Bingham will be a warning to juries how they decide upon oaths as to hands writing, and that it will also be a warning to witnesses how they make such oaths. No man's life is safe if it is to be affected by such evidence; for, how many men are there, who can, in the course of a few days, learn to imitate, to the greatest perfection, *any* hand writing! In short, to admit of such evidence is to put every man's life in jeopardy, to expose him to the murderous machinations of spies, informers, and all the dark troop of villains, who trade in accusations and live upon human blood. The Chief Baron, who tried the Indictments against Mr. Bingham, seems to have behaved with great humanity towards the injured prisoner, who, on his side, appears to have discovered great fortitude, and manliness of character, and to have been kindly and feelingly supported by his friends, as he ought to be by his neighbourhood and by the public at large.——One point in the evidence against him, as to the threatening letter, was, that the *water-mark in the paper* corresponded with that of paper *on which he had written to other people.* Good God! What evidence is this? He proved, that the same sort of paper was commonly sold in the neighbourhood; but, suppose it had not? Even suppose that he used paper made for his use exclusively, how was he to answer that no servant of his would take away a sheet of his paper? And, in all likelihood, any villain, who would *imitate his hand writing*, would, even in such a case, take care to get at *a sheet of his paper;* while he himself, if he was about to write a threatening letter, would take special care to furnish himself with some other sort of paper.——There is nothing more carefully to be guarded against than this slender sort of evidence, which, at best, amounts to grounds of *mere suspicion.* It is unworthy of the name of *evidence*, and men's lives ought not to be put in jeopardy upon it.——There must be some very vile wretches in the neighbourhood of Mr. Bingham, and it is to be hoped, that they will yet be discovered. The cause of this gentleman is that of every good man. It is the cause of innocence against false accusation; and, the gentlemen in Sussex will be shamefully wanting to themselves as well as to justice towards him, if they fail to show him all the countenance in their power, and, indeed, to compensate him amply and *substantially* for his wrongs.

Corn against Sugar.——In my last Number, at page 749, I inserted an account of the proceedings of the *Corn* gentlemen, who meet against Sugar at the St. Albans Tavern. In the present Number, at the end of this Summary, I insert certain Resolutions, passed by the *Sugar* gentlemen, met at the City of London Tavern, on Tuesday, the 26th instant.——The fire from the East certainly overpowers that from the West; and, if the *Corn* gentlemen have most money, the *Sugar* gentlemen have decidedly most wit.——These Sugar Resolutions contain so many distinct propositions, very well drawn up. They are clear in their meaning, and unless they can be controverted as to their premises, their conclusions are indubitable. All, therefore, that my lord Sidmouth and his worthy coadjutors, Mr. Curwen and Sir John Sinclair, have to do, is, to *refute* the propositions. And, I would beseech them not to look upon this as *unnecessary;* for, they may be assured, that there are not in this whole kingdom, as many people as would make up a good large card-party, who are disposed to believe a thing to be wrong merely because these three great men *say* that it is wrong.——I do not, for my part, see, why the duty upon Sugar should not be made so low as to enable people to use it for good purposes. It is *nutritious* and *wholesome.* Would it not be better to let people use the coarse, as they do molasses in America, as a sort of sauce to fat pork and bacon? Why not use it for the fatting of hogs? Better do that than let it rot in the warehouses and tax the people to lend money to its owners, who would want nothing lent to them, if you will let them *sell their goods*——This colony work is, at last, come to a pretty pass. A farmer (for why should not that name be given to a Sugar as well as to a Corn grower) in Jamaica is thus situated. We compel him to buy all his household

goods, tools, wearing apparel, and whatever else he cannot get in Jamaica, of US. We compel him to send TO US all that part of his produce which he does not expend at home (except a little occasionally exchanged with the Americans for wood and food); and, yet (oh, intolerable injustice and oppression!) we will not let him *sell* that produce to the people, when he has sent it to us!——This is the short, but fair, state of his case.——Why do we not let him carry his produce *to other countries* and get his goods and tools *from those countries?* "Oh! you traitor," exclaims some loyal land-owner! "would you "alienate Jamaica from the *Mother* coun-"try?" Well, then, if you will not consent to this, why will you not let the Jamaica farmer come into the market with you? *Mother!* Pretty mother indeed! She is (or, at least, you would have her be) like too many other modern mothers, who perform the office with wonderful alacrity till the hour arrives for giving comfort and support to their offspring, when they cast them off to draw their nourishment from an alien breast. ROUSSEAU, in his work of matchless eloquence, says, she who refuses to her child that which nature has said shall be his birthright, has no claim to his affection or his duty: she has *no son;* he has *no mother*. But, we are worse than these unnatural mothers, these mothers, on whose conduct the example even of the tygress is a reproach; we are (or these Corn gentlemen would have us be) worse than they; for they do think it their duty to get a hireling mother (though almost *necessarily* a unnatural one) to supply their place whereas we, not only do not furnish an substitute, but absolutely forbid our colonial offspring to find nourishment amongst strangers.——These colonies are *expensive* to us, and, therefore, we ought to derive all the benefit from them that they are capable of yielding.——Very well; but bear in mind, that it is our own *choice* that they are *expensive* to us. Bear in mind that the colonists do not *ask* us to keep them in our possession. If we will set them free, let them carry their produce or send it, where they please, and buy their tools and clothes where they please they will call upon us for no expences We should not, therefore, blame them for that which arises out of our own choice We compel them to remain subjects to us and we cry out about the expence arising from it.——It has been said, that the cause of the overstock of Sugar, is, that too much is raised, and that the West India farmers should raise less.——This is very true in one respect; but, observe, that, if they raise less, they will *want less of your manufactures*, less of the produce of England. And, I must be excused if I do not see that they raise too much, so long as I can point out the means of using their Sugar instead of corn in England, while England is obliged to *bring corn from the dominions of the enemy*, and pay him an enormous duty upon it, and while *he* will take nothing but gold and silver in payment.——This is the fact that stares the corn gentlemen in the face. When, indeed, "our vallies shall be so filled with "corn" as to render it unnecessary to bring any from foreign countries; when our own fields grow enough food for our own eating; when Mr. CURWEN, whether from the stewing of straw, or, profiting from the hint of his India friend, extracting "*good food*" for the people out of *horse dung**; when he can say, "here, we have "corn enough for all your wants, and "there is *no longer any need of importa-"tion*." When he can say this, we will *hear* what he has to say about shutting out sugar from the market; but, until then, he may be well assured, that, *rally* as often as he pleases, he will always get defeated in his opposition to the use of Sugar.——If importation of Corn should be rendered unnecessary, as it will, in time, be, *by the*

* "The general scarcity of grain "which prevailed at that time induced "*many thousands* to flock to the British "camp in search of food, and I daily "witnessed, for weeks together, *many "hundreds of all ages and sexes*, coming "into the lines of our *cavalry*, and *anxiously* "collecting and carrying away the *excre-"ment*, as it fell from the horses; this "they exposed for a few hours to the sun, "and by rubbing and sifting it, procured "a *large* supply of GOOD FOOD."——This Mr. CURWEN publishes in his "HINTS "ON AGRICULTURAL SUBJECTS," as part of an "*Interesting* Communication," sent him by "a very *intelligent* officer, who had "served long in India;" and a pretty *hint* it is for an English Landowner to publish. I wonder it had not led the inquisitive mind of Mr. CURWEN to consider what degree of nutriment might have been found for the poor in the *milk* of the cavalry.——Bones and broth always go together.

diminution of the number of hands employed in manufactures, it will then become a *question* whether we ought to shut Sugar out of the market as a competitor of Corn; but, at present, it cannot be a matter of doubt with any impartial man of sense; and, the opposition to the use of Sugar instead of Corn in the Distilleries, while we are *buying corn from our enemy with gold and silver*, can arise, I think it must be allowed, from nothing but the grossest of ignorance, accompanied, in some instances, with greediness insatiable.——Why does not Mr. CURWEN object to the sale of *tea*? He has found out a method of keeping the poor upon *milk*, proceeding from his stewed straw and his cabbages; and, he would cut off all the allowances of *tea* and *butter*, and almost the whole of the bread. He asserts, that *milk* is more wholesome, *nutritious*, and *strengthening*, than bread and butter and tea; and that it is a better *beverage* for *hard-working men*, than *porter*, or *beer*, because it is *harder of digestion*. So that here he comes athwart the hawser of the Barley-growers; and, while he is publishing a book to make *milk* a beverage of catholic use; while he is at work tooth and nail to drive *beer* and *porter* out of vogue, he is meeting at the St. Alban's Tavern to promote the making of barley into poisonous *whiskey*! Aye, and asserting, that if this be not done, we shall have no resource of corn in times of scarcity! He seems quite to have forgotten that famous resource, the *milk*, which, according to his book, is meat, drink, and almost clothing, and with which, in his Sangrado-like zeal, he appears to wish to drench and wring the bowels of the whole nation. ——But, enough of these fooleries. Let us come to something more worthy of our serious attention.

JUBILEE DOLLARS.——In my last Number, at page 746, I suggested some doubts as to what might be necessary to be done, in consequence of the rise in the price of the Dollar, as to the salaries of persons in the employment and pay of the government, and, by way of illustration, I took the case of *my Lords the Judges*, who will now receive the Dollar at *5s. 6d.* instead of *5s.* as they did before. I suppose a Judge to receive *£*.4,000 a year; and if he receives this in Dollars at *5s. 6d.* instead of *5s.* it is as clear as day light, that he will receive only *£*.3,600 instead of *£*.4,000. And, as the Dollar *rises*, it is quite manifest, that my Lord's salary will, in fact, *fall*.——The instance of the Judges having been taken, I followed the chain of observation to other persons receiving salaries out of the taxes raised upon the People, and I then went on the pensioners, and even to the Army and Navy, observing, that it appeared to me, that, if *any* of the salaries were raised, the pay of the *Army* and *Navy* must be raised too.——A correspondent, noticing these observations, cries out against me for *proposing* the salaries of *the Judges to be raised*; and accuses me of having given encouragement to adding to the public expenditure, and, of course, to the taxes.——Really I *proposed* no such thing. I was merely speculating hypothetically upon the consequences of the progressive depreciation of the paper, or, as Lord BATHURST calls it, the *rise* in the price of Bullion. I did not *propose* that the Judges should be paid more than they now receive, which, in my opinion, is quite enough. I was only saying, that, *if* their pay was raised, that of the Soldiers and Sailors would be raised, of course; and, I merely took the instance of my Lords the Judges, because they happened to present themselves first to my mind. ——I did not *propose*, or *recommend*, or *suggest*, any thing as proper to be done, *at present*, in this way; no, nor at any future time; I was merely speaking of some of the consequences of a further rise in the nominal value of the Dollar, and was, amongst other consequences, stating those which would arise to persons receiving pay out of the taxes, especially if this pay was in *fixed annual sums*.——I have entered into this explanation in order to satisfy my correspondent, that I did not recommend, or mean to recommend, any addition whatever to be made to the salaries of the Judges, or of any body else. But, I must repeat, that, *if* any rise does take place, I am of opinion it must go all through, not omitting the *pensioners*; for, why should they be omitted? Why should any distinction be made? There are hundreds of *officers' widows* and *children*, whose cases must call for as much compassion as the case of any human beings. ——There was some remarks in the MORNING CHRONICLE, upon the subject of these Jubilee Dollars, which I will first insert, and offer some observations upon them; for the subject is of vital importance: it is the *Alpha* and *Omega* of English politics: every thing, as to events, turns upon it.—— "In the Report of the Bullion Committee "is the following passage:—" Your Com-

"mittee beg leave to advert to the "temptation to resort to a depreciation "even of the value of the Gold Coin, by "an alteration of the Standard. This "has been the resource of many Go- "vernments, and is the obvious and "most easy remedy to the evil in ques- "tion. But it is unnecessary to dwell "on the *breach of public* faith, and the "dereliction of a primary duty of Go- "vernment, which would manifestly be "implied in preferring the *reduction of the coin* down to the standard of the "paper, to the *restoration of the paper* to "the legal standard of the coin."—— "In this sentiment all the writers on the "subject have agreed; nor will it proba- "bly be controverted by any honest and "intelligent man. It might have been "farther observed, that such a remedy "could only have a temporary effect. "We may call a piece of gold or silver "what we please, or declare it shall pass "among ourselves for any nominal sum; "but it will never pass abroad for more "than its intrinsic worth, and at home the "price of every article will quickly be "enhanced in proportion.—When the "Bank first issued Dollars at the rate of "5*s*. little attention was paid to the princi- "ple. The convenience of increasing a "good silver currency was felt, and the "declared obligation on the Bank to take "them back at the nominal value was re- "lied on. The Bank has issued five or "six millions sterling in Dollars at that "rate since 1797, a small part of which "will never go back, the far greater part "having been melted or exported. The "profit derived to the Bank by this ope- "ration, at the expence of the public, is "matter of easy calculation.—But *now* "that the Bank has thought proper to in- "crease the nominal value ten per cent. "and it has become evident that it may "go on to any amount, people begin to "open their eyes. Having the counte- "nance of Government, what hinders the "Bank to operate on the Gold Coin in the "same way they have done on the Silver, "or to issue pieces of gold, intrinsically "worth 15*s*. to pass for Guineas.—It is "vain to say the Dollars are not current "coin, while no person can refuse them, "or obtain the change of a 20*s*. note with- "out taking them. That they have not "been made a legal tender, is just such a "quibble as maintaining that Bank of "England Notes are not effectually such "a tender. As Mr. Giddy observes, the "public Creditors must take them, or go "unpaid.—The excuse for the augment- "ation of the nominal value of the Dol- "lars is, that *Silver has risen in price*. In "comparison with what has it risen? "Silver, in comparison with Silver of the "same standard, cannot rise. It will not "be pretended that Gold has risen, as in "comparison with Silver, beyond the "usual difference. But, in comparison "with Bank Paper Silver has undoubt- "edly risen, or, in more accurate terms, "the Paper has depreciated. That fact "was sufficiently demonstrated before, "the comparison being made with Gold, "which is the true and only standard. "But if that were wanted, the fact seems "to be put beyond all doubt by this ope- "ration of the Bank itself, and the pre- "sent rate of depreciation fixed at very "nearly 20 per cent. How soon it may "be at 50 per cent. no man can tell, *while the Bank is permitted to follow the course it has done for some years past*, and which it "seems *resolved to persist in*, while any "Gold or Silver remains in the country."

——Now, I shall not, I am quite sure, be suspected of any partiality towards the Old Lady in Threadneedle Street, whom I look upon as having been one of the great causes of all the mischiefs that have been brought upon the country; but, really, I do not understand these charges against *the Bank*. "While the Bank is "*permitted* to follow the course it has done "for some years past." Why, Mr. PERRY, how can *the Bank* help it? How can any body *refuse to permit* the Bank to go on as it does? It is an old saying, that one cannot have blood out of a *flint stone*; but, I will venture to say, that this truth is not more obvious than the truth, that you cannot make the Bank *change* its course, and that the Bank *cannot change* its course of itself. "*Resolved* to persist!" Why, you may as well reproach my man Compton with resolving to have but one arm. The poor fellow had it shot off; and, is he to be accused of *persisting* in having but one arm? Yet, is there, in my opinion, full as much injustice in charging the Bank with persisting in having paper-money instead of real money.——*Well*, but will I allow there to be *no remedy* then? That we will talk about, after I have heard the debate upon Mr. HORNER's motion, which, I see, is coming on, that gentleman having sent up word to the Honourable House, that he means to come on with it in a short time. But, in the meanwhile,

it may not be amiss to observe, that I shall, in my remaining Letters on *Paper against Gold*, treat of this matter at full length. I should have done it long ago; but, I wished first to hear what the Honourable House had to say upon it. When I have *their* opinions before me; when I have all their projects of *remedies*, then I will give mine; and time will tell who is right and who wrong. But, I have no scruple in saying even now, that, if there be nothing better in reserve, in the way of remedy, than what I have seen in the Bullion Report, it will be only another *bubble*, added to all that we have seen before; if there be nothing but the scheme of *restoring the paper*, the disappointment of all those who look to that scheme as a *remedy* will be, at the least, full as great as any that they have hitherto experienced.—— In the above article, MR. PERRY tells us, that, "when the Bank first issued Dollars "at 5*s*. *little attention* was paid to the "principle."——By *himself*, he means, perhaps; but, by *me*, to my great annoyance from abuse, *very great attention* was paid to it; and, I, in *every stage* of the measure, reprobated the power given to the Bank, and foretold its consequences. If MR. PERRY will take the trouble to look into the Indexes of Vols. IV. and V. of the Register under the words, *Dollars*, *Bank Dollars*, and *Bank Notes*, he will find, not only that *great attention* was paid to the matter, but that all the arguments, which he now makes use of, and a great many more, were then used, against permitting the Bank to issue coin; and also, that all the consequences were foreseen and foretold, just as they have come, and are coming, to pass.—"*Now*" this thing, he says, is *beginning* to open the eyes of the people. The eyes of all those, who were not wilfully blind, were opened long ago; and, I believe, that the far greater half of the people see as clearly what is now coming as they see the sun when it shines. Whether the rod-of-iron men or the rallers or the life and fortune or the last-shilling and last-drop-of-blood men; whether any of these see it, is more than I can say, and, it is, indeed, what I do not care a straw about. See it, or see it not, no one can do any thing to prevent it, though, as I shall hereafter show, much may be done if *taken in time*, to prevent many of the fatal consequences which will naturally arise from it, if no previous *measures of precaution* are taken.——But, at any rate, I must always repeat, that, let the consequences be what they may, no part of them will be ascribable to the *Jacobins* and *Levellers*, who have had nothing at all to do with the matter. They have been kept down. "The *great statesman* now no more" and his followers, of *both parties*, have succeeded in keeping down the *Reformers*. They have prevented *Reform*, and have joined in calling the *Reformers* "a low *de*-"*graded crew*." Well, then, the Reformers have had nothing to do with the financial measures. They have had no power. They have been told, that those who kept them down were the wisest men in the world. They have been reproached as beasts unfit to think of such *high matters*. Well, then, let us *now see*; let us see, and judge by, the *result*. Let these men, who have reproached us with all sorts of baseness, because we have called for a *reform of parliament*; let them, *now*, and in the times that are coming, keep the concern in their hand. and shew us the result.

FLOGGING THE POOR.——A bill has lately been introduced into the House of Commons by a MR. CHAPLIN (whose name I never happened to hear of before); and, according to SIR SAMUEL ROMILLY'S description of it, it would have authorized certain persons, to be called DIRECTORS (no bad name, by the by) to *flog the poor*. What was said by MR. CHAPLIN himself and by SIR SAMUEL ROMILLY, which I take from the MORNING CHRONICLE of the 26th instant, may suffice to give the reader some idea of this Bill, of which I shall publish an abstract, as soon as I can lay my hands upon the famous instrument. ——It is called the "SPILSBY POOR "BILL," and what I am now going to insert is a report of what these two gentlemen said, upon a motion for a *second reading* of it.——"MR. CHAPLIN moved the "second reading of the Spilsby Poor Bill, "for the purpose of postponing it for a "month. He was aware that there were "many objectionable clauses in it; but, "perhaps, with several alterations, it "might be rendered worthy the attention "of the House.——SIR S. ROMILLY was "anxious to give every opportunity for "improvement, where improvement was "possible, but the whole frame and object "of the Bill was bad; there was not a "single clause but what was liable to objection. He again adverted to some of "the most extraordinary provisions of "this Bill, which was intended to operate

“ upon *twenty united parishes.* The Directors were empowered to compel all the poor throughout the whole extent of these parishes, *whether asking for relief or not,* to go into this workhouse. They were to have all the authority of magistrates with respect to such as *they should consider* vagrants. They were to be allowed to *enter houses at their discretion to search for vagrants.* They might *commit to solitary imprisonment, without limit,* the poor which they collected, and administer *moderate correction* for misbehaviour; in other words, they were to have the power of FLOGGING THE POOR under their controul, *at their own discretion.* They might besides, by this Bill, *seize all the poor children in the parish,* whether calling for relief or not, and bind them apprentices at their discretion. He understood that many of the most respectable inhabitants of Spilsby had never heard of such a Bill, and that they strongly disapproved of its provisions. He next adverted to some very objectionable provisions in Acts relating to the Poor, that had passed in former Sessions, the St. Paul's, Shadwell; the St. George's, Southwark, Acts, &c. and recommended a more strict attention to such Bills in future. He thought that a remedy to these Workhouse Regulations was urgently required, and concluded by proposing that the Bill be read a second time this day six months.”——Here was a pretty thing! The thanks of the country are due to Sir Samuel Romilly for this stand. What! FLOG them! Seize them first by force, and then *flog* them!——But, it is useless to make observations; only, I wish that the poor of these twenty parishes, who were thus to be exposed to FLOGGING, could read this speech of Sir Samuel Romilly. A great deal of outcry was made against Sir Francis Burdett's prediction, that the next thing would be to FLOG THE PEOPLE; but, if this bill had passed, the prediction would have been most completely fulfilled; for, if they had flogged twenty parishes, why not flog all the parishes.——The bill was, it seems, rejected without a division; but, it was *brought in;* the *attempt* was made; and, it seems, to have failed from the activity and attention and merciful disposition of Sir Samuel Romilly.——But, it was not the flogging only, there was that infernal thing *solitary imprisonment* and *without limit,* and at *discretion* too! What must be thought of this in foreign countries? What must any nation upon earth think of it? Shall we be told, that Buonaparté flogs his poor? Will this assertion be flung in our teeth? Will the venal writers of the Morning Post and the Courier tell us, that we ought not to grumble at this, because, say they, the people *in France* are flogged? Suppose such were the case (and I dare say they are as ready to swear that it is as they were to swear that Napoleon and his ministers boasted of being addicted to unnatural crimes), suppose this were the case, what comfort would that have been to the poor in *Lincolnshire,* if the lash had been permitted to be laid on upon them?——This has, however, been prevented; and, again I say, our thanks are due to Sir Samuel Romilly.——“*Despise* not the poor, because he is poor,” is a precept of the Bible; and, if we are to refrain from *despising* them, surely, we ought not to leave them to be *flogged* and *imprisoned* at the pleasure of any set of men whatever.——What a thing this is only to be *named,* or *thought* of, in England! What a thing it is, in this, which is everlastingly called the *freest* and *most happy* country in the world! The Act has not *passed,* and will not pass; but, it was *drawn* up; some man must have sitten down and written it out; it must have been formed upon *deliberation;* it is next to impossible that it could have arisen out of the mind of *one man;* no single man could have supposed it possible, that, *wholly unaided,* he could have been able to carry through such a bill.——Let us hope, that this will be sufficient to produce caution for the future, and that some Members of Parliament, imitating Sir Samuel Romilly, will look into such matters.

French Prince.——The birth of this child is a *great event.* In another part of this Number, I have inserted the account of it, as it stood in our daily news-papers; for foolish as it appears, it is what one may wish hereafter to refer to. It is the first announcement of an event that may have, and, in all likelihood, will have, a great effect upon the future lot of the people of Europe.——It is a whimsical idea, that has got abroad, through the news-papers, that his having a child will dispose Napoleon to *peace!* Was there ever any thing so foolish! But, it shows what our state is, when we thus *catch at straws.* *Peace!* Aye, he will be disposed to peace at a time, if we will withdraw our troops!

Spain, Portugal, and Sicily, and will give up Malta, and all the Islands that we have taken from the French, Dutch, and Danes, and will take care not to interfere in the affairs of Mexico and the rest of South America. These are *his* terms of peace; and if his Empress had had twins he would not have been disposed to listen to any other. *Peace,* indeed! Never shall we see it, till the Dollar has done rising; that is to say, till the paper-money has found its *level*; its *natural level. Peace!* Why, does he not know all about our situation as well as we do? Does any body believe, that he does not hear all about the *Commercial Relief* and the *five and sixpenny dollar?*——What an idea, that he should now, because he has got a child, leave off thinking about *conquests* and *power!* But, as I said before, it shows exactly what our situation is. It shows what a state we have been brought into, and *not by the reformers.*

Press in India.——In another part of this paper, I have inserted the debate upon the subject of the *Press in India;* but, at present, I have no time to say any thing upon the subject. I beg the reader to go through. Look well at it, and particularly at the speech of Lord Archibald Hamilton, who made the motion, out of which this curious debate arose. I gave a description of *this Press,* from very good authority, in the Spring of 1806; but the INS of that day were too busily employed in securing their places to think of the matter then. It is a very fine subject. Pray, reader, look well at the speeches. I shall offer some remarks upon the subject, in my next Number.

Parliamentary Reform.——I shall also, as far as I can, insert in this Number, the debate upon Mr. Wynne's Bill about *Bribery at Elections.* —— These things should not escape us for an hour.——On this subject, too, I shall, in my next, offer some observations, and I insert the debate itself here, that the reader may be prepared for them.——These are the matters that *really concern* the people of England. We may leave the Morning Post and the Courier to fill their columns about the victories of Busaço and Barrosa, and the history of General Pena; for although Mr. Graham appears to have shown very great bravery and to have been well supported by his troops, the affair is, in my opinion, of infinitely less importance than any one of the sentences in Sir John Anstruther's Speech upon Mr. Wynne's Bill against *Bribery at Elections.*——Not that I think any thing at all of Mr. Wynne's measure. It would have done no good at all in the end. But it caused a debate, and out came some things to be eternally borne in mind.

Liberty of the Press. —— Lord Folkestone's motion about Ex Officio Informations is another capital subject. It is one in which the public are *really interested;* and as such it shall be noticed in my next.

Wm. COBBETT.

State Prison, Newgate, Friday, March 29, 1811.

CORN AGAINST SUGAR.

At a General Meeting of West India Planters and Merchants, held at the City of London Tavern, on Tuesday the 26th of March, 1811, for the purpose of taking into consideration the Bill for the regulation of the Distilleries now before Parliament, &c. &c.

Charles Ellis, Esq. M. P. in the Chair.

Resolved, That the West India Colonists do not presume to question the policy on which the British Corn Laws are founded.

Resolved, That by those Laws the prices at which Corn is permitted to be exported or imported, have been fixed with reference only to the encouragement of Agriculture, and to the due supply of the Country.

Resolved, That the use of Corn in the Distilleries has never been prohibited, except when Corn was above the prices at which importation was permitted or encouraged.

Resolved, That Sugar has been always, in effect, excluded from the Distilleries, except when the use of Corn therein was on these principles prohibited.

Resolved, That it is therefore incorrect to affirm that the employment of Sugar in the Distilleries has ever been adopted, either as a Boon to the West India Colonists, or to the prejudice of the Agricultural Interests of Great Britain.

Resolved, That the West India Colonists make no claim to a competion calculated to injure, or even to expose to hazard, the Agricultural Interest of this Country; but they confidently claim, upon the ground not less of general policy than of justice to their interests, that the produce of the British Colonies may be admitted to the

Distilleries in preference to Foreign Corn.

Resolved, That whenever the growth of British Corn is insufficient for the necessary consumption of the Country, the extraordinary consumption of the Distilleries may be supplied either by the importation of Foreign Corn, or by the substitution of Sugar, without prejudice to the British Corn Grower; and that the effect upon the price of British Corn will be the same, whether Sugar or Foreign Corn be employed for that purpose.

Resolved, That it appears by official accounts now before Parliament, that the real value of the Corn, Grain and Flour imported into Great Britain from Foreign parts (Ireland of course excluded), amounts on the average of eleven years (from 1800 to 1810 both inclusive) to 3,721,866*l.* and that in the last year it reached the sum of 7,077,865*l*, while the real value of the grain annually consumed in the Distillery of Great Britain (when supplied by grain), may be estimated at about 950,000*l.* or about 470,000 quarters, which quantity in these latter years would have been further required to be annually imported, if Sugar had not been substituted for Corn in the Distilleries.

Resolved, That although Barley does not constitute a large proportion of the usual importation of Foreign Corn, yet as the consumption of this article in the Distilleries is asserted to afford a resource against an occasional deficiency in the supply of British Corn, and to operate as a Granary for the food of Man and Beast in time of scarcity (an effect which could not be produced, except upon the principle that the consumption and price of one species of Grain are influenced by those of another,) there appear from the facts above stated, of the average import of grain, to exist ample means, both for encouragement of British Agriculture, and also for some support to the British Colonies, with the additional advantage of diminishing that large tribute which we annually pay to the Agriculture, Commerce, and Resources of the Enemy.

Resolved, That the incidental advantage arising from the admission of Sugar to the Distilleries, as proposed by the Bill now before Parliament, is so guarded by the Provisions of that Bill, that the West India Colonist so far from being in effect admitted to an equal competition, for the Distillery with British Corn, is not even admitted upon terms as favourable as the Foreign Importer; the Foreign Importer is admitted into general competition with the British Corn Grower when Barley is at 33*s.* per quarter, while 38*s.* per quarter is the price now proposed to be fixed for the admission of Sugar into competition with British and Foreign Corn conjointly, on what is assumed to be an equal footing.

Resolved, That this Bill, therefore, though advantageous to the West India Colonists, as compared with the total exclusion from the Distilleries, to which they have been subjected, will be a benefit very far short of that to which they conceive themselves to be equitably entitled, and which, in consequence of the necessity for a large importation of Foreign Corn, might be afforded to them without discouragement to the Agriculture of the Country. C. ELLIS, Chairman.

The Chairman having left the Chair,

Resolved, That the Thanks of the Meeting be given to the Chairman for his conduct in the Chair. WM. HOLDEN, Sec.

PRESS IN INDIA.

LORD ARCHIBALD HAMILTON'S MOTION, AND DEBATE THEREON, IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, ON THE 20TH MARCH, 1811.

Lord ARCHIBALD HAMILTON rose to make his promised motion relative to the state of the Press in India. His lordship did not mean, at present, to go fully into the question, but merely to move for a copy of the Orders and Regulations that had been issued on the subject of the Press in India. He should state to the House not only what his object was, but what it was not. He had no intention at present to find fault, or to ask of the House to deliver any opinion on the subject; but only, that they would afford themselves an opportunity of knowing what the facts of the case were. He presumed, that the circumstances of the late trials at Madras afforded sufficient evidence of the necessity of the information he now wished to obtain, but on considering that subject, additional reasons seemed to present themselves. Of late years the Press in India, it was said, had been put under Regulations, inconsistent, not only with justice, but with what had been even recognized by that House. He asked, therefore, for information, not only as to what the law was, relating to the Press in India, but how it could have been rendered so contrary to what had ever been understood, or been recognized in that House. They

knew that the Resolutions of that House had frequently been set at nought by the Governors of India; that they had been most tyrannically set aside in the case of the Nabob of Oude, where a proclamation had been issued, said to be by the direction of this Government, at a time when no such direction could have been received. It was impossible that the House should allow such an exercise of unjust power to exist, if it consisted with their knowledge; and all he wished was to put them in possession of the fact. As to the Newspapers, nothing was allowed to appear in them, till it had previously been submitted to the inspection, and received the approbation, of the Secretary to the Governor-General. His lordship did not now inquire, if this was right or wrong. He only stated the fact. The penalty of non-compliance with this regulation was, that the party transgressing was immediately embarked for Europe. It was for the House to say, if such a power as this ought to depend on an individual. It would be found, also, that rules were laid down by the Governors of India for the security of the Government, by which the Secretary, or some other officer was invested with the privilege of revising all publications before they made their appearance. He should state what were the subjects on which it was prohibited to any man to write, and should then wish gentlemen to consider, if all those topics were prohibited, what was open? The subjects prohibited, were, any statements or observations relating to the public Credit, to the finances of the Country, Naval or Military Estimates, the objects and destinations of any Expeditions public or individual, all discussions or observations concerning War or Peace; every thing tending to give information to the Enemy, or to excite alarm; and the republication of any Extracts from European Journals, which could tend to injure the British interests in India. All his lordship now wished for, was the Papers, from which the House would be enabled to see the exact extent of these prohibitions and restrictions on the Press in India. When [illegible] reflected on the ruin which had [illegible]ght by our Government in India on the Native powers, they would find that they could hardly turn their eyes around without perceiving that the administration of justice was the only object which remained to excite either admiration or respect. Let them look, however, to the late trials at Madras, and they would find that on that occasion, the Courts of Justice had been so ashamed of their proceedings that they would not let the public know the nature of them, and that they had prohibited the trials from being printed. If there had existed any thing, as was said, to create fermentation, the publication of the trials must have been calculated to produce good rather than harm. It would appear that three of the Grand and two of the Petty Jury had been sent to a distance from Madras, on occasion of those trials, some of them to the distance of 600 miles; and that one person, who was a Justice of Peace, had been broken on the same occasion. His Lordship could conceive no possible reason for the Government of India preventing those trials from being published, except that the Courts were ashamed of them. He thought, therefore, that the Papers necessary to shew the law relative to the restrictions on the Press in India ought to be laid before the House; it being impossible that any person could have a fair trial, where there was an ambiguity in the law. His Lordship read the opinion of Judge Sullivan, to shew that an unauthorized restriction of the Press could not be easily passed by, as it was the best security that the sources of public justice should be kept unpolluted. Either this was extravagant rant, or it must be applicable to India as well as to this country. He concluded by moving, "That there be laid before the House Copies of all Orders, Regulations, Rules, &c. relative to the Restrictions on the Press in the different Presidencies in India, either by the Governments themselves, or transmitted from this country, since the year 1797.

Mr. Dundas should shortly state his reasons for opposing the motion of the Noble Lord *in toto*. He must particularly complain of the time chosen by the Noble Lord for alluding to the topics introduced by him. All the proceedings alluded to by the Noble Lord had been ordered to be laid before the House, and when they were on the table, but not till then, it would be time to consider them. It was not for him now to determine as to the conduct of the Courts in India; that would be to anticipate what would come more properly before the House at some future opportunity.

But the Noble Lord had called for the rules prevailing in India besides those es-

tablished there for the regulation of th press. With the exception of the regulations mentioned by the Noble Lord, he was not aware of any other, and he would ask the Noble Lord, if it was his wish that there should be an unrestrained publication of Newspapers in India? This surely could not be the wish of any friend to the British interests in India. He doubted very much if the existence of a press in India without such controul might not endanger the Government there. The Noble Lord then agreed with him, that there ought to be some restrictions. If those now existing were disapproved, he should be glad to hear what the Noble Lord would wish to substitute in their place as equally efficient and less objectionable. There was no person in India amongst the Europeans who did not voluntarily agree to those regulations beforehand. No person could go out to India but in the service of the Government, or by the license of the Company. They who were in India in neither of these characters were by law guilty of a misdemeanour. Were not the Company justified in imposing conditions upon their own servants—might not any public department make a regulation prohibitory of their officers or clerks becoming editors of newspapers?—and why not the Company? It takes from the individual no right; but enjoins certain conditions upon him, which if he dislikes, he need not enter into their service; but if he does he cannot complain of being required to act up to them. The Noble Lord talked of the benefits of free discussion: suppose some of the news-paper writers, in the exercise of such a right, endeavoured to extend the benefits of the British Constitution to India; would not this be going to the very foundation of the principles upon which we hold our tenure in India—that of preserving to the natives their ancient laws and customs. He did not see what there was to complain against as to the regulations which had been approved in 1800 by the Company.

Lord Folkestone thought there were abundant reasons furnished by the speech of the Right Honourable Gentleman who had just sat down, for agreeing to the motion of his Noble Friend. If those regulations were of so paramount a nature that every individual became bound by them, independant of every other consideration or principle, then was it, in his judgment, most necessary that the ——— know what those regulations were: when it was recollected that they related to India, he thought that circumstance was in itself sufficient to give great reason for jealousy and distrust on the part of the House. He denied that those stated by his Noble Friend were the sole regulations, as the Right Honourable Gentleman seemed erroneously to think they were. Neither did he think it fair of that Right Honourable Gentleman to call upon his Noble Friend to propose better regulations than those now existing. This was not fair; it was not parliamentary. His Noble Friend had done his duty in complaining of what he thought was wrong. He should vote for the production of the Papers—first, because he thought that they ought to know under what rules and regulations the Natives lived; and next, because it was necessary, in his opinion, to inquire whether such rules furnished adequate grounds for prohibiting the right of publication of the trials at Madras claimed by the parties concerned.

Sir John Anstruther opposed the motion. The Noble Lord had called for those regulations on the grounds that they were illegal, oppressive, and unjust. Now he could not agree to the motion, as he did not think them illegal, oppressive or unjust. Did Gentlemen duly consider the country, when they talked of the necessity of discussion in India. There were two classes of persons in India, the public servants and the natives; of the former, any who were there not in the service of the Government, or not by the license of the Company, were criminals, and liable to be sent home for a misdemeanour. Was the discussion meant for the natives? He fancied not. Then of what good could it be productive amongst public servants? Were one set of those public servants to be enlightening another by Newspapers, or were both to unite in writing against their masters? Was the Secretary of the Treasury to set up a Newspaper to write down the First Lord of the Admiralty, and the Secretary of the Admiralty to become Editor of another Newspaper, to attack the First Lord of the Treasury? [A laugh.] Suppose a Newspaper should, by a series of discussions, open the eyes of the natives to their strength and our comparative weakness, the small number of British compared with that of the natives? The circumstance which called Lord Welles-

ley's attention to the state of the Press in India, was not a little singular—It was gravely discussed in a series of ingenious essays, how far, with what ease and safety a combination amongst the natives might dispatch all the British by massacre. [Hear, hear.] As to the refusal of permission to publish the Madras trials, he thought the Judges were right in that refusal. The Noble Lord should recollect the state of Madras at that time—it was in a violent ferment. He thought that fact in itself sufficient to account for and justify the caution of the judges in not allowing the publication to go forth at a time of such heat and commotion. As he could not think the regulations bore the character given them by the Noble Lord, he could not support a motion avowedly founded upon an opinion so opposite to his own.

Mr. Howard (we believe) admitted the necessity of regulations, and acknowledged that a Press in India, wholly unrestrained, might be productive of great mischief. But the matter for complaint was, not that regulations were imposed on men before they went out, to which they previously and voluntarily acceded, but that after they had gone out, they found they had to struggle with innovations superinduced upon those regulations, to which they had not only not voluntarily assented, but of which they had not had any idea. [Hear!]

Sir Thomas Turton was not surprised at hearing the language which had been used by those who opposed this motion: such language was altogether worthy of the country in which the governors were every thing, and the governed were nothing. The absurdity was to speak at all of freedom of discussion, or the liberty of the Press, when India was the subject. The liberty of the Press in India! "Risum "teneatis, amici?" As if a plant of such "celestial growth" could flourish in the sterile soil of despotism! Under any such a system of Government, discussion was indeed to be avoided. Nothing could be more dangerous than freedom of discussion under a Government founded upon blood and upon injustice. As wisely might the liberty of the Press be established at Tunis or Algiers, where the Government was not inferior to that of ours in India [a laugh]. He had no hesitation in avowing it as his opinion, that there was as much liberty enjoyed under the Government of the Dey of Algiers, or the Emperor of Morocco, as by the natives under the British Government in India. Therefore must any discussion be dangerous that could open their eyes to their present state, or make them reflect that the British were but one million, while they were sixty millions. But if the regulations were, as they had been, approved of by Gentlemen opposite, he wished to know why they were so reluctant to produce them? He thought, that as rules and regulations affecting such a portion of the British Empire, they ought to be promulgated; if, however, they were so wise and salutary, and beneficial as they were said to be, what possible objection could there be to the motion of the Noble Lord, who only called for their production? The usual Parliamentary objection, that voting for their production implied a censure upon them, could not hold here; if they were what they should be, promulgation could do them nor the country no harm, and if they were not, they ought to be known. The Right Honourable and Learned Gentlemen had, in speaking of the Madras trials, stated, that permission was asked to publish them; this was a mistake, no such permission had been asked. He concluded by stating, that the motion of the Noble Lord should have his cordial support.

Mr. Wallace did not think that the Noble Lord had made out his argument in support of the present motion, even upon his own grounds. The Noble Lord had laid it down as the grounds of his motion that the regulations were illegal and unjust. This had by no means been made out—still less had it been established that the refusal of permission to publish the Trials at Madras had been an undue and inexpedient exercise of power. The Honourable Baronet had denied that permission had been asked: he begged leave to correct him in that statement, and to assure him, on the best authority, that permission had been asked. [He here read a letter in proof of his assertion.] There were other reasons justifying the suppression of that publication: one trial took place on the 11th January, another upon the 2d of March—the publication of the former trial, in the intermediate time, might have operated in an unfair way to the prejudice of either party, and therefore to the prejudice of substantial justice. But the Right Honourable and Learned Gentleman (Sir J. Anstruther) had

ed them of the state of Madras at that period: it had been justly described as being then in a violent ferment—and under such circumstances would it have been wise to have permitted such a publication? (hear!)

Mr. HUTCHINSON observed, that the last Speaker had avowed, that the object was, to keep the people of India in darkness as to the nature of their Government. The more important, therefore, it was, that this House should take care, that our Government there, such as it was, should be well administered. He would therefore vote for the motion.

Mr. GRANT said, it ought to be recollected, that the English found the natives subject to a despotic Government. They were not in a condition to enjoy a free one, and no subject more delicate and dangerous than this could be agitated. No case for the production of the papers had been made out.

Sir H. MONTGOMERY said, the report of the trials in question was spurious, and would give no accurate information.

Mr. LOCKHART professed himself a friend to the Liberty of the Press, but an enemy to that unbounded licentiousness which threatened to produce that despotism which it was its true end to prevent. But even the freedom of the Press, such as it existed here, was not applicable to India, and the production of these Papers might do harm, but could do no good. The Press had made too great a stride even in this country.

Mr. WHITBREAD agreed that it had made a stride, but it was backwards, and not forwards. It had been avowed that neither our religion nor our political freedom ought to be made known to the natives; but if this was the case, if we ruled them not as fellow-subjects, but as despots, the governors ought at least to be responsible to the House, and for that reason these papers ought to be produced.

Mr. DUNDAS denied that any hindrance was given to the dissemination of the Gospel among the natives. The only object was to prevent the publication of useless and inflammatory writings and speeches.

Mr. PERCEVAL said that it would be useless and impolitic for the Government to interfere in imposing a religion on the natives, to which, from ignorance and previous habits they might be averse. There was no attempt to prevent the progress of light and religion among the natives beyond what their situation required.

Sir JOHN NEWPORT remarked that, as the House was the only controuling power, they ought to examine narrowly into the regulations of the Indian Government.

Lord A. HAMILTON observed that the restraint affected not only Newspapers, but the publication of the Reports of the Courts of Justice. He wished to have all the information possible as to the present state of India, for another reason. This was the month for giving notice to the Directors that the exclusive Charter would soon be at an end. He desired to know whether it was intended to give this notice?

Mr. DUNDAS had before stated that it was intended.

Mr. G. JOHNSTONE thought no ground had been laid for the motion.

The House divided—For the motion 18, Against it 53—Majority, 35.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

BIRTH OF YOUNG NAPOLEON.

AMSTERDAM, MARCH 22, 1811.—His Serene Highness, Prince Arch Chancellor of the Empire, the Duke of Plaisance, Governor General of the departments of Holland, has just received the following dispatch:—

TELEGRAPHIC DISPATCH FROM PARIS, MARCH 20, 1811.

"Her Majesty the Empress of the French, was safely delivered of a Prince, at Nine o'clock this morning.

"A true Copy.

"FLOGON, Director of the "Telegraph."

The cannon has just announced this interesting event to the inhabitants of this town.—*Amsterdam Courier Extraordinary, March* 22.

PARIS, MARCH 20.—"Her Majesty the Empress began yesterday evening towards eight o'clock to suffer the pains of childbirth, which grew less during the night,

and in the morning had nearly ceased Her Majesty in other respects is well.

"(Signed)

"CORVESAIT, First Physician."

20th March, 6 o'clock in the Morning.

The two following Bulletins, concerning the state of her Imperial Majesty and the young Prince, arrived too late to be inserted in all our impressions yesterday, we now repeat them.

TELEGRAPH—LINE FROM THE NORTH.

TELEGRAPHIC DISPATCH FROM PARIS, AT HALF PAST ELEVEN O'CLOCK, THE 22D MARCH, 1811.

"Her Majesty and the young Prince are well; the Prince yesterday began to take with avidity nourishment from his Nurse.—(*A true Copy.*)

"FLOGON, Director of the "Telegraph."

TELEGRAPHIC DISPATCH FROM PARIS, DATED HALF PAST TWO P. M. THE 22D MARCH.

"The Prince has suffered during the night, the cholical pains incident to his age;—this morning he is well.

"FLOGON, Director of the "Telegraph."

(AMSTERDAM COURIER, 25TH MARCH, 1811.)

In order to worthily celebrate the birth of an imperial Prince, there was last night a general illumination here, in which the inhabitants of this town endeavoured to distinguish themselves as much as the shortness of the time would allow. The palace of his Serene Highness the Prince Governor General was illuminated with the greatest taste and magnificence; the hotels, principal public functionaries, and most respectable individuals presented every thing they were able to prepare in haste. All the theatres gave free admissions. The beauty of the weather, the decent joy which animated an immense concourse of people who were in the streets, rendered this spectacle the most touching.—To day there was a grand parade; after the parade, a most brilliant one, at which the three corps, of the Guards of Honour manœuvred with the National Guard, his Serene Highness the Prince Governor gave a grand dinner. In the evening there was a rout and ball at the Palace. The greatest joy prevailed at the dinner and ball.—(*Same Paper.*)

SPAIN.—*Action of Barrosa, near Cadiz, from the London Gazette Extraordinary, of Monday, March* 25.

(*Concluded from p.* 768.)

Where all have so distinguished themselves, it is scarcely possible to discriminate any as the most deserving of praise. Your Lordship will, however, observe how gloriously the brigade of guards, under Brigadier-General Dilkes, with the commanders of the battalions, Lieut. Col. the Hon. C. Onslow, and Lieut. Col. Sebright wounded, as well as the three separated companies under Lieut. Col. Jackson, maintained the high character of his Majesty's household troops. Lieut. Col. Browne, with his flank battalion, Lieut. Col. Norcot, and Major Acheson, deserve equal praise.—And I must equally recommend to your lordship's notice Colonel Wheatly, with Colonel Belson, Lieut. Col. Prevost, and Major Gough, and the officers of the respective corps composing his brigade. The animated charges of the 87th regiment were most conspicuous; Lieut. Col. Barnard (twice wounded), and the officers of his flank battalion, executed the duty of skirmishing in advance with the enemy in a masterly manner, and were ably seconded by Lieut. Col. Bushe, of the 20th Portuguese, who, (likewise twice wounded,) fell into the enemy's hands, but was afterwards rescued. The detachment of this Portuguese regiment behaved admirably throughout the whole affair.—I owe too much to Major Duncan, and the officers and corps of the royal artillery, not to mention them in terms of the highest approbation; never was artillery better served. The assistance I received from the unwearied exertions of Lieut. Col. Macdonald, and the officers of the adjutant General's department, of Lieut. Col the Hon. C. Cathcart, and the officers of the Quarter-master General's department, of Captain Birch and captain Nicholas, and the officers of the royal engineers, of Captain Hope, and the officers of my personal staff, (all animating by their example,) will ever be most gratefully remembered. Our loss has been severe: as soon as it can be ascertained by the proper return, I shall have the honour of transmitting it; but much as it is to be lamented, I trust it will be considered as a necessary sacrifice, for the safety of the whole allied army.—Having remained some hours on the Barrosa heights without being able to procure any

supplies for the exhausted troops, the Commissariat mules having been dispersed on the enemy's first attack of the hill, I left Major Ross, with the detachment of the 3d battalion of the 95th, and withdrew the rest of the division, which crossed the Santi Petri river early the next morning.—I cannot conclude this dispatch without earnestly recommending to his Majesty's gracious notice for promotion, Brevet Lieut. Col. Browne, Major of the 28th foot, Brevet Lieut. Col. Norcott, Major of the 95th, Major Duncan, royal artillery, Major Gough of the 87th, Major the Honourable E. Acheson of the 67th, and Captain Birch of the Royal Engineers, all in the command of corps or detachments on this memorable service; and I confidently trust that the bearer of this dsipatch, captain Hope, (to whom I refer your Lordship for further details) will be promoted, on being permitted to lay the Eagle at his Majesty's feet.—I have the honour to be, &c.

THOMAS GRAHAM, Lieut. General.

P.S. I beg leave to add, that two Spanish officers, Captains Miranda and Naughton, attached to my staff, behaved with the utmost intrepidity. T. G.

Isla de Leon, March 10.

MY LORD,—I have the honour to transmit to your Lordship the return of the killed and wounded in the action of the 5th inst. and I have the satisfaction to add that the wounded in general are doing well.—By the best account that can be collected from the wounded French officers, the enemy had about eight thousand men engaged. Their loss, by reports from Chiclana, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, is supposed to amount to three thousand; I have no doubt of its being very great.—I transmit, too, a return of the ordnance in our possession, and also the most accurate note that can be obtained of prisoners, most of whom are wounded. They are so dispersed in different hospitals, that an exact return has not yet been obtained. I have the honour to be, &c.

THOMAS GRAHAM, Lieut.-General.

P. S. Detachments of cavalry and infantry have been daily employed in carrying off the wounded, and burying the dead, till the evening of the 8th instant, by which time all the enemy's wounded that could be found among the brush-wood and heath were brought in.

Return of the Nature and Number of Pieces of Ordnance taken in the Action of Barrosa, on the 5th of March 1811.

2 seven-inch howitzers, 3 heavy eight-pounders, 1 four-pounder; with their ammunition-waggons and a proportion of horses.

A. DUNCAN, Maj. Royal Artil.

Return of the Prisoners of War taken in the Action of Barrosa, on the 5th of March 1811.

2 General officers, 1 Field officer, 9 Captains, 8 Subalterns, 420 rank and file.

N. B. The General of Brigade Rosseau and two Captains, since dead of their wounds.

J. MACDONALD, Dep. Adj. Gen.

Return of Killed, Wounded, and Missing of the Troops under the Command of Lieutenant-General Graham, in the Action of Barrosa, with the French Corps d'Amee, commanded by Marshal Victor, on the 5th of March, 1811.

Detachment of the 2d Hussars King's German Legion—6 horses killed; 1 Captain, 1 Lieutenant, 1 serjeant, 31 rank and file, 20 horses, wounded.

Royal Artillery—3 rank and file killed; 2 Captains, 6 Lieutenants, 3 rank and file, wounded.

Royal Artillery Drivers—1 serjeant, 2 rank and file, 18 horses, killed; 1 serjeant, 7 rank and file, 22 horses, wounded.

Royal Engineers—1 rank and file killed; 2 rank and file, wounded.

2d Battalion of the 1st Regiment of Guards.—2 Ensigns, 2 serjeants, 31 rank and file, killed; 1 Lieutenant-Colonel, 3 Captains, 4 Ensigns, 8 serjeants, 169 rank and file, wounded.

Detachment of 2d Battalion Coldstream Guards—1 Ensign, 8 rank and file, killed; 2 Ensigns, 1 serjeant, 45 rank and file, wounded.

Detachment of 2d Battalion 3d Guards—1 Captain, 14 rank and file, killed: 1 Lieutenant-Colonel, 1 staff, 3 serjeants, 82 rank and file, wounded.

Flank Companies of the first Battalion 9th Foot—8 rank and file, killed; 1 Captain, 3 Lieutenants, 4 serjeants, 2 drummers, 50 rank and file, wounded.

Flank Companies of the 1st Battalion 28th Foot—9 rank and file, killed; 2 Captains, 5 Lieutenants, 3 serjeants, 52 rank and file wounded.

Flank companies of the 2d battalion 82d Foot—8 rank and file, killed; 1 Captain, 1 Lieutenant, 3 serjeants, 86 rank and file, wouuded.

Detachment of the 3d battalion 95th Foot—1 Captain, 13 rank and file, killed

1 Lieutenant-Colonel, 2 Lieutenants, 3 serjeants, 45 rank and file, wounded.

Flank Companies of the 2d battalion 47th Foot—1 Ensign, 1 drummer, 19 rank and file, killed; 1 Captain 49 rank and file, wounded.

1st Battalion of the 28th Foot—6 rank and file killed: 1 Lieutenant, 5 serjeants, 75 rank and file, wounded.

2d Battalion of the 67th Foot—10 rank and file, killed; 1 Lieutenant-Colonel, 1 Captain, 1 Lieutenant, 1 Ensign, 1 serjeant, 30 rank and file, wounded.

2d Battalion of the 87th Foot—1 Ensign, 3 serjeants, 1 drummer, 40 rank and file, killed, 1 Major, 1 Captain, 2 Lieutenants, 9 serjeants, 118 rank and file, wounded.

Detachment of the 2d battalion of the 95th Foot—6 rank and file, killed; 2 Lieutenants, 1 serjeant, 1 drummer, 26 rank and file, wounded.

Flank companies of the 20th Portuguese regiment—9 rank and file, killed; 1 Lieutenant-Colonel, 1 Captain, 2 Lieutenants, 1 Ensign 5 serjeants, 37 rank and file, wounded.

Company of the Royal Staff Corps—1 Drummer wounded.

Total—2 Captains, 5 Ensigns, 6 serjeants, 2 drummers, 187 rank and file, 24 horses, killed; 5 Lieutenant Colonels, 1 Major, 14 Captains, 26 Lieutenants, 8 Ensigns, 1 Staff, 45 serjeants, 4 drummers, 936 rank and file, 42 horses, wounded.

Grand Total of individuals killed and wounded — 1243.—JOHN MACDONALD, Lieut.-Col., Deputy-Adjutant-General.

Rank and Names of Officers Killed and wounded in the Action of Barrosa.

Killed.

Staff—Ensign Eyre, 1st Guards, acting Aide-de-Camp to Colonel Wheatley.

1st Regiment of Guards—Ensign Commerell.

Coldstream Guards—Ensign Watts.

3d Guards—Captain Swann.

47th, 2d Battalion—Ensign Delacherois.

87th, 2d Battalion—Ensign E. E. Kough.

95th, 3d Battalion—Captain Knipe.

N. B. Ensign Eyre is returned in the killed of the 1st Regiment of Guards.

Severely Wounded.

2d Hussars King's German Legion—Captain Voss (since dead).

Royal Artillery—Lieutenants Maitland and Pester.

1st Guards—Lieutenant-Colonel Sebright, Captains Stables and Colquitt, Ensigns Sir H. Lambert, Cameron, and Vigors.

3d Guards—Lieutenant-Colonel Hepburn.

1st Battalion 9th Foot—Captain Godwin and Lieutenant Seward.

1st Battalion 28th Foot—Hon. Captain Mullins, Lieutenants Wilkinson, Moore, and John Anderson.

2d Battalion 82d Foot—Lieutenant M'Koy.

3d Battalion 95th Foot—Lieutenant-Colonel Barnard, Lieutenant W. Campbell.

2d Battalion 67th Foot—Captain Patrickson, Ensign Sutherland.

2d Battalion 87th Foot—Major Maclaine, Captain Somersall, Lieutenants J. G. Fennell, and J. C. Barton.

2d Battalion 95th Foot—Lieutenants Cochrane and Hope.

Dangerously Wounded.

Royal Artillery—Lieutenant Woolcombe (since dead.)

1st Battalion 9th Foot—Lieutenant Taylor.

1st Battalion 28th Foot — Lieutenant Knight and Bennet, (since dead.)

20th Portuguese — Lieutenant Colonel Bushe.

Slightly Wounded.

2d Hussars King's German Legion—Lieutenant Bock.

Royal Artillery—Captains Hughes and Cator, Lieutenants E. Mitchell, Brereton, and C. Manners.

1st Guards—Captain Adair, Ensign Fielde.

Coldstream Guards—Ensigns Bentinck and Talbot.

3d Guards—Ensign and Adjutant Watson.

1st Battalion 9th Foot—Lieutenant Robinson.

1st Battalion 28th Foot—Captain Bradbey, Lieutenant Blakeney.

2d Battalion 82d Foot—Captain Stewart.

3d Battalion 95th Foot—Lieutenant Hovenden.

2d Battalion 47th Foot—Captain Fetherstone.

2d Battalion 67th Foot—Lieut. Colonel Prevost, Lieut. W. Ronald.

20th Portuguese—Captain Barrieras, Lieutenants Dom. Estavan, Pantalchao de Olivero, Ensign Felix Antonio Miranda.

Staff—Captain D. Mercer, 3d Regiment of Guards, Aide-de-Camp to Brigadier General Dilkes.

N. B. Captain Mercer is returned in the wounded of the 3d Regiment of guards.

(Signed) JOHN MACDONALD, Lieut.-Col., Deputy Adjutant-General.

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INFORMATIONS EX OFFICIO.

In the House of Commons, on the 28th of March, LORD FOLKESTONE made a motion for the producing to the House an account of all the INFORMATIONS of this sort, filed within the last ten years, the object of which motion was to show the danger of entrusting such a power in the hands of the Attorney General.——The debate upon this subject was greatly curtailed in the report given of it in the news-papers, from two causes, one was the precedence of the speeches about General Graham and the "glorious victory of Barrosa," and the other was what the reader will be at no loss to guess at, when he has read Lord Folkestone's *Reply*, without which the debate is quite incomplete, without which the cause of the press has not its due, and yet, the whole of which has been omitted by the daily papers, and, that too, from a motive which it will be unnecessary for me to describe, when the reader has gone through the Reply itself.——To hear some men talk, one would think, that the people of England had no interest in what was passing in England; that they ought to remain indifferent as to a power by which any one of them may, at any time, be harrassed and ruined and destroyed; that this is *no concern* of theirs, while they are to be all alive to the *liberties of the Spaniards*, while they are to work and strive, and eat the bread of carefulness, in order to furnish the means for carrying on a long war to deliver the Spaniards from the danger of being ruined at the pleasure of their rulers. What a beastly people must such men think us! I, for my part, wish the Spaniards to be free; but, I do not feel for all Spain, a millionth part so much as I do for the *poor of Spilsby*, who were about to be *imprisoned* and *flogged* by Act of Parliament, at the *discretion* of those who were to have been set over them. I feel infinitely more for these people than I do for the Spaniards and Portuguese; and, whatever others may think of it, I look upon SIR SAMUEL ROMILLY as having done more service to his country, in this single instance, than all our generals, in Spain and Portugal, have done since the beginning of the Turtle-Patriot war. It was curious enough, that the Bill for *flogging poor people in England* should be lying before the parliament in company with a Bill for granting money out of the taxes of that same England for the purpose of preserving or regaining the *freedom* of the Spaniards and Portuguese! ——I shall, in this whole Register, barely have room for the insertion of the *Speech* of Lord Folkestone, the *Answer* of the ATTORNEY GENERAL, and Lord Folkestone's *Reply*; but, these I am resolved to insert *entire*, that the world may be in possession of both *charge* and *defence*; and, if the ATTORNEY GENERAL should complain, that his Lordship has TWO Speeches to *his* ONE, let the reader bear in mind, that this is the way, in which, *he* treats all the persons, whom he chooses to place under the hatches of an *ex officio Information*. ——The space that I have would not admit of the insertion of SIR FRANCIS BURDETT'S Speech, upon this occasion, which, from those who heard it, I understand to have been one of the finest speeches ever heard. It was, indeed, a rich subject. The *bare facts* of it, well stated, are quite sufficient to harrow up the soul of any man but a lawyer. I could not, however, insert this speech without inserting that of Mr. Stephen (Wilberforce's brother-in-law,) and that of Mr. Lockart. If I should hereafter find room to insert them *all*, I will; but, lest I should not, I here insert the speeches of the *accuser* and the *defender*.——As to *observations of my own* upon the Attorney General's (Sir Vicary Gibbs) defence, I have *too many* to make, to at-

tempt even a *beginning* of them here. Lord Folkestone's Speech is reported pretty fully; but, there are many things, which, in a speech, could not be brought out with sufficient *fulness*. These it is *my* intention to supply, in future articles upon the subject; which, before I wholly quit it, I will make so plain that foreigners, even Dutchmen, shall clearly understand what is meant by ENGLISH LIBERTY OF THE PRESS. It is time that this thing should be properly understood. It is time, that the works of PALEY and DE LOLME should be stript of their powers of deception. It is time that the readers of such writers as GENTZ should have their eyes opened. Every nation and every government, as well as every individual, should be known for WHAT THEY ARE. Where they are not so known, it is a meritorious act to make them so known.——They tell us, that *Informations Ex-Officio* and our *Libel law* are good things. Very well, then, it can do no harm to *make them well known to the world;* and well known they shall be made, before I have done with them. It is, at any rate, no *libel* to *describe* these good things; just to explain *what they are;* just to enable the world to form a correct opinion of these inestimable blessings. Unless, indeed, it be argued, that, being so very good, we ought, by all means, *to keep them to ourselves.* This argument shall, however, have no weight with me. I have got hold of this power of the Attorney General, and, thanks to Lord FOLKESTONE, have now got the Attorney General's *defence* of his powers and his actions. Having these before me, I shall proceed to discuss, as occasion offers, both the one and the other, till the whole world is made thoroughly acquainted with both. As to GIBBS himself, or even his actions, they are objects of minor importance. What I wish to do, is, to make the thing called the LIBERTY OF THE PRESS IN ENGLAND; to make this thing notorious. To place it in its true light in the eyes of the people of England, and the people of *other nations* too. This is what I will do before I quit it. And, the world shall see, too, what a power this is, which the parliament has now refused to investigate. ——Justice to *the rest of the world,* as well as to the people of England, demands this. Other nations should know what sort of a thing English freedom *really is,* at bottom, according to what is called, "the "*practice of the constitution,*"——I have subjoined to the report of the Speeches the list of the members, who voted for Lord Folkestone's motion. This list has *not* been published in the Morning Chronicle. Oh! what poor, what pitiful motives are men actuated by! What a miserable thing is this! Will this paper attempt, after this, to persuade the public, that it is animated by any thing but a mere party view; that it has any feeling at all for the *press* or for the *people?*——What! MR. PERRY saw the names of none of the place-hunters of the OUTS in this list? He saw no *Ponsonby,* or *Tierney,* or *Temple,* or *Calcraft,* or *Adam,* in this list? He had heard of their *walking away,* perhaps. This list would not have suited the views of his set. Mr. SHERIDAN, too, though he had just been there blazing away about the "*vic-*"*tory* of Barrosa," did not stay to give his vote against EX-OFFICIO INFORMATIONS. Never was I better pleased than to perceive this. It was as it should be exactly. Those voted that I wished to see vote, and those went and kept away, whom I wished to see go and keep away.

WM. COBBETT.

State Prison, Newgate, Tuesday, April 2, 1811.

of this Work, comprising the Period from the Accession of GEO. I. 1714, to the opening of the Sixth Parliament of Great Britain in Oct. 1722,—is now ready for delivery.

INFORMATIONS EX-OFFICIO.

Speech of Lord Viscount Folkestone, in the House of Commons, on the 28th of March, 1811, upon moving for An Account of *Informations filed ex-officio* by the ATTORNEY GENERAL; also the Answer of the Attorney General (Sir Vicary Gibbs), and the Reply of Lord Viscount Folkestone.

Lord FOLKESTONE rose and spoke as follows: I rise, Sir, in consequence of the notice I gave, to move for "An Account of all Informations filed *ex officio* by the Attorney General, for Libel, from the 1st of January 1801 to the present time; specifying the time when the said Informations were respectively filed, and the proceedings had thereon." In calling the attention of the House to this subject, I must observe, that in my opinion, it is the bounden duty of the Law Officers of the Crown to give their ready assent to the production of these papers, for the purpose of shewing distinctly to the House, whether the privilege of filing these Informations has or has not been abused. Had this been the case, there would not have existed any necessity for me to enter at any great length into the subject; but as I am given to understand that an opposition to my motion is intended, I shall proceed to state the reasons which have induced me to bring it forward. The extraordinary increase in the number of criminal Informations for Libel, during the last few years, is the principal ground of my troubling the House upon the present occasion. That these Informations have been much more numerous since the Learned Gentleman, over the way, came into office, than they were at any equal period at any former time, is a fact that cannot be contradicted. Upon referring to those sources which are open to every one, I find that in the course of the thirty years ending with the year 1791, there had been seventy such prosecutions instituted. Of those from 1791 to 1800, I have not obtained any account. From 1801 to 1806 there were fourteen such prosecutions; in 1807 there was only one: whereas, in the years 1808, 1809, and 1810, during all which period the present Attorney General has been in office, there have been no less than forty-two Informations filed; the yearly average of Informations in the former periods being two; in the latter fourteen. (Hear! hear!) This increase some persons may endeavour to account for by the great increase of publications daily sent forth. To such an opinion I cannot subscribe, and I must, therefore, account for it on different grounds. The very fact that so vast an increase has taken place of late, is, in my mind, a full and sufficient reason to induce the House to vote for the production of these Papers. That increase must have arisen from one of two causes—either from a desire, greater than ordinary, on the part of the public press, to offend against the law; or from an eagerness of disposition, on the part of the present Attorney General, to commence such prosecutions. If the former be the fact, the House will do well to consider what the circumstances are that render the people thus discontented. For my own part, I think that those Papers against which prosecutions have been instituted, have been unfairly treated, when it is asserted that those concerned with them are desirous of giving publicity to principles which are dangerous to the welfare of the country—principles the offspring of their own minds, and calculated to pervert the sentiments of the people. Now, Sir, it evidently appears from the proceedings against the Editor of the *Day* newspaper, that it is rather the wish of the proprietors of Public Prints to *follow* than to *lead*. From that prosecution it was evident, that certain subjects had been introduced merely for the purpose of catching public opinion, and thereby increasing the sale of the paper. If an inclination, favourable to the propagation of such feelings does exist among the people, it becomes the duty of this House to investigate the cause of the discontent; for it is the general bent of the human mind, unless oppressed by great injuries, to remain contented with its situation; and nothing but real and serious injury can raise at once the cry of a whole country. It is, therefore, an object well worthy the attention of Parliament to inquire what are the in-

creased grievances under which the people labour, and that render palatable publications that awaken afterwards the vengeance of the law. If, on the other hand, the increase of Criminal Informations has been occasioned by an over anxiety to prosecute, it will then be proper for the House to call upon the Attorney General to shew, under his responsibility, on what principle it is, that *ex officio* Informations have been so frequently resorted to. The fact, that prosecutions of this sort have increased exceedingly and alarmingly under the present Attorney General, cannot be denied; and upon this simple fact, I would willingly have rested my case; but as I am given to understand, that the grant of these papers is intended to be refused, it becomes my duty to enter somewhat into detail. If it appears that there is really a greater desire to prosecute than heretofore, then I call upon the House to consider the great and extensive power given to the Attorney General by the privilege of filing Informations *ex officio*. Although that privilege may have been extremely proper, and comparatively harmless, at a period when the Press was circumscribed and confined to a very few persons, yet now, when it is spread throughout the country, when it is become the great organ of public feeling, when every thing is said and done, and felt and thought through the Press—to give his Majesty's Attorney General the power of binding it down, is to give him the most important, and the most likely to be abused power, that can be found in the community. Those Gentlemen who have not maturely considered the subject, cannot be aware of the immensity of power, which, under the existing state of the law, is placed in the hands of the Attorney General, by which he is enabled to vex and to harrass those against whom he is disposed to file his *ex officio* Informations. In all other cases where an individual has to contend with the Crown, he is fortified by the rules and forms of the law, which rules and forms serve as a bar against oppression. In cases of High Treason—cases of the highest importance to the state—a still greater degree of protection is allowed than in any other. Not that the life of the Sovereign should not be fully protected by the law; but, as it appears to me, that the law contemplated the disadvantage under which an individual laboured, when contending alone against all the power of the Crown—a pigmy opposing the strength of a giant. And therefore the law has fenced the weaker party round with those forms which serve as a protection against the might of his opponent, in the manner as the forms of this House were devised as the bulwark of a minority, against the influence of an overweening and overwhelming majority. But in cases of Libel, the accused has to contend with the same power, in a more formidable shape, and without those advantages which are enjoyed in other cases. The reason is this:—a prosecution for High Treason attracts universal attention, catches the watchfulness of the public eye; and the shield of this awakened and vigilant spirit is thrown over the accused. But in cases of Libel, where the crime is comparatively so small, and where the punishment of death cannot be inflicted, the public does not watch all the circumstances with that interest which the former case excites. And thus the individual prosecuted for Libel, is deprived of that vigilance of the public eye which, were he tried for his life, would attend and support him; and therefore he has to contend with all the power of the Crown, in a much more formidable shape than the person accused of the crime of High Treason. —But this is not the extent of the evil. The Attorney General has it in his power to file his Informations against whomsoever he pleases. He may go into court, and, on his mere *ipse dixit*, an accusation must be received In all other cases justice is provided for in the outset. When a bill is found by a Grand Jury, the accused is protected by the oaths of the Jury and of the Witnesses, and unless the Jury are of one mind, the accusation is dismissed. But, in cases of Criminal Information, no oath is necessary; the Attorney General may at once file his Information, and the Defendant stands charged with the offence.—And here, Sir, there is one point that ought not to be overlooked. It ought not to be forgotten that the Attorney General has a personal interest in these prosecutions, in consequence of the fees which he receives. I respect the situation of the learned Gentleman too much to impute to him so sordid a motive. I cannot bring myself to suppose that the fees have had any influence in the late extraordinary increase of these prosecutions; but argu-

ing generally on the privilege, it must be apparent that an Attorney General may file Informations against every person he thinks fit, and that so far he is interested. I will not ascribe such a principle of action to the learned gentleman opposite, nor to any man who could lay the slightest claim to elevation of mind or dignity of feeling. I am willing to believe, that when he filed these *ex-officio* Informations, he was not actuated by any fondness for "*base lucre*" (a laugh). It is always unjust and ungenerous to fix such a motive upon any man, and in this I am sure the learned gentleman will be ready to coincide with me.—Sir, there is another most important consideration. The Information being filed, there is no limitation as to the time when proceedings shall be commenced. In cases of High Treason, the time is limited to three years. If the prosecution is not instituted within three years and a day, it falls to the ground. The mode pursued, with respect to Informations, is peculiarly hard, because the whole criminality is confined to the publicity of the Libel at the time of its publication. Now, Sir, it is very possible, that a treasonable plot may be kept secret for three years; but, if it is not discovered during that period, and should afterwards be brought to light, the parties implicated cannot be punished. But not so as to the time of filing these Informations. Against the Attorney General there is no limitation: by virtue of his extraordinary privilege, an offence of three, ten, or twenty years standing may be thus visited: for by the 39th of the King, which compels both printers and publishers to give in their names to the Stamp Office, all the evidence is furnished by the parties against themselves.—And, Sir, as, on the one hand, there is no limitation of the time in which an Information shall be filed; so, on the other, there is no limitation as to the period when the facts shall be brought to trial. The Attorney General may come into court, and put it off whenever he pleases. I believe there is a process by which the accused may force the court to entertain the question; but, unfortunately, it has been the custom for nearly one hundred years to try such Informations before a Special Jury. The full number of these gentlemen very rarely attend, and as the King alone has in these cases a right to pray a *tales*, the Defendant not having this advantage, and the number of Special Jurymen being then deficient, it is evidently in the power of the Attorney General to postpone the proceedings (Hear, hear!)—With respect, Sir, to Special Juries themselves, I conceive them to be a very great grievance. I will not enter upon the subject at present, because, on a future day, it is my intention to submit to the House a specific motion upon the subject. I will merely observe, that, in cases of libel, it is peculiarly hard, that the Defendant should be tried before a Special Jury, The individuals composing it, are generally selected by an Officer of the Crown, and, in point of fact, most of them are persons connected with the Government Offices, and are therefore liable to an undue influence—and this is a great source of complaint in those who may happen to be tried by them. The act under which they were appointed, is, according to my ideas, totally violated: and in this opinion I am confirmed by a perusal of a publication which has excited much interest, written by Sir Richard Phillips, a gentleman, who lately served the Office of Sheriff for London and Middlesex; and to whom a number of applications were made by individuals who wished to be put upon the Freeholders List. This desire was a proof that the emoluments derived from the office were a considerable inducement; and it is fair to presume, that they would not willingly offend by any great want of pliancy when once possessed of the object of their desire. But the impropriety of introducing Special Juries is distinctly marked by statute: the law is jealous of them, and allows them no cognizance of causes affecting life or limb. The Liberty of the Subject is, Sir, no less valuable; and in some recent instances, the punishment which follows the verdict of these Special Jurymen falls very little short of affecting the life, as well as the liberty, of the person convicted. But, Sir, the grievance does not terminate here: for when a Defendant is brought up for trial, it has been ruled, that he shall not alledge the truth in justification of the supposed offence. That, Sir, is the modern law. In late years it has been determined by the Judges that truth is a libel; and I am willing to bear my testimony that the doctrine has been scrupulously acted upon. And yet I could cite some of the best and most learned authorities, within the last hundred years, who held the direct contrary; and the whole doctrine as it at present stands is absolutely contrary to common sense.

The first law relative to slander was enacted in the reign of Edward the first. But the provisions of that act went expressly to punish tales which were founded in falsehood. And the act of Scandalum Magnatum passed in the reign of Richard the second proceeded upon the same principle. That act was renewed in the reign of Philip and Mary; but still the falsehood of an assertion was necessary to be proved under the act. Even at a later period the same principle prevailed. And in the case of the Seven Bishops, Mr. Justice Powell stated it as his opinion, that in order to constitute the libel, falsehood was necessary. The *dictum* of Lord Chief Justice Holt was of a similar nature. And therefore, I must observe that, although it has latterly grown into a principle, that falsehood is not necessary to constitute a libel, yet, according to the enactments of former days, the case was different. And when Mr. Fox's Libel Bill was carried into the House of Peers, the Judges, when questioned upon the subject, gave a similar opinion.—Sir; another very great hardship in trials for Libel, is, that the Attorney, whether the Defendant adduces evidence or not, assumes a right to reply. I know not whether this is customary in cases of Information filed in the Court of Exchequer, but I am sure it is not regular in courts of *Nisi Prius.* By this means the Attorney General has a very great advantage. In his opening Speech he may only charge one half of the offence, and, when he comes to reply he may introduce new matter, and thereby influence the verdict in a manner the most fatal to the accused, while there is no power given of answering the charge.—These, Sir, are the hardships sustained by the accused, before and at his trial; and great as these hardships are, they are rendered still more so by the uncertainty of the Law of Libel. The Judges not only differ from each other in the interpretation of the law; but the same Judge differs from himself at different times. The doctrine laid down by Lord Chief Justice Mansfield, in the trial of Mr. Horne in 1777, at Guildhall, and that subsequently promulgated by Mr. Justice Buller, placed the evil in a strong point of view. In the former, Lord Mansfield left the alternative of guilty or not guilty on the whole case, to the Jury in the usual way. In the latter, Judge Buller directed the Jury merely to fill up the inuendoes. Parliament felt the necessity of interfering, and the 32nd of the King was in consequence enacted, by which the Jury were made judges of the law as well as of the fact: the Judge, however, as in all other cases, was to state his opinion of the law. I do not conceive, however, that the spirit of that Act has been complied with by the Judges; for, in some cases, they have delivered their opinion in such a manner as almost forced it upon the Jury. I wish to speak with all due respect of persons high in judicial office; but as a proof of my assertion, that the self same Judge, has, at different times, delivered opinions totally dissimilar, I must observe, that my lord Ellenborough, on the Trial of Mr. Cobbett, for a Libel contained in some letters relative to Irish Affairs, stated, "that when the feelings of "any person began to be wounded, then "the Libel commenced." But in the Case of Carr and Hood, the same Judge said, "that a writer's failings might be "criticised, and that in matters of literature "it was for the benefit of the public that "the works of an author should be fully "exposed." Now, Sir, I cannot see why the feelings of an author should be held less sacred than those of any other person; or why those of a statesman should be particularly spared. On the contrary, the character of the latter is of that description, which, more than any other, calls for exposure, if any impropriety is committed. The measures of a public man, if bad, ought, above any thing else, to undergo the lash of public censure: and if those measures are good, they have no reason to apprehend any serious reproach, seeing that the writers in their own interest, are always ready to come forward with panegyrics upon their great talents and merit.—In the eye of the law, a Libel, Sir, is only a Misdemeanour, punishable with fine, imprisonment, and the pillory. But, in late instances, it has been visited with a severity, which seems to indicate a desire of depriving the offender of the very means of subsistence. Those who are most likely to fall under the lash of the law, are principally persons connected with the Public Press of the Metropolis. But now, in cases of conviction, they are not allowed to remain in London, but are hurried off to distant jails. Two individuals, Mr. White and Mr. Hart, the Proprietor and Publisher of the Independent Whig, were sentenced to three years imprisonment. Perhaps this punishment alone was too much: but to render it still more severe, they were removed to coun-

try jails, at a distance from their friends and connections. The length of the confinement appears to me an outrageous punishment; but it is greatly aggravated by the circumstance of the mischief and ruin which the distance of the jail must inevitably bring upon their very means of subsistence. The law gave the right to punish, but not to ruin. And those who passed such a sentence must have been aware that ruin, and almost unavoidable ruin, must follow its execution.—There was another person, Mr. Gale Jones, whose principal support was derived, I believe, from some daily or weekly publication—that person has been sent to a prison, where, by its regulations, he is deprived of the use of books, ink, or paper.—And if this statement is correct, is he not thereby deprived of the means of subsistence? A more recent case is that of Mr. Finnerty: and there are several others to which, if necessary, I could call the attention of the House. But, when the term of imprisonment has expired, the sentence generally directs, that the party shall find security for his good behaviour, probably in a large sum, and for a number of years. Now, as it is often difficult to procure such security, it has the appearance of a desire to imprison for life.—Now, Sir, it will be worth while to compare the punishments for Libel with those for other offences. With this view I have procured a report of the trials at the last Old Bailey sessions, and I there find that twelve persons, who were convicted of various felonies, have been sentenced, some to three months, some to two months, and others to only one month's imprisonment. Mr. Alexander Davison, who was convicted of a very great offence, in misapplying the public money, was sentenced only to twenty-one months. And a man who was lately convicted at the Winchester assizes of a most aggravated assault with intent to commit a rape, and to whom the Judge observed, that had he been capitally indicted, he certainly would have been hung—this man was sentenced to no more than two years imprisonment. He did not receive so much punishment as the man whose only crime was the writing an article, which might be offensive to the Attorney General and the Government of the day.—But, Sir, it may be said that the injured party may redress himself, by bringing a Writ of Error into the House of Lords. But that is really nothing, as it is possible that he might wait a long time before he had his appeal decided. And, in the course of nine or ten years after the termination of his imprisonment, it would afford him very little consolation to be told, that the House of Lords had reversed his Judgment! (Hear! hear!) The House should watch with extreme jealousy in what manner the privilege of filing these Informations has been exercised. There have not been less than 42 of these Informations filed in the course of the last three years, comprising upwards of seventy persons. And therefore, supposing no alteration had taken place in the law, the House would do its duty in calling for these Papers. But the law has not remained the same—it has undergone a woful change for those who may happen to fall under the displeasure of the Attorney General. It is not the same law now, that it was two years ago. About that time the Learned Gentleman brought in a Bill to extend the rules observed in misdemeanors against the Revenue Laws to cases of Libel. I take shame to myself for my inattention to this Bill. It passed this House *sub silentio*, and, I believe, without having been ever printed. But in the House of Lords two noblemen exerted themselves against it, but I am sorry to say, unsuccessfully. The Bill was introduced as a mere matter of convenience—as a rule found advantageous in practice—a mere improvement on an Act of the 26th of the King, by which persons resisting the Revenue officers were ordered to find bail, or in default, to be liable to be committed. The offences against the Revenue were serious, and required coercion. But the Attorney General brought in this Bill, whereby the practice was extended to all offences which he might think deserving of prosecution: and thus the liberty of the subject is put completely in the hands of the Attorney General, and every man holds his freedom at the will and pleasure of the Learned Gentleman opposite: who, if he should happen to be displeased with a person's looks, or even his very dress, has only to confine him by virtue of one of his Informations *ex-officio*. (Hear! hear!) I do not mean to say that the Learned Gentleman has made any improper use of this power; but it is very evident that an unfair use may be made of it. This act was introduced for the purpose of ameliorating the law. If it has not been acted upon, it ought to be repealed as useless. But if it has been acted upon, and if the

number of offences have increased under it, then it ought to be repealed as pernicious. In my opinion, this great power has been abusively and partially exercised. I will not say, Sir, that the whole ground of these Informations is false and illegal; but when I find such men as Mr. Burke and Mr. Dunning asserting that they were so, and dividing the House of Commons upon the question, and when I find a minority of 78 Members of this House coinciding in the opinion, I am not prepared to say, that what they pronounced not to be law, is law.—The noble lord then examined some of the arguments in favour of the antiquity of the law, and contended, that from the obscurity of the cases, and their slight reference to the question, they could add nothing to its authority. The *obiter dictum* of Lord Hale, to which, perhaps, an objection might be made, was certainly against the legality of the privilege. The noble lord then adverted to the Argument of Sir Bartholomew Shower. In that Argument were contained the Cases of the two Members who were prosecuted for making seditious Speeches in the House of Commons. But, I contend, (said the Noble Lord) that their not having pleaded the illegality of the Information arose from their high feelings which prevented them from acknowledging the jurisdiction of the Court, which was their great plea—and not from any recognition of the legality of the measure.—Mr. Justice Blackstone, on this point, says, "The informations, that "are exhibited in the name of the King "alone, are of two kinds: first, those "which are truly and properly his own "suits, and filed *ex officio* by his own im-"mediate officer the attorney general; secondly, those in which, though the King is the nominal prosecutor, yet it is at the relation of some private person or common informer; and they are filed by the King's coroner and attorney in the court "of King's bench, usually called the master "of the crown-office, who is for this pur-"pose the standing officer of the public. "The objects of the king's own prosecu-"tions, filed *ex officio* by his own attorney "general, are properly such enormous "misdemeanors, as peculiarly tend to dis-"turb or endanger his government, or to "molest or affront him in the regular dis-"charge of his royal functions. For of-"fences so high and dangerous, in the pu-"nishment or prevention of which a mo-"ment's delay would be fatal, the law has "given to the crown the power of an im-"mediate prosecution, without waiting for "any previous application to any other "tribunal:"—Certainly, Sir, this definition of Mr. Justice Blackstone does not correspond with the dilatory manner in which these Informations have been prosecuted; and upon this, it is, that I would ground the uselessness and illegality of the power. Is the evil such as to require an instantaneous remedy? What is there in it that requires the sudden effort of the state to suppress, or if a libel be this ruinous thing, why does the Attorney General put off its trial for six or eight months? Out of the whole 42 Informations filed within the last three years only 16 have been brought to sentence. Two of the accused have been acquitted, two are still unsentenced, twelve have been entirely passed over, and ten remain still to be brought on. Perhaps these ten are to be forgiven like the rest, and that, of course, will be solely attributed to the humane disposition of the Attorney General (Hear, and a laugh!) But, Sir, is it no punishment to have such a prosecution depending over a man's head? Is there nothing in the expence and the perplexity and the harrassed mind and the doubtful spirit, of the unfortunate person who is thus threatened by the Attorney General as the victim of that species of prosecution, which according to Blackstone, ought only to be had recourse to in cases that are of vital importance to the state? The seventy informations previous to the year 1791 produced fifty convictions: the fourteen previous to the year 1807 produced six convictions: but in the last three years, the House will look at the number which have been convicted, and judge of the influence which is given by them to the Attorney General. There are certain statutes directed distinctly to put an end to all vexatious proceedings, but permitting the proceeding by the Attorney General. And this implies, that his proceedings ought not to be a nature which the law could call vexatious. But is not his present power most productive of vexation? Mr. Justice Blackstone says, that compounding a prosecution is a misdemeanour. But while a right honourable gentleman, the present Chancellor of the Exchequer; held the situation of Attorney General, a public writer, Mr. Peltier, was tried and convicted for a libel upon Buonaparté, and on the breaking out of the war, that person's offence was passed over; he was never

brought up for judgment; and since that time he has never ceased to be a zealous writer on the side of government. I beg to be understood as not saying that he ought to have been sentenced, or that he ought to have been proceeded against at all. But certainly in this case, there was an instance of compounding a prosecution. And, Sir, it will be found that those who have suffered from the severity of this power, have been persons who have written against that administration of which the learned gentleman himself forms a part. The power has been used for influence, and has not been directed against those who take the part of administration, although it is very evident that they have as few restraints from a feeling of decency and propriety as the writers on the opposite side. Upon what principle of justice, Sir, should the vigilance of the Attorney General be only directed against one party? The learned gentleman, on coming into office, found an information by his predecessor against the proprietor of the Morning Post for a publication tending to create a mutiny among the troops that were then embarking for foreign service. This, if any thing could be, appeared to be a case that called for the vigilance of the Attorney General, as the mischief might have been instantaneous and most serious. But notwithstanding this the learned gentleman opposite entered a Noli Prosequi on the prosecution, and gave as his reason, what was probably a sufficient one, that the printer had given up his author. Not, Sir, that I am by any means disposed to complain of this lenity: but why has it not been followed in other cases? And why did not the Attorney General uniformly act upon the same principle? The libel in the Morning Post appeared first in that paper, and was so far its original production. But although Mr. Cobbett on his trial, declared himself the sole author and proprietor of his paper, and declared the printer and publishers, as, in a certain sense, merely his servants, that declaration did not avail them, and they were all punished together. In the case of The Statesman, a paper which has attracted notice by its opposition to Ministers, the Libel which had the author's name to it, was copied from a Manchester paper, and yet Mr. Lovell, the proprietor of the Statesman, has been found guilty and sent to prison; and no proceedings, I believe, have been commenced against the Author, or against the Editors of the Manchester paper.—Sir, there are cases without end upon this subject. The Messrs. Hunts, the proprietors of the Examiner, have been acquitted in Westminster, on the very same Libel for which Mr. Drakard has been found guilty at Lincoln. There may have been the difference of a few words in the two Libels, but I am sure the learned gentleman will not descend to the chicanery of drawing any distinction between them. At Lincoln, Mr. Drakard has been prosecuted for endeavouring to excite mutiny among the soldiers, while the proprietor of a London paper, the Courier, is permitted to go unpunished, after having asserted the soldiery are, every man of them, out of the pale of the British Constitution! (Hear! hear!) Of this partiality it is, Sir, that I complain. At the time that discussions were going on in this House, many Informations were filed against different individuals, which were afterwards withdrawn. As to the matters which those publications contained, it was then, and still continues to be, my opinion, that they were fully proved in evidence at the bar of this House. The Attorney General, however, has thought proper to abstain from the further prosecution of those Libels, and yet the individuals against whom he had filed those Informations were put to great hardships and serious expence, and had no means by which they might obtain redress. When the Attorney General first thought proper to file those Informations, it was on the ground that the holding up the Duke of York to contempt was lowering the respect due to the royal family, and a great offence against the state. The Duke of York, however, at that time supported the politics of the Learned Gentleman and his friends. But though at one period there was so much respect shewn for those royal personages, it seemed to be no longer thought of, the moment they ceased to espouse the politics of the Learned Gentleman and his friends. In proof of this, Sir, I shall take the liberty to read from a liberty from a ministerial paper called The Courier, some observations made on the 31st of December last upon all the male branches of the royal family, in an article which the writer is pleased to designate by the term of "The College of Princes:" After commenting on this College, they say; "This is a new class, "a new estate starting up to assert a right "of giving an opinion on any great mea-

"sure in the contemplation of government. The College of Princes! Such "a college existed in the Germanic Constitution, lately laid low; but, now, for "the first time, is heard of in the armies "of Great Britain. **** They must know, "that as Princes, they were nothing but "great babies, with royal corals and "bells, just learning to walk in the paths "of the state; and that by making them "English noblemen, with seats in Parliament, the King breeched them into political manhood. As Prince Ernest and "Prince Adolphus, they are nothing more "than great boys, hardly regarded by the "public, but without power or weight in "the community—pretty creatures for a "Dutchess to have dancing at her ball, "but of no influence in the Government. "To give them this influence they were "made Peers of Parliament. ****** As "English noblemen of the highest rank, "they command respect **** as Princes "they sink back to the character of "great looby boys with toys and rattles. "What evil genius has persuaded them "to drop their parliamentary for their "princely character? To take a step "which, as they know it would be disregarded, must expose their impotence "and excite derision? Let them act in "Parliament, but let them never be heard "again in their princely collective capacity, if they do not wish to become "obnoxious. The history of the class of "the French Princes is not forgotten."—Now, Sir, I am not complaining that these things are not proceeded against, but I do complain of the partiality which prosecutes for every thing that may be said against the political friends of the minister of the day, but passes over the grossest and most indecent observations which can possibly be made against the highest persons in the community, unless those persons happen to coincide in political opinion with the Government for the time being. The whole of the article I have just read to the House, is so grossly absurd, indecent and abominable, that I do not blame the Attorney General for not prosecuting the Author of it. But I do, and I must blame him for not shewing something like impartiality in his selection of those libels which ought to be proceeded against. I can also state, although it is not now a new case, that it appeared that in the year 1788, libels against two of the royal Dukes who then opposed ministers were actually sent to the newspapers for insertion from the Treasury, and the publisher imprisoned for it. What can be said of the hardship of that case where two individuals have been sent to a distant prison for three years for a libel upon a jury, while a ministerial paper (The Courier) may abuse with impunity that Jury who thought it their duty to acquit Messrs. Hunt?—Upon the whole, Sir, it appears, that the real rule which guides these prosecutions is this: that the Courier and the other papers which support the Ministers of the day may say whatever they please without the fear of prosecution; whereas the Examiner, The Independent Whig, The Statesman, and papers that take the contrary line, are sure to be prosecuted for expressions that were not so strong. In directing these observations to the Attorney-General, I have acted merely from the consideration, that he is the Officer properly responsible. I do not know whether he has acted *ex mero motu*, or whether he has acted from the opinions of others. It is pretty evident, however, that the gentlemen with whom he is in the habit of acting are no great friends to the Liberty of the Press. The present First Lord of the Admiralty, (Mr. Yorke) found out, in the course of the last session, that the Press was intolerably licentious, and complained to this House of a placard reflecting upon him. In consequence of this complaint, the individual against whom it was brought (Mr. Gale Jones) suffered a confinement in Newgate for several months. When the right hon. gentleman brought the complaint forward, he stated that he felt nothing personal on the subject, but had been actuated solely by his regard for the credit and dignity of the House. In the first instance, I gave the right hon. gentleman credit for the assertion; but I am free to confess, that since that time my belief has been greatly shaken. And the circumstance which led to that disbelief on my part, was, that those who felt so keenly the regard that was due to the credit and dignity of the House in one instance, have not felt it incumbent upon them to take the same steps to assert its dignity; not only when individuals, but when large bodies of the members have been abused in the grossest and most indecent manner by those papers who support the cause of the present Ministers. The Morning Post, in its observations on the conduct of a Minority in opposing an adjournment, (in which opposition I believe it will now be confessed that they were right) abused in the

grossest manner all the members who voted in that minority. It is as follows: "With very few exceptions, there was "displayed in both Houses, on this occa-"sion, a most creditable and becoming "sympathy, and the conduct of Lord "Moira and Mr. Sheridan, who on all oc-"casions of real national importance are "ever actively to be found at their post, "is entitled to our best commendations. "In the House of Lords, notwithstanding "some observations from Lords Grenville "and Grey, to the justice or necessity of "which we can by no means subscribe, the question of adjournment was carried as we have already observed, *nemine dis-"sentiente;* nor would there have been any "division in the Commons, where the Opposition were unwilling to expose the "weakness of their numbers, had not Sir "Francis Burdett, after some reprehensi-"ble and insidious insinuations, relative to "the exercise of the Executive Power, "entrapped Mr. Whitbread and some "others, who to hide a still greater shame, "and wear the semblance of consistency, "found themselves compelled to vote with "the mischievous Baronet. We are not, however, displeased at the *patriotic* expedient to which the *worthy* Sir Francis has thus had recourse, as it serves to shew how contemptible are the numbers of those whose nature is debased by the "vile views of faction, and whose unmanly feelings and ungenerous hearts forbid as it were their sympathy, in a case, which to the everlasting honour of the country be it related, so deeply interests the best feelings, and fills with keen solicitude "the fond bosoms of a people, who in "duly appreciating his virtues, prove "themselves deserving of the best Mo-"narch that ever adorned a Throne."—Such language as this, Sir, is endured in the Morning Post, because that paper is in the habit of lending its support to Ministers, and no one of those members who, upon other occasions, have discovered such a lively regard for the credit and dignity of the House, considered this as a case deserving of their notice. For my own part, Sir, I do not feel at all hurt by such expressions of the Morning Post. Of me and of my friends, that paper is at all times at liberty to speak in whatever way it pleases. All I ask is, that the Attorney General and those gentlemen who are so tremblingly alive to the heinous nature of libels in some instances, will practice something like impartiality in their selection. If they are actuated by the purest of motives; if their object in the prosecution of libels is solely their regard for the state, a respect for public decency and the preservation of *bonos mores*, how happens it, Sir, that these considerations never affect them but when the person offending differs in politics from the Minister of the day?—I fear, Sir, I have already trespassed too long upon the indulgence of the House. I hope I have said enough to convince the House of the exorbitancy of the power exercised by the Attorney General. I call for the production of the Papers upon these three distinct grounds: 1st, That even if the law had not been altered, the state of things being altered, the Privilege ought to be investigated: 2ndly, That the law having been altered, inquiry is thereby rendered more necessary, and particularly as the alteration has been introduced by the Attorney General himself: 3dly, That the House may examine whether what I have asserted be true; namely, that the proceeding by Information has been exercised vexatiously and partially. I shall now conclude, Sir, with moving, "That there be laid before this House, an Account of all Informations, filed *ex-officio* by the Attorney General, from the 1st of January 1801, to the present time; together with all the proceedings had thereon, specifying the dates when such proceedings took place."

The ATTORNEY GENERAL then rose, and said, that it was evident that the object of the motion was not to question the right which a person holding his situation had to file such informations, but to insinuate, or rather directly to state, that this power had been grossly abused in his hands. If the power he had been entrusted with had been made an instrument of oppression, he was deeply responsible for it. As this charge had been made in pretty direct terms, he trusted the House would indulge him, if he should find himself obliged at some length to repel those charges. He trusted the Noble Lord would do him the justice to allow, that there was no impediment whatever thrown in the way of his motion. He had access, as he had an undoubted right to have, to all the records which could be serviceable to him; and the persons in whose custody they were placed, had positive directions to give him every assistance they could, by pointing out to him the particular parts of the

records to which his enquiries were directed. The Noble Lord had stated truly the number of informations which had been filed within the last three years. He had, however, after this statement, proceeded to state his suspicions that this power had been improperly exercised, and had stated several instances to confirm this suspicion. Many of the topics touched upon by the Noble Lord appeared to him to have no sort of bearing upon the real question, which was not whether there was any thing in the law upon the subject which required correction, but in what manner he (the Attorney-General) had executed the trust reposed in him. As to the hardships which different individuals might suffer in consequence of judgments pronounced against them, this was a matter for which he was not responsible; and if the Noble Lord thought that any individual case was proper to bring before the consideration of Parliament, there was nothing to prevent him from so doing. He believed however, that there were many things which he had stated as hardships, in which he would not be borne out in an inquiry. The first insinuation which appeared to be levied personally at him, was the mention of the influence of the Crown. Now he would defy the Noble Lord to adduce a single instance where that influence had any weight on his conduct in this respect. He believed that there were no prosecutions more leniently carried on than prosecutions by informations; and he believed that no person in his situation could have boldness, or nerve, or wickedness enough to deprive a defendant of every fair advantage. Was there, in fact, any prosecutor in the kingdom who was so narrowly watched as an Attorney-General? Was there ever wanting abilities or zeal to detect every error he could fall into; and was not he even deprived of the ordinary excuse of human infirmity for any thing he should do that was wrong?—The Noble Lord had thrown it out, that an Attorney-General might be swayed by the fees of office in filing informations. Now, as the Noble Lord declared that he did not mean to apply this observation to him, he was relieved from the necessity of repelling it personally, or declaring that the paltry, dirty fees of office had no influence on his conduct in this respect. If he was actuated by the sordid passion of pocketing a little pelf, the amount of the fees would really be too small to induce him, or any person in his situation, from acting under that consideration. The fees of an Attorney-General on filing an information were either 13s. 4d. or 6s. 8d. he could not recollect which. Now he could not be at a loss to know what the Noble Lord was alluding to in those observations. The very terms which he made use of shewed clearly what it was he meant. It was because at the trial of Mr. Cobbett, he had imputed to him that the profits of his paper had or might have an influence on his writings; that therefore the Noble Lord had thought it fair to impute to him similar motives. He could not believe, however, that any Nobleman, on taking time to recollect himself, or that any gentleman in that House who was possessed of any liberal feeling, could think that the cases were similar, or that with any kind of liberality or fairness they could be placed together. The Noble Lord also stated it as a great hardship, that no time run against the bringing such prosecutions, and that the person remained always answerable. He believed that every Gentlemen who heard that statement had supposed that there were hard cases of individuals, oppressed in this manner; without such a supposition, his statement would be absolutely unintelligible; and yet he could assure the House that no instances of that kind existed. He believed no instance could be stated of any case in which he had filed an information, in which a single term had elapsed from the publication of the libel to the information. That always followed, as closely as possible, the discovery of the offence. In the different instances the Noble Lord had adduced of hardships to which defendants were exposed, it was nothing to the question to talk of hardships which the law imposed: the Noble Lord should have pointed out hardships which proceeded from him as Attorney General. When he stated that the defendant had not the power of praying a tales, he should have recollected that in every private prosecution the prosecutor might, at his pleasure, withdraw the record. In his objections to special juries, the noble lord spoke of them as appointed by an officer of the Crown, and said that they had an interest in serving on those juries, and therefore would probably not conduct themselves so as to displease this officer of the crown who appointed them. As to this officer of the Crown, he must state that he had his place for life, and was in this respect as independent as the Judges. He knew him

a man of high honour and integrity, and utterly incapable of abusing his trust in the manner which appeared to be insinuated. The special juries were not selected by this officer. It was the duty of the constables of the different parishes to return lists of freeholders, and it was from the freeholders book that the special juries were chosen. The manner, however, that they were taken was this; The officer opened the book where he pleased, and took the first 48 names that occurred. Each party had a right to strike off 12, and from the remainder the jury was formed. He was convinced that nothing could be more impartial than the way the special juries were selected.—The Noble Lord had considered some of the sentences which had been pronounced by the Learned Judges, as severe in the extreme, and had referred to the authority of Judge Holt, but that Learned Constitutional Judge had in his time complained of the licentiousness of libellers, and certainly the punishments for that offence were as severe in the best times of the law as they are at present. As to the case of White and Hart, it was not for one libel that they had been sentenced for two years, it was for two libels of a very gross nature. He had said, that it would be mockery for persons confined by severe sentences to bring writs of error, which might perhaps not be determined for many years. He had forgotten, however, to state, that those two men, Hart and White, had actually brought their writ of error, and that in consequence of the nature of it, it was attended to in the House of Lords before any other business of a similar nature. The Noble Lord had also stated the hardships of the subject to be much aggravated by the bill which he had brought in, and that this bill had given him (the Attorney-general) the power of holding to bail any man he pleased. This statement was utterly incorrect. The law gave him no such power, but vested that power in the Judges of the land. The only case in which this had been acted upon, was in the case of a man, who, after an information filed against him, thought proper to republish the same work. Now, this case being stated to Justice Le Blanc, that learned Judge thought it was a case in which the defendant should be held to bail. When it was stated, that he had filed 42 informations, it should be also stated, that it was for 18 libels. When it was considered, that there were near 200 newspapers disseminated every week, it would not seem extraordinary, that eighteen libels should have been thought worthy of prosecution. Out of those eighteen cases, in eleven there were convictions, or judgment went by default. There was one acquittal, and one withdrawn in consequence of that acquittal. In three cases he had dropped the prosecutions on satisfactory apologies being made. As to the libels in the case of the Duke of York, he believed there was no one who recollected the flame which then prevailed in the public mind that would blame him for withdrawing those prosecutions. He had withdrawn one information against the Proprietors of "The Whig," as he did not wish to add to their present term of imprisonment. As to the libel in the Morning Post, the case was this: proceedings had been instituted at the complaint of the Transport Board, for a libel upon them. The author's name was given up. It was Captain Roach, who had since served his country gallantly abroad. He was then out of the country, but on his return he waited on the Transport Board, and softened them so much that they did not wish to press the prosecution. Now the case of the author of the libel on the Commissioners of the Income Tax in Lancashire was very different. Mr. Lovell had inserted the libel in his paper with comments still more offensive than the original libel, and on that account he prosecuted him. He also prosecuted the two country papers in which it was originally published, but as he found the evidence of those two publishers was necessary to convict the author, a Mr. Collyer, he, at the desire of the Commissioners who were libelled, consented to suspend the proceedings against them, and the prosecution of Collyer is now going on. If the power vested in him had not been abused, he felt confident that the House would acquit him of the imputations which the motion conveyed.

Lord Folkestone rose to reply, and spoke as follows: Sir, after having already trespassed so long upon the attention of the House, it would be unpardonable in me to consume much more of its time; but I cannot refrain from making a few short observations upon what has been dropped in the course of the present discussion. My right hon. friend (Mr. Elliot), and the hon. and learned gentleman (Mr. Stephen) have stated, that I

have produced no instances of an improper use of the power of the Attorney General to justify this motion. To this I reply, that I have laid different grounds: first, the general ground of the hardship under which this power lays all the subjects of the realm: secondly, the improper use of it, in the case both of prosecutions improperly commenced, and of partiality. And for the truth of this, I need only refer my right hon. friend and the hon. and learned gentleman to the fact, that the Attorney General has, in no one case, denied the hardship of which I complained, and to the statement which I made in the outset, confirmed as that statement has been by the Attorney General himself: namely, that of the forty-two prosecutions commenced in three years, nearly one half have not been proceeded in. Now, Sir, either the prosecutions were justifiable, or they were not. If they were justifiable, then why were they dropped? Did the Attorney General assume to himself the right to decide that sufficient punishment had been inflicted? and the right to inflict it on whomsoever he chose? The Attorney General tells us that he has received apologies. Sir, the Attorney General is a public servant, acting for the benefit of the public; and is he to assume to himself the right of stopping proceedings commenced with that view, upon an apology made to himself? Besides, what apology can be sufficient in the case of such high misdemeanors as those to which alone, according to Blackstone, these *Ex-officio* Informations are applicable? If the prosecutions were not justifiable, then at once here is a cause for inquiry and for granting the *Papers* I have moved for; then, all the persons affected by them have been unjustly subjected to expence and trouble. But the hon. and learned gentleman (Mr. Stephen) says, that the increase of publications justifies the increase of prosecutions. But, Sir, is that the real state of the case? In the six years ending 1806, the number of prosecutions is at the rate of two in each year. In 1808, 1809, and 1810, at the rate of *fourteen*. Have, then, these publications increased in the rate of fourteen to two? Certainly not.—Of the rest of the speech of the hon. and learned gentleman, I have only to say, that he has not alluded to a single argument of mine, which he has not misrepresented. But, in truth, the hon. and learned gentleman applied scarcely any one sentence of his speech to the arguments that have been urged, or to the case now before the House. He came down with a bundle of old papers, prepared evidently, not for the purpose of refuting arguments that might be used in behalf of the motion; but with the view of attacking the hon. baronet (Sir F. Burdett). And how, Sir, does the hon. and learned gentleman attack him? Why, for not prosecuting as a Libel, that which purports to be an account of his Speech to his Constituents. And what are the grievous parts of this Libel?—that the hon. baronet has been represented to have said, that "no Government can stand without the affections "of the People," and that he hoped "the "People would never again be deprived "of the right of petitioning." Sir, is it libellous to say this? Are these libels, which the hon. baronet is called upon (and the hon. and learned gentleman does call upon him) to prosecute? If these are Libels, then I beg to be comprehended in the guilt of a libeller. I am guilty of being such a libeller, and I beg to be comprehended in the hon. and learned Gentleman's censure.—But, the hon. and learned Gentleman tells us, that the spirit of the people is libellous. "There is a spirit gone forth," says he, "amongst the people, of so dangerous a "sort, that the Attorney General is called "upon to check it by these prosecutions." Is it so? Why, then, Sir, let the causes of that spirit be inquired into. Let us correct the abuses and the grievances that have given it birth. Let us institute these proceedings, in order that we may retrieve the affections of the people, without which, notwithstanding the censure of the hon. and learned Gentleman, I shall still assert, that "the government cannot stand."—With regard, Sir, to the Speech of the Attorney General, it is to be remarked, that he really has rebutted neither the allegation of general grievance under the law, as it stands and is administered; nor any one of the cases alledged of oppression and partiality. The Attorney General has passed an eulogium on Special Juries; but his hon. and learned friend behind him, has not said one word in answer to, or in contradiction of, the facts alledged on that subject by the honourable baronet. This question, however, of Special Juries shall be made, on a future day, the object of a specific motion; and therefore nothing more need now be said upon it.—The Attorney General has plumed

himself upon his civility to me in ordering all the records and offices to be thrown open to my inspection. I really did not know that I was so much indebted to him. He has given me credit for great industry and care in rummaging into the antient records on the subject. I am afraid, Sir, that I am not entitled to this commendation; and if it was part of my duty to devote myself to these researches, and to read all these libels before I brought the question forward, I am afraid I must plead guilty to the charge of having come before the House unprepared.—Sir, the Attorney General is very angry at the mention of the word Fees, and is extremely indignant that it can be entertained as a possible motive for any Attorney General, that he is to receive Fees on the filing of these Informations. Sir, I cast no such imputation upon the learned Gentleman: but I wish he had been equally abstemious in another case, where the imputation was equally undeserved, and when it was used for the purpose of aggravating the punishment of an offence of a quite different nature, and with which it had nothing to do. The learned Gentleman knows to what I allude, and has mentioned it in the course of his speech. I am glad he has done so; for I am glad to have an opportunity to state that that imputation was quite unfounded and totally unjustifiable. Sir, I have known Mr. Cobbett, the person against whom the learned Gentleman flung out that accusation, for many years. I have heard of the eminent services he performed for his native country when a public writer in America. Honourable testimony has heretofore been borne to those services in this House. I have known him ever since his return, and have never ceased to admire his public writings, or to esteem his private character. I have more than ever had occasion to do so, since he has been suffering the punishment which he is now undergoing, in consequence of the prosecution of the Attorney General, and I am extremely happy to have had an opportunity of professing publicly the high esteem which I bear him, and the value I set upon his writings, and the great services he thereby does the country.—The Attorney General has told the House, that I complained of state prosecutions, but that I gave no instance of any such. It is true, that I complained of the possibility as the law stands, of keeping these prosecutions hanging over the heads of individuals for an indefinite period; but I did not complain that this had ever been done. The Attorney General states a case where he entered a *noli prosequi* to relieve the mind of the person against whom a prosecution had been commenced. I am bound to acknowledge the truth of that statement, and to bear testimony to the kindness with which the Attorney General acted in that case—but why is this the only *noli prosequi* which he has entered? Why, in other cases where prosecutions have been dropped—or at least not proceeded on—why have they not been put a final stop to in this way? Why have they been left in such a state, that at any future period they may be taken up again either by the present or any future Attorney General? Why were not the minds of these other individuals equally set at rest? Sir, I complain of this: these people are still under the lash. It is not in full operation; but it is kept suspended over them, and may at any future period be again brought into operation.—And now, Sir, with respect to that case, which the Attorney General states so triumphantly, of the only person who has been committed under the 48th of the King. The Attorney General says that I misrepresented that Act, when I said that it gave him the power to hold all the King's subjects to bail. I surely could not be understood to mean that it empowered the Attorney General himself to take bail, or to commit. I have read the Act and I know it means no such thing; but it does that which is tantamount to it. It empowers a Judge—(I am not quite sure whether or no it is imperative on the Judge)—it empowers him, however, at all events, to hold to bail or commit any person against whom the Attorney General files his Information. Is this nothing? The Attorney General may file his Information against whom he pleases, and on *Affidavit* of the filing of the Information, the Judge may hold to bail or commit. Then, I say, that this gives the Attorney General the power of having any person whom he pleases, held to bail.—But this Act, it seems, has only once been brought into operation. Has the Act done no good? it ought, then, to be repealed. Is it useless? it ought to be repealed. It has been useful in one case: and that case the Attorney General states triumphantly. He says it is the case of one O'Gorman, who after an Information filed against him for a libel, republished the Libel, and was then brought under the operation of this

Act, and being unable to find bail was committed. I say that this case, instead of being a triumphant one for the Attorney General, is a case of most gross and flagrant abuse. In the first place—a Libel!—by what right does the Attorney General call the publication in question a Libel? Has it ever been so proved? Has the author ever been tried and convicted of being a Libeller? No. The Attorney General, for reasons which he has stated, has never brought this work to the test of a trial. It is, therefore, no Libel in law: and he has no right so to call it?—Then, as to the republication of this work, which the Attorney General is pleased to call a libel, I understand that the fact is not true. Previous to the filing of the first Information, a second Edition of the Work was sent to the press. The putting the Information on the file did not stop the work of the press: it went on, and the second edition was printed and sent home to this man's house: and this is the republication for which the second Information was filed: Well, but admitting the work itself to have been as heinous a libel, as abominable a publication as ever came from the press. What then? Does that render the author justly amenable to this Act? Was this act passed to punish Libels? or to enable Attorney Generals to *punish* those whom they chose to pronounce libellers?—No: this act was passed to prevent culprits running away from justice: to prevent their escape. And I want to know, if this man was more likely to run away from the second Information than from the first? Whether the re-publication, therefore, gave any good ground for bringing him under the operation of this Act, or not, I say, that the object and purposes of this Act have been herein grossly perverted. I say, that this Act, passed for one purpose, has been used for another—has been used arbitrarily by the Attorney General for the purpose of punishing a man, who has never been convicted of any crime; but who had incurred the displeasure of the Attorney General.—On the whole, Sir, I assert, that none of the grounds that I before alleged for this motion, have been removed. The hardships which I enumerated as attending every person who became the object of this sort of prosecution have not been disproved or denied, in any one instance. And as to the particular grounds, they are equally uncontradicted. The fact asserted by me, and confirmed by the Attorney General, of prosecutions being dropped, is proof of their being improperly commenced: and as to the charge of partiality, in prosecuting some and withholding all restraint from others, none of the gentlemen have touched on the subject. I beg leave here to repeat, that this lenity I do not complain of, but what I complain of is this: that while this lenity is extended to some, great severity is meted out to others. The ground, therefore, on which I stand, is the general hardship, even as the law stood before the alteration—the increased severity of the law in consequence of the 48th of the King—and the abuse and partiality with which the Attorney General has exercised his privilege. These, Sir, are the grounds on which I rely, and upon which I shall take the sense of the House.

[At the close of Lord Folkestone's Reply, a division took place, when there appeared, for Lord Folkestone's motion 38, including Tellers; and against it, 121, including Tellers.——The speakers *for* the motion were Lord Folkestone, Sir Francis Burdett, Sir Samuel Romilly, and Mr. P. Moore.——Those who spoke against it were, The Attorney General himself, Mr. Stephen (Wilberforce's brother-in-law) now a Master in Chancery, Mr. William Elliot, and a person of the name of Lockart, who is, I believe, a lawyer.——The following are the names of those members who voted for Lord Folkestone's motion:]

List of the Minority.

Abercromby, hon. J.
Adams, Charles
Adair, Robert
Aubrey, sir John
Byng, George
Brand, hon. Thomas
Cavendish, William
Combe, Harvey C.
Creevey, Thomas
Cuthbert, J. R.
Ferguson, General
Guise, sir William
Hibbert, George
Howorth, Humphrey
Hutchinson, hon. C. H.
Latouche, Robert
Lefevre, James Shaw
Lemon, sir William
Longman, George
Maddocks, W. A.
Martin, Henry
Miller, sir Thomas
Moore, Peter
Newport, sir John
North, Dudley
Ord, William
Osborne, lord F. G.
Ossulston, lord
Parnell, Henry
Romilly, sir Samuel
Smith, William
Sharp, Richard
Taylor, M. A.
Tracey, Hanbury
Western, C. C.
Whitbread, Samuel

TELLERS.
Folkestone, viscount
Burdett, sir Francis

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

Ex-officio Informations.——In the present Number, I shall more *open* the subject, which it is not my intention to quit, till *all the world,* where the English language is understood, and indeed until all nations, have the means of putting a *just value* upon that thing, which, in England, is called *The Liberty of the Press.* This thing has long been a matter of *boast;* but it never was yet clearly and fully described and made known to the people. Now it shall: and then let the name of it take its chance in the world. And, it is the more necessary to make the exposure at *this time,* because so much is said about the recently-established regulations about the press *in France,* between which and the regulations in England the world ought to be able to judge; and, I cannot help observing here, that those who are the loudest in reproaching the Emperor for his regulations, are amongst the greatest enemies of all *real* Liberty of the Press in England.——Supposing, as I must, that the reader has gone through the whole of the *charge* of Lord Folkestone and the *defence* of Sir Vicary Gibbs, as published in my last Number, it will not be necessary for me to give him, here, any *general* account of that debate, which began at page 805, and filled almost the whole of the remainder of the Number; but, there are certain topics, touched upon in it, which I cannot refrain from noticing, though there were very few of much importance, upon which Lord Folkestone did not enter pretty fully, and to which he did not do ample justice.——What *sort of a thing* an INFORMATION EX-OFFICIO is, I stated very clearly at page 428 of this present Volume. I showed that it was such a power as few people supposed to be in existence in this country; but, I did not there notice the *additional* power given to the Attorney General by an Act passed in the 48th year of this Jubilee Reign, which act authorizes the Attorney General to hold to *bail,* and if bail be not found, to *imprison,* at once, any man against whom *he may choose* to lay an information.——See, then, what his powers amount to: he can, by his *sole will,* without the intervention of a Grand Jury, and without a rule moved for in Court; he can pitch upon any man that he chooses, and, without any oath made against such man, by any body, he may put such man upon the list of *criminals* to be tried; and, to trial he may bring him, without any other ceremony than that of sending him a slip of paper, commanding him to appear on such a day to be *dealt* with as the Court shall direct.——This is pretty well for a beginning. But, if he chooses, he may *now,* by the new Act brought in by this present Attorney General, have the man *taken up* like a thief or a highwayman, and make him give bail, or, if he has not bail ready, he may *send him to jail* at once; and this, you will observe, without there being any *oath* made as to the man's having done any thing wrong; all that is required to be *proved,* in order to send such a man to jail, is, that the Attorney General *has laid an Information against him!*——Now, such being the case, it is clear, that the Attorney General has the power *of holding any man in England to bail,* be he who or what he may. He has the power of causing any man to be seized by a Tipstaff and to be kept in custody till he has found bail, and that, too, without being obliged to furnish the party so taken up and held to bail with any copy or statement of the charge against him.——The Attorney General may do this to *any* man. There is no man that is not exposed to the operation of this power.——Well, having accused a man, having laid his Information against him; having sent him *a command to come and be tried,* and having, perhaps, *held him to bail;* having done this, he does not bring him to trial until he chooses. The "*free-born Englishman,*" who is thus hooked, must wait till the Attorney General pleases to have him tried. His command to come and be *dealt* with stands good. His bail holds him on. And, if he cannot get bail, there he is *in jail,* as long as the Attorney General pleases; for, the latter *may put off the trial for any length of time.*——This is quite com-

fortable. This is delightful in the "*most free* and *most happy* country in the world!" ——The Attorney General may put off the trial, if he likes, during the whole of a man's life time. He may lay his information when the man is single, as Mr. Horne Tooke observed, and he may bring him to trial after he is married and has half a dozen children. He may inform against him while he is following one profession, and may fall on upon him with his trial when he is about to enter, or has entered, upon another.——He may *forgive*, too, of himself, after he has laid the Information, after he has put a man upon the list of *criminals* to be tried, after he has commanded him to come to be *dealt* with, after he has held him to bail, nay, after he has put him *in jail* for want of bail; after all this he may forgive the man, of his own head, without bringing him before the court at all.——Is it necessary to say any more about his powers? Is not this enough? Eh! you *free-born* gentry, is not this plenty for you? If this does not satisfy you, I do not know what will.——Well, suppose he chooses to try the man that he has informed against? What, then? Why, then, the first step he takes, is, to demand a *Special Jury*, that is to say, twelve men, out of *forty-eight* men, ALL APPOINTED BY THE MASTER OF THE CROWN OFFICE. The poor man who is to be tried may strike out 12 from the 48, and so may the prosecutor; but, the *whole* 48 *are appointed by the Master of the Crown Office.*——Well. The Jury, thus appointed, does not appear; or, only part of them come. The Attorney General has the power to put *off the trial*, to say simply, I do not choose to try you now; and you shall not be tried now because I do not choose it. His will here is absolute. The Judges themselves have no power to force the trial on. Whether his Special Jury comes, or not, he can put off the trial. And, on the contrary, if the Special Jury do not come, or only a part of them come, he can demand, if he pleases, to have a Jury made up from the Common Jurors.——Then, at the trial, he begins and speaks against the accused, and he has as many more as he pleases, at *the public expence*, to speak on the same side. When that is done, the accused has to speak in his defence. And there, one would think, the thing would end. Oh, no! for, though in all cases between man and man, this is the practice, the Attorney General has the privilege of *another speech* after the defence is over; and, as Lord Folkestone observed, into *this* speech he may bring whatever *new matter* he pleases. He may, indeed, as his Lordship observed, reserve all the weighty part of his allegations for this speech, and thus leave the defendant without, in reality, any opportunity at all to defend himself.——If the man be found guilty, he may, or may not, be brought up for judgment, just as the Attorney General pleases. The Court cannot do any thing in it. The man may be brought up and sentenced at the next term, or many years afterwards, during all which time, the liability to be brought up for judgment hangs over his head.——If he be brought up, he may speak, or offer affidavits; but, *after* that the Attorney General and his coadjutors claim the right, and exercise it, of SPEAKING AGAIN, before the judgment is passed. This they always do; especially in cases of *libel* ——Suppose the prosecuted man is *acquitted:* then he has *all his costs to pay;* for the Crown pays no costs. The same is the case if the man be *never brought to trial.* Still he has costs, and heavy costs too. He is obliged to *pay* for a copy of the accusation against him. Poor Gilbert Wakefield (whose case we must take care not to forget) had to pay, he states, several pounds in order *to get at a knowledge of what he was accused of;* for, unless he paid this money, he would not have known what his alledged crime was, 'till he actually came to the place of trial and heard the charge read against him. ——It is the same with every other man, who is prosecuted in this way. He may be, as we have seen, brought to court after court, and not tried for years, and, perhaps, not tried at all; and, besides the harrassing of this, he has to meet and support all the expences. There may be just as many Informations laid against any man as the Attorney chooses to lay against him; he may be compelled to give bail upon every one of them, or he may be sent to jail; and, after all, he may, if the Attorney General chooses, never be brought to trial at all; and, he has, for all this, no mode whatever of obtaining compensation or redress. Hence, as Mr. Dunning says, in his celebrated pamphlet, "the Attorney General may *ruin* any "man, whose pen is troublesome to the "ministry; for who has a purse sufficient "to contend against the Crown?" And, Mr. Dunning said this, too, before the Act empowering the Attorney General to

hold to bail was passed, or dreamt of.—— Such are *the powers* of the Attorney General in England. Such are the powers, to which the press is subject in England. Such is the "practice of the English Constitution" as to the press, and to persons who write.——*Any man*, no matter who, may have an *Information Ex-officio* laid against him, and that too, for *any thing* that the Attorney General marks down as a crime. *Any man* may be thus put upon *the list of criminals;* and there he may be compelled to remain *as long as the Attorney General pleases.*——But, it is useless to say any thing more in the way of *description* of this power; this matchless power; this *nonpareil* of all powers. The thing is now pretty well known here. Heretofore it has not been known. People heard of the Attorney General's prosecuting writers and printers; but, they had no notion of his possessing powers like these; nor did one person out of a thousand know what was the meaning of the words, SPECIAL JURY. Now, however, they do know what all this means; and, those who do not, will, before I have done with the subject; for, compared with these matters, what are the events of *the war?* Those events are but as dust in the balance, when compared with these powers of the Attorney General; and, what contemptible animals must we be, if we can suffer ourselves to be amused with what is passing in Spain and Portugal, while we have such concerns as this under our eyes, coming into our houses, and affecting us in all our vital interests.——Having given, or rather, repeated, my description of the *powers possessed* by the Attorney General, I shall, in my next, proceed to *observe* upon what he said in defence of *his conduct* as to the *exercise* of those powers. Here, however, I shall introduce a specimen from a writer of the last century, by way of answer to those, who cry out against the *licentiousness* of the press in the *present day.*——MR. STEPHEN (Wilberforce's brother-in-law), who, having been *a reporter to the news-papers,* ought to know something about the press, said, that the press was now *more licentious than ever.* So said MR. YORKE, in *answer* to MR. WARDLE's charges against the late Commander in Chief. And, as SIR SAMUEL ROMILLY observed, so have said every ministry at all times since there has been a press.——But, the truth is, that the press, in England, never was so *tame,* so *beaten down,* so completely *subdued* as it is now. No man dares to publish any thing calculated to produce *effect,* touching *great political matters;* touching those things in which the *people really are interested.* About things, in which there is little interest, a man may write; and, if his hostility be merely of a *party* nature, he may go on pretty quietly; but, if he strike at the *root* of what he deems a public grievance; if he be *sincere* in his endeavour to eradicate it; if his hostility be to the *thing,* and if it be pretty manifest that he is not to be prevailed upon to desist; then let him beware!——The specimen of the *Liberty* of the Press, which I am now about to introduce, I have published in the Register, once before; but, it cannot be published too often, especially while there are men to cry out against the *licentiousness* of the press of the *present day.* Poor, tame, insipid, spiritless thing! What would SWIFT have said of it? Nothing can show the degeneracy of spirit in this country in so strong a light as the comparing of the language of the press of former times with its language at this day.

SWIFT'S

CHARACTER, PANEGYRIC, AND DESCRIPTION OF THE LEGION-CLUB. 1736.

As I stroll the city, oft' I
See a building large and lofty,
Not a bow-shot *from the College;*
Half the globe from sense and knowledge:
By the prudent architect,
Plac'd *against the Church direct,*
Making good my grand-dame's jest,
"Near the church"—you know the rest.
Tell us what the pile contains?
Many a head that *holds no brains.*
These demoniacs let me dub
With the name of Legion-Club.
Such assemblies, you might swear
Meet when butchers bait a bear;
Such a noise, and such haranguing,
When a *brother thief* is hanging;
Such a rout and such a rabble
Run to hear Jack-pudding gabble;
Such a crowd their ordure throws
On a *far less villain's nose.*
Could I from the building's top
Hear the rattling thunder drop,
While the devil upon the roof
(If the devil be thunder proof)
Should with poker fiery red
Crack the stones, and melt the lead;
Drive them down on every skull,
While the DEN OF THIEVES is full;
Quite destroy the harpies nest;
How might then our isle be blest!
For divines allow, that God
Sometimes makes the devil his rod;
And the gospel will inform us,
He can punish sins enormous.

Yet should Swift endow the schools,
For his lunatics and fools,
With a rood or two of land;
I allow the pile may stand,
You perhaps will ask me, Why so?
But it is with this proviso:
Since the house is like to last,
Let the royal grant be pass'd,
That the club have right to dwell
Each within his proper cell,
With a passage left to creep in,
And a hole above for peeping.
Let them when they once get in,
Sell the nation for a pin;
While they sit a picking straws,
Let them rave at making laws;
While they never hold their tongue,
Let them dabble in their dung:
* * * * * * *
Let them, ere they crack a louse,
Call for th' *Orders of the House;*
Let them with their gosling quills,
Scribble senseless heads of bills.
We may, while they strain their throats,
Wipe our a***s with their Votes,
* * * * * * *
Come assist me, Muse obedient!
Let us try some new expedient;
Shift the scene for half an hour,
Time and place are in thy power.
Thither, gentle Muse, conduct me;
I shall ask, and you instruct me.
See, the Muse unbars the gate!
Hark, the Monkeys, how they prate!
All ye gods who rule the soul!
Styx, through Hell whose waters roll;
Let me be allow'd to tell,
What I heard in yonder Hell.
Near the door an entrance gapes,
Crowded round with antic shapes,
Poverty, and Grief, and Care,
Causeless Joy, and true Despair;
Discord perriwigg'd with snakes,
See the dreadful strides she takes!
By this *odious crew* beset,
I began to rage and fret,
And resolv'd to break their pates,
Ere we entered at the gates:
Had not Clio in the nick
Whisper'd me, "Lay down your stick."
"What," said I, "is this the mad-house?"
"These" she answer'd "are but shadows,"
"Phantoms bodiless and vain,
"Empty visions of the brain."
In the porch Briareus stands,
Shows a *bribe in all his hands;*
* * * * * * *
When the rogues their country fleece,
They may hope for pence a-piece.
Clio, who had been so wise
To put on *a fool's disguise,*
To bespeak some approbation,
And be thought a near relation,
When she saw three hundred brutes
All involv'd in wild disputes,
Roaring till their lungs were spent,
PRIVILEGE OF PARLIAMENT,
Now a new misfortune feels,
DREADING TO BE LAID BY TH' HEELS.
Never durst a Muse before
Enter that infernal door;
Clio, stifled with the smell,
Into spleen and vapours fell,
By the Stygian steams that flew
From the dire infectious crew.
Not the stench of lake Avernus
Could have more offended her nose;
Had she flown but o'er the top
She had felt her pinions drop,
And by exhalations dire,
Though a goddess, must expire.
In a fright she crept away;
Bravely I resolv'd to stay.
When I saw the keeper frown,
Tipping him with half a crown,
"Now," said I, "we are alone,
Name your heroes one by one."

How I want thee, humourous Hogarth!
Thou, I hear, a pleasant rogue art.
Were but you and I acquainted,
Every monster should be painted:
You should try your graving-tools
On this ODIOUS GROUPE OF FOOLS:
Draw the beasts as I describe them
From their features, while I gibe them;
Draw them like; for I assure you,
You will need no *car'catura;*
Draw them so, that we may trace
All the soul in every face.
Keeper, I must now retire,
You have done what I desire:
But I feel my spirits spent
With the noise, the sight, the scent.
"Pray be patient; you shall find
Half the best are still behind:
You have hardly seen a score:
I can shew two hundred more."
Keeper, I have seen enough.—
Taking then a pinch of snuff,
I concluded, looking round them,
"MAY THEIR GOD, THE DEVIL, CONFOUND THEM!"

Now, the author of this satire was not punished. He was not crammed into a jail amongst felons. The hair of no man's head was ever touched for this. And why? Why, because it was proper to publish it; because the author had a *right* to publish it. Great good it was calculated to do, and I dare say, did do. There was no dread, in those days, of *the government being destroyed* by such freedom as this; but, I put it to the reader what he thinks would become of a man, if he were to publish such a thing *now,* in England. Let any man look at this Extract from SWIFT, and bear in mind what Mr. GALE

JONES was sent to Newgate for, last Spring, upon the motion of MR. YORKE.——These are things, which the people should have well *fixed* in their minds. There is no duty towards the public so sacred as that of *keeping these things alive.* Little more is necessary; but, that is necessary; and, if there were a little work, in the way of *Almanack,* wherein to enregister all these memorable transactions, it would be of great national advantage. A little sort of manual that might be called, *The People's Pocket Companion.* I cannot help expressing a wish, that some one would undertake such a work.

JUBILEE DOLLAR.——This precious commodity not only holds its ground, but is, I find, rising over the paper, even more than before.——There has been a rumour, the news-papers tell us, about an intention to issue *small notes;* I mean, smaller than *one pounds,* to which, I think, the thing must come, in the course of a few months; for, as to *putting up* the Dollar, it will do no good at all, in the way of preserving them in circulation, and will only tend to make the people see the thing to the bottom the sooner.——But, says the wise COURIER, why make 10 and 5 shilling notes? It will answer the same purpose to make 25*s.* and 30*s.* and 35*s.* notes.——Indeed, wiseacre! And, how is the farmer to pay his labourer his 15 or 12 shillings on the Saturday night? How is one to pay *less than a pound* to any one who has not any money at all?——However, this wiseacre is just the sort of instructor for the full-blooded Anti-Jacobins, who *wish* not to see the thing in its true light, and who will, in all human probability, have their *full reward* in due time, manner, and form.——Then there is a MR. RICARDO, who is puffing off a plan of his for raising the value of the paper to *equal that of gold,* with the aid of a very *moderate* proportion of that metal. This is just what HUME foretold. The patient is *beset with remedies;* and, after a few of them have been applied, we shall see what a way the poor sufferer will get into. One thing I will venture to say of this Mr. RICARDO, that, if ever he does see the New Jerusalem, he will see it before this paper be restored to sterling value.——The *Exchange,* indeed! Miserable humbug! What has trade or exchange to do with the matter? The state of the exchange may be an evidence of the worth of the paper money; but, *it cannot cause it to be worth more or less.* On the Continent, the currency consists of gold and silver. A Dollar will pass there for no more than it used to do many years ago. Gold and Silver, as I showed by my statement of the currency in France, are not *dear.* They are as cheap *there* as they ever were. What wretches, then, must those be, who believe, that the gold and silver go away, because they are so *dear* upon the Continent! There is no country upon earth, except this, where people would be found to believe such a palpable falshood.——The raising of the Dollar seems to have opened a new description of eyes. The nation is brought to look at the thing by degrees. There are several classes of eyes; one class gets opened this time; another class next time, and so on. And, as the thing draws towards a close, the classes will grow much more numerous.——For some years, there was only here and there a person, who saw clearly what was coming; within these four years many men have opened their eyes; the smashings of last summer enlightened numbers, and set some of them seriously to think of the means of providing against the final consequences; and now the rise in the price of the Dollar seems to have added greatly to the faculty of seeing.——A correspondent, in the West of England, whose name I shall not insert, writes to me for my opinion and advice as to how he ought to go to work to *secure* to his children the fruit of his industry; and, as I am certain there are thousands in the same situation, I will give him my answer through this channel after having inserted his letter, which is as follows:——"SIR,—Having lately read your "opinion published in the Register, respecting the depreciation of Paper Money, and the general tendency of things as "to funded property, and being desirous to "secure to my children the fruit of my "industry;—I know you will be good "enough to give me your opinion when I "ask, What is to be done in the present "circumstances of the times?——To exchange a small funded Income for Land "as it now sells, is to reduce almost the "whole of that Income, which would be "very distressing, while such large demands are daily made upon one, from "the increase in price of all the necessaries of life, and the sums required by "the Tax Gatherers, both Public and Parochial.——My thoughts have therefore "been turned towards the American Bank "Shares or the Louisiana Fund—but I be-

"sitate, having seen a statement in the "Paper to this effect, "when the attack "" on the Chesapeak excited an appre- "" hension of war, the Secretary of the "" Treasury immediately forbid the trans- "" fer of any Bank Stock, either known, "" or believed to be English property, "" this and every other kind of property "" would be taken possession of, at the "" commencement of a war as an indem- "" nification of our own losses." As you "are well acquainted with American af- "fairs, do you recollect if this was the "fact? and what is your opinion as to "the above security?——What think you "of security on mortgage in this country? "or what can be done by an individual "under the present circumstances of the "times?——I am sorry to give you so "much trouble, but in the persuasion you "will excuse it, I beg leave to subscribe "myself, yours, &c.—30 March, 1811." Now, as *to what a man ought to do*, in such general circumstances, is rather *too broad* a question, since so much must necessarily depend upon the particular circumstances of a man's family, the age of his children, the taste of himself, and, more especially the taste of his wife, who, if she be well stored with vanity, will leave all the children to beg or starve, rather than take a horse from her carriage or curtail her table of a dish.——I must, therefore, confine myself to one point or two marked out in this gentleman's letter.——And, first, as to the *American funds*, or *Bank Shares*, or *Louisiana fund*, I would by no means advise any man to hazard one sixpence in them. Not that I should apprehend any *design* on the part of the American Government to seize on the stock belonging to foreigners, though I do not know that they might not in certain cases; and, it will be remembered that something of this sort was done in England, during the Anti-Republican war. My objection is, that the American funds and ours turn nearly upon *the same pivot;* the American funding system is, odd as it may seem, merely a sucking child of the Old Lady in Threadneedle Street; it yet hangs upon her breast; and, if "*any thing* were to happen," as the saying is (a saying we always use to avoid the sound of the word *death*); if any thing were to happen to the dear old Mama, it is strongly to be suspected, that her offspring, though a most promising babe at present, would follow her very closely to what PAINE calls the Potters' field of paper money.——But, suppose this not to be the case. How is a man to get his *interest* from America? He receives it *now* in London, and so he must then. Well, and *what* does he receive it *in*? Why, in *bank notes*, to be sure; and, in Bank notes he will continue to receive it, as long as they are current. Of course, the depreciation of paper will affect his American Stock as well as his English Stock; and, as I am fully convinced, that the American funding system hangs upon ours, this system is just, in my opinion, as safe as that; and, if any difference, safer, because there the government *may possibly* sequestrate or confiscate, under some circumstances that may arise, and here no such thing will be done as to the funded property of the people of our own country.——*Nine tenths* of the American Stock is, I believe, owned by *foreigners.* This circumstance alone is ominous; for it will be easily conceived, that *the people of America* would not make any very bloody resistance against any measure that should *relieve them from the payment of the interest upon the Debt.* The DUTCH, indeed, we were told by our venal prints, execrated Napoleon, and were even snickersneeing themselves by scores, *because he would not let them pay any more interest upon their national Debt.* This seems very odd;* but, be the taste of the Dutch what it might, I can assure the reader that this is not the taste of the Americans; who are fond of taxes of no sort; who do not like national Debts; who have never cordially liked the new funding system, as is very clear from the very small part of the Stock owned by themselves; and who would be a much less clever people and less resolute than I have always known them for, if they neglected any fair opportunity of getting rid of the growing curse, under which, if not effectually checked, their grand-children might groan in the vilest of all slavery, a slavery far surpassing, in misery as well as in odiousness, any to which the greatest of their enemies ever wished to reduce them.——They have seen the Swamp Snake sucking in the Frog, the flexible jaws of the former stealing slowly over the carcass of the latter, which, while it puts forth a piteous *pee! pee! pee!* sinks and sees itself sinking into the maw of its devourer. They will, therefore, I hope and trust, take warning from the example, and resolutely determine to suffer neither themselves nor their children to be thus swallowed up. But they must begin betimes. They must

not suffer the jaws to envelope any part of them; for, if they do, the poison infused through their veins by the touch deprives them of the power of resistance.——Such is my view of the American funding system, which will convince my correspondent that it is quite impossible for me to recommend any man to look to the American funds as a place of security.——The statement of this gentleman, that it would be very *distressing* to exchange a *small* funded income for land, as land *now sells*, which would *reduce almost the whole of that income*, while *large demands* are daily made upon him by *tax-gatherers;* this statement I do not, I must confess, clearly understand.——The tax-gatherer comes upon you in proportion to what you possess, or what income you have; and, if your income were less, your taxes must be less. ——But, why should it be *distressing* to exchange a *small* funded income for land any more than it would be so to exchange *a large* income? The *proportion* must still be the same; and, as to any injury arising from the *dearness* of land (which is only another phrase for the *cheapness of money*, or rather *Bank-notes*), I really cannot conceive whence the idea can have arisen. The land, like every thing else, sells *for what it is worth*, and, therefore, though it may demand a large sum in paper-money to buy a farm, it does not follow, that the farm is *dear*. If a piece of ground costs £.20 and will let for *a pound* a year, though there be not a rood of land, it is not dear. It yields you *five per centum for your money*. But, this is not the case. You cannot get more than 3½ per centum for land. But, observe, it *never will depreciate;* and, Funds and Funding System and the Stock Exchange and Lame Ducks and Bulls and Bears and Checks and Notes and Bills and all the Babylonish list of names and the things which they represent may vanish into air, and your land and 3½ per centum will remain. That is not enough for you to keep a four-wheeled carriage and to have Forté Pianos. Take two wheels from the carriage, sell the Pianos, and let your daughters learn to sew.—Can't do that!—Very well, then; have a short life and a merry one; but, if your resources should fail you, do not think of going for assistance to those who have been contented with 3½ per centum, with a two wheeled carriage and with no Forté Pianos.——But, does this correspondent of mine consider *how fast* the funded income is coming down to an equality with the income from land?——Does he consider that he now receives his dividend in paper of which 2 dollars are equal to *eleven* shillings worth. A month ago he got his dividends in paper of which 2 Dollars were equal to *ten* shillings worth. Suppose his dividends to amount to £.100. He, last time, got 400 Dollars for it; he will get next time only 360, or thereabouts.——Aye, says he; but I get it *in paper* always, and I got £.100 *note last time*, and shall get *one next time*.——Well, if this *satisfies* you: if you are happy with it, may you be so to the end!——But, as my correspondent seems to have scruples, and has, with great condescension, and, I am sure, with sincerity, applied to me for my advice, to him I must offer a few more remarks, which, I anxiously hope, may be of service to him.——He dislikes the idea of changing funded property into land, because such exchange would, he says, *reduce his income almost to nothing*.——I have said, that, at the common run, such exchange would reduce his income from 5 to 3½ per centum. This, observe, is leaving all *skill* out of the question.—— Well now suppose his funded income to have been last year, £.100, that is to say, 400 Dollars. This year he will get only 360 Dollars or thereabouts, and this, at one slap, reduces his funded property to an interest of 4½ per centum; not to mention the circumstance, that the *income tax*, another ½ per centum upon the interest, is *sure* to be taken off in the funds to the *rack* rent, if I may so call it, while it is impossible to do that as to land; or, while there is, at any rate, a chance of its not being done.——Well, now, what does his funded income yield him *more* than his landed income would? But is the rise in the price of the Dollar to STOP where it is? Who believes that? Upon the whole earth you cannot find a nation, or a millionth part of a nation, except this, who would believe such a thing for a minute. Godward we are of as many religions as any people under the Sun; but, Bankward we are of faith as uniform and as unshaken as even Mahomet could have wished.——It is possible that the Bank may not rise the Dollar again; but, if they do not, the Dollar will *rise itself;* for, it will certainly not associate with the Bank Paper. No matter what premium you give it; it is not to be bribed to live in such company.—Before I go any further, I will present the reader with a paper from ADDISON'S FREEHOLDER.

—Addison, just after George I. came from Hanover to reign over the English nation, wrote a series of Papers, under the name of a FREEHOLDER, the object of which papers was to reconcile the people to the new Family, and, in his view of the matter, at least, a very laudable object it was.—At this time (1716) the reader will bear in mind, that the PRETENDER was living in France, and that he had just failed in an attempt to recover the throne of this country.——Addison, therefore, professedly chose such subjects as he thought likely to excite in the people strong prejudices against the Pretender, that appearing to him the likeliest way to succeed in reconciling them to the sway of King George.——The PRETENDER was, as the reader will remember, residing in *France;* and, *Addison* (who soon got a *place* for his writings, and whose pen was probably sharpened by a promise) laboured hard, in his periodical work, the FREEHOLDER, to convince the English of the danger of getting a king from such *bad company* as the king and court of France were. It would not do for him to talk against the danger of having a *foreigner* for a king; for there was one upon the throne; but, it suited his purpose marvellously well to expose the tyrannical arts of the *king of France,* and then to say, ever and anon, "Lo! here is what the *Pretender is learning!* Here is what the Pretender would "do, if you had him for a king."—Manifold were the evils which he thus predicted the PRETENDER, if he unhappily should obtain the power, would bring upon the good people of England; and, amongst others, was that of RAISING THE VALUE OF THE CURRENT COIN BY AN EDICT!" How he speaks of this, let the reader now see for himself; and, if the Bank People ever find leisure to read any thing but their notes, I would recommend them to read this; and, to bear well in mind, that it proceeded not from the pen of a *Jacobin* or *Leveller,* but from the pen of a man, writing in defence of the House of Brunswick.——"Every Englishman will be a good subject to King George, in proportion as he "is a good Englishman and a lover of the "constitution of his Country. In order to "awaken in my readers the love of this "their constitution, it may be necessary "to set forth its superior excellency to "that form of government, which many "wicked and ignorant men have of late "years endeavoured to introduce among "us. I shall not therefore think it improper to take notice from time to time "of any particular act of power, exerted "by those among whom the Pretender to "his Majesty's Crown has been educated; "which would prove fatal to this Nation, "should it be conquered and governed by "a person, who, in all probability, would "put in practice the politics in which he "has been so long instructed.——There "has been nothing more observable in the "Reign of his present Gallick Majesty, "than the method he has taken for supplying his Exchequer with a necessary "sum of money. The ways and means "for raising it has been an edict, or a command in writing signed by himself, to "increase the value of Louis d'ors from "fourteen to sixteen Livres, by virtue of a "new stamp which shall be struck upon "them. As this method will bring all the "gold of the kingdom into his hands, it is "provided by the same edict that they "shall be payed out again to the people "at twenty Livres each; so that four "Livres in the score by this means accrue "to his Majesty out of all the money in "the Kingdom of France.——This method "of raising money is consistent with that "form of government, and with the repeated practice of their late Grand "Monarque; so that I shall not here consider the many evil consequences which "it must have upon their trade, their Exchange, and public credit: I shall only "take notice of the whimsical circumstances a people must lie under, who can "be thus made poor or rich by an edict, "which can throw an Alloy into a "Louis d'or, and debase it into half its "former value, or, if his Majesty pleases, "raise the price of it, not by the accession "of Metal, but of a mark. By the present edict many a man in France will "swell into a plumb, who fell several "thousand pounds short of it the day before its publication. This conveys a kind "of fairy treasure into their chests, even "whilst they are under lock and key; and "is a secret of multiplication without addition. It is natural enough, however, for "the vanity of the French nation to grow "insolent upon this imaginary wealth, not "considering that their neighbours think them no more rich by virtue of an edict to make fourteen twenty than they would think them more formidable should there be another edict to make every man in the kingdom seven foot high.——It was usual for his late most

" Christian Majesty to sink the value of " their Louis d'ors about the time he was " to receive the taxes of his good people, " and to raise them as soon as he had got " them safe in his Coffers. And there is " no question but the present Government " in that kingdom, will so far observe this " kind of conduct, as to reduce the twenty " Livres to their old number of fourteen, " when they have paid them out of their " hands; which will immediately sink the " present timpany of wealth and re-establish " the natural poverty of the Gallic Nation. " ——One cannot but pity the melancholy " condition of a Miser in this Country, who " is perpetually telling his Livres, without " being able to know how rich he is. He " is as ridiculously puzzled and perplexed " as a man that counts the stones on Salis- " bury plain, which can never be settled " to any certain number, but are more or " fewer every time he reckons them :—— " I have heard of a young French lady, a " subject of Louis the fourteenth, who was " contracted to a Marquis upon the foot of " a five thousand pound fortune, which " she had by her in specie ; but one of " these unlucky edicts coming out a week " before the intended marriage, she lost " a thousand pounds, and her bridegroom " into the bargain.——The uncertainty of " riches is a subject much discoursed of in " all Countries, but may be insisted on " more emphatically in France than any " other. A man is here under such a " kind of situation, as one who is managed " by a juggler. He fancies he has so many " pieces of money in his hand; but let " him grasp them never so carefully, upon " a word or two of the artist they encrease " or dwindle to what number the Doctor " is pleased to name. This method of " lowering or advancing money, we, who " have the happiness of being in another " form of government, should look upon " as an unwarrantable kind of clipping " and coining. However, as it is an ex- " pedient that is often practised, and may " be justified in that constitution which " has been so thoroughly studied by the " Pretender to his Majesty's Crown, I do " not see what should have hindered him " from making use of so expeditious a " method for raising a supply, if he had " succeeded in his late attempt to dethrone " his Majesty, and subvert our constitu- " tion. I shall leave it to the considera- " tion of the reader, if in such a case the " following edict, or something very like " it, might not have been expected:

" " Whereas these our Kingdoms have " " long groaned under an expensive " " and consuming Land-war, which has " " very much exhausted the Treasure " " of the Nation, we being willing to in- " " crease the wealth of our people, " " and not thinking it advisable for " " this purpose to make use of the " " tedious methods of merchandise and " " commerce, which have been always " " promoted by a faction among the " " worst of our subjects, and were so " " wisely discountenanced by the best of " " them in the last reign, do hereby en- " " act by our sole will and pleasure, That " " every shilling in Great Britain, shall " " pass in all payments for the sum of " " fourteen pence, till the first of Septem- " " ber next, and that every other piece " " of money shall rise and pass in cur- " " rent payment in the same proportion. " " The advantage which will accrue to " " these nations by this our Royal Dona- " " tive, will visibly appear to all men of " " sound principles, who are so justly fa- " " mous for their antipathy to strangers, " " and would not see the landed interest " " of their country weakened by the im- " " portations of foreign gold and silver. " " But since by reason of the great debts " " which we have contracted abroad, " " during our fifteen years reign, as well " " as of our present exigencies, it will " " be necessary to fill our Exchequer by " " the most prudent and expeditious me- " " thods, we do also hereby order every " " one of our subjects to bring in these " " his fourteen-penny pieces, and all the " " other current cash of this Kingdom, " " by what new titles soever dignified or " " distinguished, to the Master of our " " Mint, who, after having set a mark upon " " them, shall deliver out to them, on or " " after the first of September aforesaid, " " their respective sums, taking only " " four-pence for ourself for such his " " mark on every fourteen-penny piece, " " which from henceforth shall pass in " " payment for eighteen-penny pieces, " " and so in proportion for the rest. By " " this method the money of this nation " " will be more by one-third than it is " " at present; and we shall content our- " " self with not quite one-fifth part of " " the current cash of our loving subjects; " " which will but barely suffice to clear " " the interest of those sums in which " " we stand indebted to our most dear " " brother and ancient ally. We are " " glad of this opportunity of shew-

"" ing such an instance of our goodness "" to our subjects, by this our Royal "" Edict, which shall be read in every "" Parish Church of Great Britain, im- "" mediately after the celebration of "" High Mass. For such is our plea- "" sure." "——This is the 18th Number of the Freeholder, and was published on the 20th of February, 1716.——There are no remarks called for. It applies itself so well all the way through, that one cannot help exclaiming, with the wise man, that "there is *nothing new* under the Sun!" But, if any man had foretold to ADDISON that which we *now see*; if any man had come to him, just as he had finished his essay, and told him, that a time would come, when there should be a *foreigner* (for so we call him) upon the throne of France; when there should be in England a person lineal heir to that throne and whom the French should call a *Pretender;* and, that, in this state of things as to the two thrones, the current money in England should be *raised in value by Advertisement,* while in France the coin would be passing at its sterling value: if any man had foretold this to Addison, what would the latter have said? And, what should we now say, if we were to hear the MONITEUR holding up LOUIS XVIII as a man to be dreaded, on account of the lessons of raising the value of money which he is learning in England.——All this, however, I am ready to confess, is more *curious* than practically instructive; and I shall now hasten to answer the remaining part of my correspondent's letter. ——He asks me, what I think of a *mortgage* in England. I think it the best and safest of things for those who cannot place their *own feet* upon their *own land.* For, though the interest will, for a while, at least, be paid in paper, still the *principal is safe.*——Let what will happen to the paper system, there is the land answerable for the mortgage. Besides, it does not follow, that the interest or principal of money at mortgage should be suffered to depreciate very far. It would cause but little trouble to make it keep pace with the produce of the land.——I have now given my correspondent the best answer that suggests itself to my mind; and I thought it better to do it in this way than in a private letter. If he follow my advice, I am convinced he will have to congratulate himself on it; and, if he does not, the fault will not be mine.——I know, that there are many people, who think and say, that I do not believe a word of my own forebodings, and that I only wish to injure the *credit* of the country, out of spite to the ministers.——Well, let them think this, and say this; and, all the harm I wish them is, that they may continue to disbelieve me to the last; that they may curse me and bless Pitt as long as there is a fragment of the system remaining.——But, while this is the fate I wish to be in reserve for the Anti-Jacobins, I wish others to consider well what is to become of themselves and their children. I would have those, who are yearly sinking money in Life insurance Offices consider what they are about. I would have them look round the world, and when they have done so, ask themselves, whether there be, in any country, an instance of *depreciated paper having been restored to its former value;* and, if they find no such instance in the world, I beg them to hesitate before they believe, that a miracle is to be wrought in favour of the Bank of England.

BATTLE OF BARROSA.——The war in Spain and Portugal has long been, with me, an object of, comparatively, little interest. It seems to me to tend to no point, and to have in it no chance of yielding us any ultimate good. I have always been of opinion, that it was the interest of Napoleon to lengthen the *land war* with us, and that, the more extensive he could make it, the better for him; because, if we were brought home to ourselves, we should, at any rate, if under a wise ministry, be able to *economize;* whereas a war like that in Spain and Portugal is a drain almost incalculable; and, not only a drain of taxes, but of money, real money, which is *never to return.*——For these and many other reasons, the events of the war are, in my eyes, little interesting to the English people; nevertheless, I am always ready to join in bestowing just praise upon those who perform acts of bravery in that war.——The battle, in which General Graham has been engaged, appears to have been gallantly fought on both sides, and, I think, there can be little doubt of our men having shewn a decided superiority over the French, as I believe, they always have, when they have been well commanded, and especially when the contest has come to the bayonet; that is to say, when personal strength and personal courage have been fairly put to the test. ——To pretend that the French soldiers are *not brave* is foolish in the extreme, now

that we have seen them conquer all the continent of Europe; it is quite sufficient for me, that we are able to face them with equal numbers, being inferior to them in point of *experience*——As to the battle of Barrosa, I do not see any proof of any merit but that of *bravery*, which was not a thing which wanted to be established. ——I am of the opinion of the author of a letter, which will be found in another part of this Number, upon the subject of this battle, and to which letter I beg my reader's attention. I disagree with the author as to the war *in general*, and the *policy of it*; but, as far as relates to this battle, I perfectly agree with him; and, had I been a member of the House of Commons, the vote of Thanks should not have been unanimous; for, I would have voted against it, if I had been alone.—— First, the thing was of *too little importance*. It was not a *battle*; it was a mere *rencontre*. The *force* employed was of trifling amount. The *object* was merely that of raising a siege; and that object was *not accomplished*. Therefore, however great the *bravery*, the action should not have had my thanks as a member of Parliament.——Then, what my correspondent says has great weight, and would have great weight with me in the question of thanks, even if the battle had been a thing of sufficient importance.——And, if I would have opposed a vote of *thanks*, certainly I never should have thought of voting the Commander a SWORD, as, it appears, they have done *in the Common Council of the City of London*.——Those who propose this vote must see the matter with eyes very different from mine. A SWORD was voted by the Common Council to Lord Nelson; but, is there *no difference*! If this is the way we are to continue, what shall we come to at last? What will, at last, be looked upon as calling for a sword from the City of London? And, what surprizes me most is, that this motion does not seem to have met with the *slightest opposition* in the Common Council! All seem to have been of a mind, that it was proper to vote the same mark of honour to General Graham as to Lord Nelson.——This sword might have been voted by the Turtle Patriots. *Then* it would have been in character.——There has been, I think, a little too much haste in condemning La Pena and his troops; but, at any rate, the eulogists of the war are in a dilemma here. For, if the Spaniards did behave well, they have not had justice done them by the person whom they have thanked; and, if they did not behave well, what does the fact shew but that they do not act cordially *with us*?——It is notorious, that the Spaniards have, upon several occasions, when *alone*, fought well; it is perfectly well known that they have most gallantly defended their towns. Nay, look back through our news-papers, and you will find them filled with relations of the *heroic deeds* of the Spaniards. Now, if these relations are *true*, how are we to account for the want of courage, or of zeal, in the Spaniards whenever they are acting *with our troops*?——I should like to hear this satisfactorily accounted for. At present I must believe, that there is a something or other, which abates the valour and enthusiasm of the Spaniards when operating with our troops. I must believe this, because I always hear them found fault of upon such occasions; but, how it can be accounted for, unless upon the ground of *dislike to us*, I am at a loss to discover.

W^M. COBBETT.

State Prison, Newgate, Friday, April, 5, 1811.

SPANISH WAR.

Battle of Barrosa.

Sir;—My opinion differs from yours on many points: on many I have the honour of agreeing with you: but at all events, I consider your publication as an asylum, in which truth frequently takes refuge, when persecuted every where else. You must have witnessed with every one the prevalent sentiments of this country respecting the brilliant victory of General Graham: and it is upon the character of these sentiments, that I wish to address a very few lines to you. Exultation at any signal instance of bravery in our countrymen is not only admissible but laudable. But when I allow this I can go no farther, and must put in my absolute protest against all those illiberal reflections, comparisons, suspicions, insinuations, &c. &c. respecting our allies, which for the most part in these instances disgrace, and take away the merit of any patriotic professions that accompany them. Mr. Graham is a man of high character; and considering the action in itself, there never was one, which did greater honour to the British army. This is an admission, which justice demands, or more properly speaking, it is an

assertion, which I make with as much heartfelt warmth of patriotic feeling, as any of those who think this a proper occasion for throwing out illiberal reflections upon the brave Spaniards. If no other man in the kingdom should be of the same opinion, I should still say, Sir, that the judgment and propriety of the measure adopted by General Graham on this occasion, is to me not at all apparent. Let us consider it with all possible candour. He admits by his own statement that he disobeyed orders. This is a circumstance that in a military view at once places him in a very arduous moral situation. Nothing less than reasons the most cogent that can possibly be imagined can justify him. But what does he himself say? He tells us slightly, and *en passant*, that he considered the heights of Barrosa as the key to the Santi Petri. If you or any military man will inform me in what manner the heights of Barrosa form such a key, he will relieve me from as puzzled an embarrassment as I think I ever experienced. Having pored over my map and turned the matter every way in my mind, I find myself too dull to comprehend how they can be considered as such. Instead of the heights of Barrosa, had he mentioned the *Torre de Bermesa*, which it was his orders to take possession of, I should have much better understood him. That would have been of considerable consequence towards securing and covering the passage of the bridge. The Spanish forces were all this time actually in possession of the Santi Petri, and consequently of the communication with the Isla; in consequence of a most gallant action in which they had defeated the enemy. It is perfectly plain that the Spanish general was intent on concentrating as much as possible the allied forces. It was in pursuance of this truly military principle that he had ordered general Graham to take possession of the *Torre de Bermesa*. It is equally evident, and General Graham had intelligence of it, that the French were in full march to engage the allied forces. Had General Graham obeyed orders he could only have been attacked by them where he could have been supported by the Spaniards. The defeat of the enemy would in that case have been both more easy and more destructive, and a pursuit could have taken place; which by General Graham's conduct was rendered impossible. These I think, Sir, are the plain suggestions of common sense to any man who reads his letter with a good map. I do not suspect a gentleman of Mr. Graham's high and acknowledged merit (of which I did not want this gallant achievement to give me an exalted idea) of any thing so mean as to wish to snatch from the Spanish general the glory of the success; a motive which would have been as criminal as it would have been mean; because it is evident that the situation from which he was extricated by his own and his detachment's bravery greatly endangered the whole of the allied force: I would rather say (as I believe) that the blood of a noble highlander, raised to an irresistible tide at the vicinity of a military enemy, overbore, and made him for a moment forget, some considerations of prudence. I may possibly be wrong. Any professional gentleman who confutes my observations shall have my thanks. I have been induced to trouble you with these few ideas, hasty ones I confess, from the indignation which every man of the least pretension to honourable principles, must feel at the base scurrilities which are daily poured out against our brave allies, added to those disgusting claims of superiority, of which it is for the world, not ourselves, to judge, and which are, thanks to our newspapers, incurring for us daily, more and more, the reputation, in the eyes of all Europe, of a boasting, bragging nation. I am, Sir, your obedient servant.

P. S. The eagle should not have been disposed of by any subordinate or auxiliary force.

March 31*st* 1811.—*W. Cobbett, Esq.*

PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.

MR. WYNN'S MOTION AND DEBATE THEREON, IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, 25TH MARCH, 1811.

MR. WYNN rose, to move the second reading of the Election Bribery Bill. He understood the Bill against the sale of seats which lately passed the House, to be a pledge, that the House was hostile to the principle; leaving the minor regulations for carrying the object completely into effect for future consideration. Some, indeed, at that time contended, that there was no cause for any interference at all; but the majority of the House had thought otherwise. It was notorious, however, that seats had been since sold; and the only effect of the Bill had been, to compel the principals to meet, in order to settle the

sales. He wished to say a few words on the particular provisions of the Bill, though he was aware that this was not the stage to argue. The object of one part of the Bill was to compel the witnesses before Committees to give evidence though tending to criminate themselves; they, however, being indemnified from any prosecution in Courts of Law for such discoveries. Whether the compulsory clause should be adopted or not, he hoped the indemnity would be granted. As the law stood at present, a man might get himself indemnified by accusing another; and it was known that Members of that House gave evidence against their voters, and confessed on their cross-examination that they did it with a view to protect themselves from actions. The indemnity which he proposed would, he thought, be more effectual and less objectionable. There were also clauses to put an end to the practice of preserving voters from the consequences of detection in taking bribes, by making them sign Petitions to the House on the subject of the election; and for the surer discovery of sales of boroughs with small corporations. He hoped it was not intended that the practice at which our ancestors would have started back with horror was to be tolerated, or that the Act for putting an end to it was to be considered as a *brutum fulmen*, professing much and doing nothing. He approved of the decision of the House in refusing to proceed against any one for the past, after the practice had been so long connived at, and though the clamours on that account utterly unfounded. But he approved of it only upon this ground, that the House should *resolve* to prevent it for the future. Those who opposed the clamours against Parliament, said that the House was ready to put an end to these practices. But if this should be contradicted, the number of the discontented would be alarmingly increased.

Mr. Brand said that nothing but a plan founded on a comprehensive view of the subject would do good. He had no hopes from such partial measures as this. The effect of such partial measures would be nothing else than to throw the monopoly of the purchase of seats into the hands of the Treasury. He was convinced his hon. friend would some time feel the difficulty of doing any good by applying partial remedies to a general evil. To the Constitution alone they must look in devising a general remedy commensurate with the evil. Into this however he would not enter at present, as after the Easter recess he intended to propose a general measure. The present measure would only be dangerous and mischievous. His Honourable Friend himself might be accused of bribery, and the witness being the only evidence, could not be convicted of perjury. The prevention of the practice of concealing bribery in the voter, by causing him to petition, was good as far as it went; but it was a very partial benefit. This much he had said on this Bill, because he was anxious that his constituents should be aware that the subject had not escaped his attention. But no great good was reasonably to be expected, except from a real, true, and moderate reform; and for this he was anxious. He wished his Honourable Friend not to press this to a division, as he must be aware that the Bill had a bearing which perhaps he himself had not observed when he brought it in.

Mr. G. Johnstone opposed the Bill, upon the ground that no general or special reasons had been stated to shew the propriety of any legislative measure on the subject. No evidence was produced to prove that Seats had been sold since the late Act. For many years past the practice had been gradually decreasing; and there was more purity now in Election Cases, than in the boasted times of our ancestors. He could tell of some of their practices calculated to make their posterity blush for them, whether the conduct of their posterity would have made them start back with horror or not. In the case of Ashburton, in 1707, a motion was made in the House that the right of Election was in the holders of land and tenements of the said borough only. An Amendment was moved that the word "only" be left out. A ballot was called for—the clerks, with two of the Members, went round with a box, into which the rest of the Members put their balls. There had been a gradual improvement since. In 1807 no bribery had been proved before any of the Committees, and treating was almost at an end.—He said that no cases could be produced to shew the necessity of the repeal of the Bribery Act, and, before the House could proceed to repeal it, it was necessary to state such necessity. —With regard to the clause respecting evidence, and which did not allow a witness to protect himself upon self-crimina-

tion, he was astonished that the Honourable Gentleman, who was bred up to the law of the land, could ever think of introducing such a clause. Had it been proposed by those speculative persons, who, in a comparison between the Laws of England and the Code Napoleon, are of opinion that, in matters of evidence, it is impossible to say which abounds with the greatest evils, he should not have been so much astonished. Why was this fundamental alteration to be introduced into the law? He would ask how it happened that the law in this country was held in greater veneration than the law in any other country? And why was every body in this country anxious to bring criminals to justice? It was because the law never placed criminals or witnesses in a situation to criminate themselves, or directed the sympathies of mankind against the court. This Bill no doubt exempts the witnesses from punishment; but it cannot exempt them from any disgrace. But why is this alteration in the law confined to minor offences? Why is it not to extend to greater offences? Why not to treason itself? Surely the sacred life of the Sovereign and the order of society are objects of equal importance.—With respect to petitioning, the expence was such, that it could not be expected any man from a sense of justice merely, would bring a petition into that House; and it could only be some speculative reformer anxious to cast an odium on the higher classes, by holding them out as boroughmongers, who would think of laying out 1000*l.* on such an object.—On the whole, he thought the present law sufficient, without the present Bill; and if they had any suspicion of the insufficiency of the Bribery Acts, they ought to wait till a general election, when they could have a trial.

Mr. CURWEN thought that there were sufficient grounds for allowing the present Bill to go into a Committee. The declaration of the Bribery Bill established the existence of that, which its enactments were found insufficient to remedy. He gave that Bill his support, differing from every one of his friends in his opinion of it, notwithstanding it was so mutilated and changed in its passage through the House, by persons whom he never should have expected to see in the light of reformers, that he was convinced of its inefficacy, from an idea that some of the objections against it ought to have been pointed out by some of his friends.—The Honourable Gentleman who first opposed the Bill, said that he could not see the necessity of it, at from our advancement in purity, there was now a great diminution of cases of bribery. When he heard this declaration he could not but call to mind the speech which they had heard delivered with so much eloquence from the Chair, which deservedly endeared him to the nation, and would endear him to posterity. It was notorious that the House of Commons was not possessed of that power and that influence which a House of Commons ought to have, but was stained with spots, which those who were best attached to it, could wish washed away. He confessed he was anxious for a considerable reform in the House. Look to the present moment and the present situation of the country, and then say if the greatest victory which could be obtained would not be a restoration of the purity of that House. It was well known that the Bribery Act was turned from the purposes for which it was intended. The Honourable Gentleman asked for cases. There are cases with which the Honourable Gentleman cannot be acquainted; but if a single case could be adduced, was it not necessary to prevent the possibility of a recurrence? It became necessary, therefore, to send the Bill to a Committee, where the subject could undergo a complete discussion.—The Honourable Gentleman asked if they would permit a man to come before the House who had no interest in the question? Gracious God! was there a man in the country who was not interested in every thing that concerned the purity of the House! He asked why the mode of evidence on the Bill was not extended to treason? The principle of the law of treason was deservedly the subject of admiration. It considered that he who is the presumed enemy of every man, should therefore be entitled to peculiar protection. But here the object was not punishment, but the preservation of the purity of the House, by preventing a man from sitting in it, who shall have committed an act of bribery, an object of much greater importance than the conviction of the offender, and perfectly distinct from it.—Those who were afraid of the advocates of Reform out of doors would do well to consider, that the most effectual way to prevent converts to that doctrine elsewhere, was to do every thing themselves that was temperate and that was just; and if they were to put an extinguisher upon Reform by strangling

the present Bill, they would take the most effectual means of giving currency to the doctrines they dreaded. Let the Bill go through every stage, and let it be discussed with all the patience and all the attention of which the House is capable, and if they should so incline, let it at last be rejected. If it should now be strangled, and not allowed to go into a Committee, what would be thought in the Country? Not surely what the Honourable Gentleman professed, that there was no corruption to reform, but that there was too much corruption to allow Reform. The only way to obviate the dangerous tendency of the opinions which they dreaded, was to go themselves into every moderate plan of Reform which was practicable. It was impossible to take a more unwise step at present, when all the attachment and all the exertions of the country were required, than to strangle the present Bill. Every man could wish the declaration which was made in that House blotted out from his remembrance; and as he wished to prevent the possibility of the recurrence of the evil, he earnestly requested the concurrence of the House, in allowing the present Bill to go into a Committee.

Sir John Anstruther said that he should oppose every alteration of the present Constitution of that House, and had he merely heard the speech of the Honourable Gentleman who spoke last, he should have concluded that such was the object of the present Bill. Notwithstanding all the lofty language which they had heard from that Honourable Gentleman, almost threatening them with the distrust and condemnation of the people if they did not accede to his measure, he would tell that Honourable Gentleman, that a Bill ought to be canvassed in that House on its just principles, and when these principles did not meet with their approbation, they did their duty in rejecting it, and in endeavouring to please the people in opposition to their own sentiments, they would not do their duty, but commit an act of injury and injustice.—He then proceeded to discuss the clause relating to evidence, which went to violate a principle acknowledged in the laws of this and every other country. It was said that the witness was indemnified from punishment. But was it possible to indemnify him from the effect of moral guilt, from the loss of character sustained by the compulsive discovery. Another strong objection to this part of the Bill was, that it increased the temptation to perjury for the purpose of conviction or acquittal. An informer came into Court with all the blackness peculiar to an informer, and his credibility was affected by it. But here he is relieved from all that odium. (*Hear, from Ministerial benches.*) Why not introduce this principle to other crimes? He had, therefore, great objections to the introduction of a principle of which he could not see the termination.—To the other clauses he had also great objections. From giving a general right to petition, little good could ensue, and a door could be opened to a great deal of mischief. He should therefore oppose the Bill going into a Committee.

Sir John Newport thought it very natural in those who opposed every plan of reform which could have any practical effect, on some pretext or other should also oppose the present Bill. All the reasons, however, which he had heard against committing the Bill, were in his mind, so many reasons in favour of that measure. If the Bill was liable to the objections which had been specified, the way to purge it from their objections was, to go into a Committee. What would be the consequence of a refusal? It would convince the people of England, that the former measures of the House were merely resorted to for the sake of tranquillizing the public mind for a moment, and not from any serious desire of reformation.—The Honourable Gentleman opposite (Mr. George Johnstone), asked for a case—Why the very evil was the secret nature of the act, from which, by the existing law it would be impossible ever to make a discovery of it.—If the offence could be discovered, the present law was sufficient to convict the offender, and there would then be no necessity of coming to the House for an alteration.—He concluded with declaring, that he should vote for the Committee.

Mr. Morris thought it impossible to look at the subject, without seeing that there was great room for improvement in the Election Law. It was not sufficient for the House, however, to be convinced that there was this and the other thing to censure. They were to look at the question narrowly, and to see that in their desire for improvement they did not introduce an abuse rather than a remedy. He particularly objected to the clause, by which a person was compelled to make a disclosure of an offence in which he him-

self was implicated. This was to oblige a Jury to give credit to a person so circumstanced, whether he might be swearing true or false; and, at the same time to leave the party against whom he complained completely at his mercy. He had only to name a time and place when no person else could be present, and in this way, must be certain of acquitting or convicting as he pleased, and at the same time of himself escaping detection. The remedying the abuses in Elections, was a consummation devoutly to be wished; but, not at the expence of such a Bill as this;

> "The tempering world is subject to this curse,
> "To physic a disease by one that's worse:"

but this he could not agree to apply as a remedy in the present instance.

Mr. C. W. Wynn shortly replied, when the House divided,

Ayes, 17; Noes, 64; Majority against the Bill, 47.

OFFICIAL PAPER.

Hamburgh Deputation to Napoleon.

Paris, March 20.—On Sunday his Majesty the Emperor and King gave audience, before mass, to the Deputation from the cities of Hamburgh, Lubeck, and Bremen.—Mr. Doorman, as President of the Deputation, presented an Address, of which the following was the principal passage:

"Sire, at all times we have been Frenchmen in our hearts, and from preference. If the anarchy which preceded your Majesty's reign, relaxed, for a moment, ties of such long standing and so agreeable, we hastened to draw them closer the instant your accession to power re-assured the world social order: and your new subjects, Sire, cannot swear to be more faithful to you than they have shewn themselves to be for these ten years past; more devoted to your pleasure, more obedient to your system, nor more disposed to contribute to the accomplishment of your designs, by every effort and sacrifice in their power; and it is a pleasing consolation to the honourable remembrances of our country, to reflect, that our independence could yield only to him to whom every thing has yielded, and that our political existence was to cease only at that epoch when the destinies had determined that the Tiber and the Elbe should flow under the same laws.

(To be continued.)

PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.

Statement *of the several Accounts in which* Mr. Samuel Brooks *has been Treasurer, since the* 1st *of May,* 1807.

	£.	s.	d.
May 1807. To Subscriptions on account of the Westminster Election, 1807	[illegible]	15	10
By Expences, in the Election, Chairing, Anniversaries, &c. to 1810 inclusive	1810	0	6
March, 1809. To Subscriptions for Westminster Meeting on the conduct of the Duke of York	36		
By Expences	57		
May. To Subscriptious for General Meeting, at the Crown and Anchor, on Reform	403		
By Expences	381		
Feb. 1810. To Subscriptions for Westminster Meeting on Reform	187		
By Expences	123		
April. To Subscriptions for Westminster Meeting on Commitment of Sir F. Burdett	99	5	0
By Expences	169	17	10
To Expences on Middlesex Meeting on Commitment of Sir F. Burdett	46	4	6
June. To Subscriptions on account of the Liberation of Sir F. Burdett	47	12	6
By Expences	93	17	0
Total Expences... £.2,682 14 8			
Total Subscriptious 2,496 0 10			
Balance due to the Treasurer ...£.	186	13	10

The Subscribers are respectfully informed, that Books, containing the particulars of the above Accounts, and the Vouchers, are at Mr. Brooks, No. 110, Strand, for their inspection; where Subscriptions continued to be received.

Circular to the Subscribers.

Sir;—We have thought it our duty to send you the above Accounts.—The City of Westminster, by returning a Representative to Parliament without personal expence, has demonstrated the power of the People when acting for themselves. The example of the first City of the Empire, if followed, will assuredly drive out the Borough Faction, and accomplish a substantial Reform.—The various Meetings held for the attainment of this desirable object have done much towards convincing the People of the necessity of obtaining it, as the only means of preserving their liberties. This has been effected with a small sum voluntarily subscribed by the Friends of Reform, with the exception of a trifling balance due to the Treasurer.—We have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient Servants, William Adams.
March 30*th*, 1811. Francis Place.

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

THE REGENT'S DECLARATION AGAINST CORRUPTION.——There has been, for some days past, a great deal of public attention and interest excited by a declaration, said to have been made by the Prince Regent, relative to the giving of places *for the purpose of Parliamentary interest*: or, in other words, *the giving of the people's money in order to purchase votes of Members of Parliament in support of the ministry.* Upon this subject the Prince is said to have expressed *his sentiments*. It is, therefore, no wonder, that the report has made a great deal of noise, this being, in fact, the ONLY political subject in which those of the people who have any sense, feel an interest: because they are quite convinced, that, if their property and indeed their very lives are to be at the mercy of a set of people, whose voices are thus to be bought by the minister of the day, with the people's own money; they are quite convinced, that, if this is to be the case, it would be worse than beastly stupidity for *them* to care one straw what may happen as to any thing else of a public nature.——The report, which first appeared in the Morning Chronicle of the 4th instant, is as follows. That, there being a vacancy in the office of Governor of the Military College at Marlow, Mr. PERCEVAL, the Minister, recommended GENERAL CHARLES CRAUFURD for that post, to which recommendation, we are told, the Prince answered in the following manner.——"The Prince "also expressed the high respect which "he entertained for the talents and services of General Craufurd. He had high "claims on the gratitude of his Country; "and the country had not been unmindful of his claims. His Royal Highness "said, that to the best of his recollection, "General Craufurd had a pension of "£.1200 a year, on his *own life* and that "*of the Duchess his wife*. He had a regiment of Dragoon Guards, and he was "the Lieutenant-Governor of Tynemouth, bringing him altogether *above £.3000 a "year*; and therefore he must hesitate in "adding to these appointments while so "many other gallant Officers had not an "equal provision.—Mr. Perceval strongly "urged the General's high merits, and "besides begged leave respectfully to "state to his Royal Highness, that his claims were powerfully seconded by his "son-in-law, the Duke of Newcastle, *whose "support in Parliament was most essential to "his Majesty's Administration;—perhaps "was of more consequence to them than that "of any other individual.*—The Prince Regent, in answer to this argument, made "a declaration to the following purport— "" Sir, I did not expect such a reason to "" be assigned; but I am not sorry that "" it is so in an instance like the present, "" when it enables me to make known "" my resolution without disparagement "" to the gallant Officer in question. I "" repeat that I have a high respect for "" his merits, which have met their re- "" ward; but I must tell you, once for all, *that I never can nor will consent to "" bestow any place or appointment meant to "" be an asylum or reward for the toils and "" services of our gallant soldiers and seamen, "" on any person* UPON ACCOUNT "" OF PARLIAMENTARY CONNEC- "" TION, OR IN RETURN FOR PAR- "" LIAMENTARY VOTES. THIS IS "" MY FIXED DETERMINATION; "" and I trust I shall never again be so- "" licited in the same way."—The "Minister bowed and took his leave. "It is not true, therefore, that Ge- "neral Craufurd is appointed Gover- "nor of the Military College at Mar- "low; and we congratulate the Coun- "try on this truly Constitutional an- "swer of the Prince Regent."——Now, I beg the reader to observe, that I re-publish this as I find it already in print, without any pretensions to any knowledge as to its truth or its falsehood. Indeed, I have no such knowledge; and I *do not* choose to express even any *opinion* as to its truth or falsehood, though I cannot help having most anxious *wishes* upon the subject.——My remarks will, of co[illegible] purely hypothetical. But, I must first observe that I never have heard of any thing done by this GENERAL CRAUFURD to en-

title him to a pension of 1,200*l.* a year for his life, and the same to his wife for her life. I have never heard of any very eminent services performed by this man, and I should be glad to know, in what way *his wife* can have merited this annual sum at the peoples' hands; and that, too, at a time, when the ministers object to augment the pay of the officers of the army, because of the pecuniary embarrassments of the country. This lady is a Duchess; but, if the circumstances of the country be such, that a small addition cannot be afforded to the pay of our military officers, surely there ought to be some very good reason for giving this lady 1,200*l.* a year for her life, which is equal to the full pay and allowances of about *a dozen* Subaltern Officers; and, the distribution of which amongst the officers of the army, would make the proposed addition to the pay of about *fifty* subaltern officers.——But, this is what never seems to enter into the heads of those, who oppose the augmenting of the pay of the military and naval officers. Such persons talk of the heavy expences of the country, forgetting, or seeming to forget, that a great part of them might be taken off.——*Why,* I again ask, should this Duchess have so much, or any at all, of our money? This is a question that Mr. PERRY has not thought proper to put; but, a very material question it is; and so, I am satisfied, the reader will think it.——But, besides the pension for life, this gentleman is, it seems, the *Colonel* of a regiment of Dragoon Guards, and *Lieutenant Governor* of Tynemouth. This was pretty well, one would have thought, without wanting to be a Governor of a Military College. How was he to execute all these offices? It would have been impossible; and, *why,* then, should he have the *money* for these offices?——If what the Morning Chronicle states be true, this question is answered. The reason for heaping all these places, or rather, all this public money, upon this man, is plain enough; and, if the statement be, therefore, true, no more needs to be said upon that point. It is unnecessary to waste any time or room in characterizing the act, or the man who proposed it.——But, as to the declaration said to have been made by the Prince, that is very important indeed, and calls for the attention of all those, who have a real regard for their country.——It is said, that he declared, that he "never "would give his consent to bestow any "place or appointment, *meant to be an* "*asylum or reward for the toils and services* "*of our gallant soldiers and seamen,* on any "person upon account of *Parliamentary* "*connection,* or in RETURN FOR PAR-"LIAMENTARY VOTES."——Now, the thing that excites our attention here, is, not that the Prince should have resolved not to lend his hand to the carrying on of this species of traffic; not that he should have declared his "virtuous abhorrence," as the Corporation of London anticipated, of so base a truckery; not that he should have seized the first opportunity of protesting against any participation in acts which would richly merit a gibbet: this is not what excites our attention; but, the boldness of the assertion, that so infamous a motive had been stated to him as a ground whereon for him to act; and, really, one can hardly believe it possible, that there is to be found, upon the whole earth, a man to make such a proposition. It is an old saying, that you cannot have blood out of a turnip; but, even a man, with a face made of turnip, could, one would think, never have made such a proposition without blushing.——What, now, does the champion of the other faction say to this? The publication in the Morning Chronicle is, of course, intended as a blow at the minister; and, therefore, we must now hear what the minister's eulogist has to say in answer to it.——It begins by abusing the Prince if he *blabbed;* and evidently aims at making the public believe, that he did *blab.* It thus, conditionally, represents him as *mean* and *treacherous* for having betrayed a minister, in whom he affected to have confidence. But, observe, it does not *deny the fact,* which was the most material thing of all. It does *not deny the fact.* The article I allude to appeared in the COURIER of the 5th instant, and an article it is worthy of our best attention. It will have to be referred to hereafter, the reader may be well assured.—"The "public are indignant at the attack made "yesterday upon the character of the "Prince Regent, by holding him up to the "world as capable of the grossest per-"fidy. The Party are so enraged at his "not having taken them into his confi-"dence; they are so full of rancour "against him for not have dismissed his "father's Ministers, that there are no re-"ports which they are not prepared to "circulate against him. Is there a fouler "charge that could be brought against

" any man than the charge of *treachery*: of " *pretending to place confidence* in a man for " the purpose of *betraying* it? Yet this " is the charge the Opposition Gazette " brought against the Prince Regent. It " stated that the Minister was engaged in " a private, confidential conversation with " the Regent, of course no one present " but the Regent and the Minister, and " no one able but themselves to state what " passed in that conversation; and yet it " affected to give the whole conversation, " and to do it in a manner to impress a " conviction that it was impossible the " conversation could have been disclosed " by the Minister, thus attempting to fix " the whole shame and *meanness* of the " *treachery* upon the Regent. Such was " the conduct of the Opposition-Gazette " yesterday; but we are happy to see it " to-day so far ashamed of its conduct, " either in consequence of reproof, or of " a consciousness of impropriety, as to " apologise for having placed the Regent " in an *odious light*, by representing him " as betraying the confidential communi- " cations of his Ministers, and holding " them out to public contempt. The " Morning Chronicle denies that the in- " formation was communicated to it by " any party. This acknowledgment is " some concession in favour of honour and " decorum. The Party, ashamed of the " publication, wish to disown it; no small " acknowledgment of its indecency and " mischief; for *mischievous it is*, as it will " supply the *Weekly Journals with calumny* " *against the system of Government for months* " *to come*; against that system which *no* " *men acted upon more offensively than Lords* " *Grenville, Grey, and Moira, in the case of* " *the Hampshire Election, when those Noble-* " *men were in power.* The system stands " much in need of correction, and we shall " be *happy to see it amended*; but we shall " never assist *incendiaries* in attempts to ef- " fect its *total overthrow*.—Upon the de- " sire of the Prince Regent to preserve " military offices for Veterans who have " served their Country without receiving " a due reward, there can be but one opi- " nion; of applause and gratitude. Had " the anecdote been confined to this point, " there would have been no harm in it, " But as far as it represents the Regent " *blabbing State secrets*, it can do his Royal " Highness no honour; and the mixture " of the story about *Borough patronage*, " probably not true, is *positively mischievous*. " Such publications it is that give strength " *to the enemies of both the Ins and the Outs.* " For the latter have acted on the system " of Parliamentary influence much more " rigidly than the former."—This last part of the venal man's remarks is very curious. He blames the first publication of his adversary; not because it is false (for that he does not assert), but because it exposes both INS and OUTS to the assaults of their *common enemy*, the *Reformers*! This is so much like the conduct of Lockit, when he cries out, " brother! bro- " ther! we are both in the wrong," that comparison forces itself upon us.——The COURIER thinks nothing of the publication, but as it tends to *an exposure of the system*. He does not care about the truth or falshood of the thing itself. That is not his concern. The only consideration with him, is, whether it touches *the system*; that system, to which, for *such solid reasons*, he is so firmly attached.——He pretends, that he wishes to see the system *corrected*; but, then, he will never *assist incendiaries*, in attempts to effect its *total overthrow*. ——Now, what does he mean by *the system*? Does he mean *corruption*? Is that what he means? If it be, what does he mean by calling those *incendiaries*, who wish to effect its *total overthrow*? He would *correct* and *amend* the *corruption*; but, he would not *wholly overthrow* it. Would not wholly overthrow *corruption*? And why not? Why, because he would *lose* by it, to be sure. That is his reason. ——But, he does not mean corruption, he will say; he means, the *kingly government*. If he does mean that, he is guilty of base misrepresentation, in holding us forth as attempting to *overthrow* it. But, he cannot mean that; for he says he would *correct* it, he would *amend* it; so that he must mean the *corruption*, and nothing else; and, what we must suppose him to mean is, that he would have the corruption so altered and new-modelled as not *to give a handle to us Jacobins*. This is what he means; and it is what is meant by all those, who profess a desire to see a *moderate* and *temperate* reform. They would do just enough to *deceive* the people afresh. We wish to destroy *corruption* and *all the means of future corruptions*. This is what we want; and with any thing short of this we shall never be satisfied, and shall never affect to be satisfied. The constitution of England says, that *no man shall be taxed without his consent*. We have this constantly in our eyes; and, 'till we give our consent to the taxes by our real

representatives, we shall not be satisfied. —The MORNING CHRONICLE, it should be observed, denies that the declaration of the Prince *got abroad through his own means.* It, therefore, rebuts the charge of *treachery*, in the following manner, on the 6th instant.——" The soreness of the whole " tribe of Ministerial Expectants, at the " disclosure of the conditions upon which " they serve the State, hurries them be- " yond the bounds of decorum. They " fancy that they have discovered " source of our information, and upon the " supposition that they have hit on the " truth, they assail the quarter from which " they think it comes with every sort of " missile invective. " There were but two " " persons present," they say, " at the " " conversation, and of these two, who " " could disclose the particulars of such " " an interview? Not Mr. Perceval *it is* " " *obvious*—and can it be believed that " " the Prince Regent would tell his con- " " fidential conversations with his Mi- " " nisters?" No; it cannot be believed, " nor has it been insinuated, except by " the Partizans of the Minister, that a " syllable of the confidential conversation " came from the Prince Regent.——We " have distinctly said that we received it " from no political quarter whatever, " and that we received it in no secrecy. " The report has been universal for " several days, in all the higher cir- " cles; and from whence did it take " wind? From a correspondence which " *a Noble Duke of twenty one years* of " age, in the indiscretion of his disap- " pointment, has shewn to his friends. " Our heated Adversaries call for proofs. " Here is the proof. We refer them to " the Nobleman in question. They know " him well, and we recommend to them " to demand the justification of their *im-* " *maculate Minister* at his hands. Let him " say whether he did not write a letter, " complaining of the refusal given to his " application; and let him truly state to " them from whom he received the com- " munication of what passed at the inter- " view. Oh! " *Not from Mr. Perceval it* " *is obvious!*" Can it be believed that the " Prince Regent would tell the Noble " Duke? We leave this matter to be " settled among them. It is their own " affair. They have provoked the in- " quiry, and they must not impute to " others what lies at their own door. We " were fully justified in publishing what " they had themselves disclosed; and all " that we think it incumbent upon us to " do, is explicitly to state, that if this " most important secret (which has *filled* " *the nation with joy,*) has come to light, it " is because " an old head is not placed " " upon young shoulders." "——Here, then, is the history of the disclosure, if the whole history be not a fabrication. The reader has it, however, before him; and I leave him to judge for himself.——As to my *wishes*, however, they are decidedly for the truth of the story; and, if it were *proved* to be true, it would, indeed, *fill the nation with joy*; that is to say, supposing the declaration to extend to an hostility against the giving of places of *any sort*, and of public money in *any shape*, for the purpose of securing the votes of members of parliament. It would be good to hear HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS openly declare, that he would never suffer *military* posts or employments to be given in exchange for votes in Parliament; but, it would not be enough to see the base and corrupt truckery put a stop to in part, for, though the military department, extensive as it now is, and swallowing, as it does, twenty millions annually, may be made a very fertile source of villainous jobbing; still, there are other departments of equal magnitude; and, I trust, that His Royal Highness will not fail to show his hostility to corruption in *every* department.——The language of the COURIER is a thing which we ought to bear in mind. We ought to remember, that it does not attempt to deny the *facts*; that it merely abuses the Prince, if he " *blabbed*;" and that it expresses its anger at the disclosure, lest it should afford *fresh grounds of attack for the Jacobins.*——There has been *great interest* excited by this report; much more than by any thing which has taken place for a long while. The people are disposed to *believe* it, because they *wish* it; and, whether it be true or false, it will, in some men's minds, create great *expectation*, which, let us hope, will not be *disappointed.*——Let it not be supposed, however, that I look upon the measure of Parliamentary Reform as depending upon any opinions at this time entertained, even by His Royal Highness. The measure will, in my opinion, come as necessarily as Christmas will come. The necessity of it will daily become more apparent, in spite of all the endeavours made to misrepresent the motives of those who now are striving to obtain it. Whether it come this year or next

year or the year after or five or six years hence, is of, comparatively, little moment; and, perhaps, the longer it is delayed the more *radical* and *complete* it will be.——For my part, therefore, I am against all *compromises*, with a view of obtaining what is called *strength*, but which is, in fact, weakness. I would not give a straw for the co-operation of any body, who is not for a *complete* reform; a *total overthrow* of corruption, and a tearing up of the very foundations of it.——Are there, am I told, "*very* good men, *excellently* good men," who are not prepared to go the full length with me. I am sorry for it; but, nothing can be clearer than that they and I are not fit companions in the pursuit; and that we shall annoy one another, give one another a great deal of vexation, without getting on one inch with the cause. But, my opinion of these "*very* good men," who are not *prepared* to go the *full length* of rooting out corruption, is not, I must confess, favourable. In short, I do not believe them to be *sincere*. They, and all other men, must see the evil. There is no one who can now plead ignorance of it. Base indeed must be the man, who now affects to have his *doubts* upon the subject of the *evil*. Therefore, the man who talks to me of *moderation* in the *removal* of it, I suspect of insincerity. I like better far the man who says that nothing at all can be done and that nothing ought to be attempted. By a mixture, a sort of hodge-podge of efforts, nothing ever was done for any cause; and, how is it to be done for a cause, which has so many and such powerful and vigilant enemies?——By joining ourselves to those who would not wholly overthrow corruption, we become feeble; we lose the strength of our *principles*, which, in the end, would have gained us numbers.

Jubilee Dollars.———Every three days makes a change in the value of this precious commodity. They are now more scarce than ever; and, it seems, that now it is next to impossible to *get change* of any sort. Even the shillings and sixpences are disappearing, though, in general, not worth half their nominal value.——This is what staggers the *Anti-Jacobins!* They have power to subdue every thing but this.——On the 5th instant, there was a little *sparring* in the House of Commons about the *Bullion Report*. Mr. Horner gave notice of his design to bring on the discussion on the 29th instant, hinting at the same time, that the rise in the price of the dollar, tended to confirm the doctrines of the Report. He was reproached by George Rose for not bringing it on sooner; and, in reply, he observed, that he looked with *suspicion* on George's impatience; and he let fall, that he suspected, that it was wished to get the discussion over as a prelude to some *further measure* respecting the price of the Dollar.——Mr. Perceval said something in answer to Mr. Horner; and as this was the first time, that the *Minister of Finance* opened his lips, in the House, upon the subject of this Report, it is important to retain his words.——"He "regretted the delay which had taken "place; for he had the best authority for "stating, that the *protraction of this discus-"sion* had a *most injurious effect upon the "public mind*. He was of opinion, that, "whatever might be the decision of the "House, it was desirable that it should be "speedy, because he thought *the report it-"self*, and the agitation of this question, "had produced a *greater degree of public "mischief and public calamity than any mea-"sure which he ever remembered*. The *deci-"sion of the House*, he was of opinion, "would be FAVOURABLE; but at all "events the question ought to be set at "rest. As the Honourable Gentleman "disclaimed any intention to go into the "discussion, he should avoid following "him into those topics which were touch-"ed upon by him, and which were obvi-"ously a part of the subject. He agreed "that there was some advantage in the de-"lay, as it afforded greater time to collect "materials for a correct decision: but "there was *much mischief derived from keep-"ing the public mind in suspence during this "interval*. He could not, however, con-"cur in the observation, that any thing "which *had happened* tended to confirm "the opinions in the report."——Now, Mr. Perceval, I can take upon myself to assure you, that the putting off of this discussion will have no injurious effect whatever upon the *public mind*, which is, I believe, as *calm* upon the subject, and as perfectly resigned to what is coming, as it is possible for mind to be.——"Mis-"chief," Sir! What mischief has the Bullion Report done? De Yonge was trading in guineas against paper long before the Bullion Committee was formed, and the breakings at Salisbury and elsewhere, began long before the report was published. Besides, these bankruptcies proceed not at all from the paper money. They

proceed chiefly, and indeed, I might say wholly from Buonaparté's decrees.——As to the decision of the House, what may you mean by saying, that you are of opinion "it will be FAVOURABLE?" Do you mean favourable as to the number of *votes* upon the question; or, that it will produce a favourable effect as to the *public confidence in the paper?* If the former, I dare say you are right in your opinion; but, if the latter, you are positively wrong. The "great statesman now no more," if he was alive, might talk to the end of the year without producing any such effect. Besides, to suppose that the discussion in the House will produce such an effect, is to throw a slight upon the painful labours of those profound gentlemen, SIR JOHN SINCLAIR, Messrs. BOASE, FONBLANQUE, COUTTS, TROTTER, BOSANQUET, DAVIS GIDDY, CHALMERS and the rest of the tribe of Anti-Jacobin Pamphleteers, who have been so hard at work to make the good-natured *people* of England (as the Duke of Brunswick called them) believe that paper was equal in value to gold and silver. Why, what is there to say, after what these worthies, and others of less note, have said? What is there to discuss, which they have not discussed, relating to the matter?——It is rather hard, therefore, to say any thing that may damp the ardour of such zealous, and gallant and disinterested youths, who have been vying with each other for the honour of putting down Jacobin Guineas.——Poor Chalmers! I feel most for him. has been at work any time these last 30 years at keeping up the spirits of the People *at Whitehall* and *St. James's.* He is a sort of government bottle (*dram*-bottle) holder. Whenever the people in office are a little *low,* out he comes with one of his pamphlets, full of figures about *increasing imports and exports* and the increasing riches and power of Great Britain. He saw them a little depressed about the trade and the bankruptcies and the bullion; and out he came with a pamphlet to their relief; in which, so far from expressing any apprehensions of a depreciation in the Bank Paper, he declares that that Paper has actually *risen* in value rather more than ½ per centum, since the 1st January 1810! Now it is pity to damp the ardour of a zealous and disinterested youth like this, by telling us to wait for the favourable effect of the *discussion* on the Bullion report.——In the mean while, however, in spite of Mr. DAVIS GIDDY and Mr. BOASE and the rest of them, the *People* seem to have taken a wrong turn, and to have grown fonder and fonder of the metallic money. Yesterday there was a *circular paragraph* appeared in all the daily newspapers, in these words:——"By the "scarcity of silver great inconvenience "was felt at all the public offices as well "as in the markets on Saturday last, and "which required the receivers and shop-"keepers either to take payments short "of the silver fractions, or to give written "acknowledgments for the excess. It has "been a practice for some persons, *we* "*hope inconsiderately,* to draw on their "bankers for such sums as *2l. 19s. 6d.* "and *3l. 19s 6d.* in order to extract from "the till the odd silver. This contributes "*to the hoarding.* We recommend again to "all persons to draw only for even sums; "and let the *balance of shillings run on to* "*the next payment.* The public offices "ought to set the example, and then a "very small quantity of silver would "suffice."——The insertion of this paragraph did, I dare say, cost twenty or thirty guineas (I mean *pounds*) in each news-paper. *Who* had it put in the reader may easily guess by the recommendation at the close. Oh! what wise men these are! Yes, they think that people are to be persuaded *not to hoard* by being told, that change is *scarce!* Wise men! Then we are told, in the same papers, that "a very WICKED "device is practised by some of the *lowest* "shopkeepers; they put up a bill in their "windows announcing, "*Dollars taken at* "*"five shillings and nine pence*"—and they "sell the articles in which they deal at a "shilling above their value."——Oh! wicked rogues! Better set on upon them with an *Information Ex-Officio.* What! take dollars at *5s. 9d.* after the Bank Governors and the Privy Councillors determined that they should pass for *5s. 6d.* This must be a *crime* to be sure. There must be some law to reach it.——I think, however, that there must be a mistake as to the assertion about selling the goods above their value; for, you may, I presume, go to such shops and pay any *debt* you owe there in dollars at *5s. 9d.* though the debt may have been contracted a year ago. This brings the matter to issue at once.——But, the truth is, I believe, that there is no tradesman, who would not willingly take payment in dollars at *5s. 9d.* The scarcity of change in the country was mentioned in the House of Commons, on Monday, by Lord FOLKESTONE, and also

by Mr. G. VANSITTART; and, indeed, nothing can be more obvious, that such scarcity *must* exist and must *increase* till there is no gold and silver left in circulation, unless *a remedy* be speedily adopted, and of which remedy *I am in possession*, and, I had almost said, *exclusive* possession; but, I do not choose to communicate it to the world.——Aye! I am aware, that there are people to laugh at me for saying this; and, I have only to laugh at them in return. We shall see whose side the laughers will be of at *last*. It is the *end* that settles questions of wisdom as well as questions of war.——All seems to be going on so prosperously; every thing thrives with us so; "the king is *going on well*;" the armies are going on well; the consolidated fund is going on well; every thing is going on well but this *little thing* about the paper-money. It is so vexatious that this should be so perverse, and thus dash the cup of our happiness. So happy a people as we are in every other respect, too! Really, this thing should be tackled some how or other.——But, at any rate, the Jacobins and Levellers (that is to say, the Parliamentary Reformers) have had nothing at all to do with the matter. The rival parties have had the thing in their own hands; and, be it remembered, *both* parties have praised PITT and his SYSTEM. Both parties have made that system *their own*; and, for my part, I shall always think it unfair to impute any share of the evil, to Mr. Perceval and his people exclusively.——The old full-blooded Anti-Jacobins were, at first, a little struck at the 6*d*. being clapped on upon the dollar; but, thinking, I suppose, that they would only get laughed at for their long faces, they have put on an incessant grin, like that of their great leader PITT, and tell you, that it is "*very proper* indeed;" a very proper step on the part of "*His Majesty's Government*." How they will look, and what they will say, when the *small notes* come out, I know not; but, that 5*s*. and 10*s*. notes must be made, I think, is evident. For, as to raising the nominal value of the dollar, it is of no use. There are some shops, I am told, taking the dollar, in payments of *goods* or of *debts*, at 6*s*. And, who can suppose, that the value will not rise? Let the Bank make the nominal price 10*s*. and people will take the dollar next day at 12*s*. and very soon at 20*s*.——This is all very natural. It is according to a law of nature almost. Instinct is nearly sufficient to direct men in these matters.

A correspondent expresses his doubts as to my information, published on the 27th March (page 747), respecting the *coins in France*. He need have none. I had that information from a gentleman, who had *the best possible means of ascertaining the fact*. Indeed, I believe, he took it down from the mouths of *witnesses examined upon oath*. In short, I pledge myself for the truth of every part of the statement. And, that statement being true, the fact is certain, that there is *no rise* at all of *gold and silver upon the continent*; because, if there were such rise, it is manifest, that the old French coins would not pass current at *LESS than their former nominal* value. This is a proof indubitable. There is no gainsaying it. If an old French crown passes current at Dunkirk and Calais for LESS than its former nominal value, it is *impossible* that silver can have *risen* in price at Dunkirk and Calais. Here the dollar *keeps rising*. Its real former value was 4*s*. 6*d*. It then became 4*s*. 9*d*. next 5*s*. now 5*s*. 6*d*. *Here*, then, it may be said, that silver has RISEN in price, or, which is more correct, that paper has fallen in price, but, upon the continent the *reverse* is manifestly the case, and well it may, seeing that the far greater part of our gold and silver *is gone to the continent*; and *this* is the real cause of the old French crown now passing for *less* than its former nominal value.

PORTUGAL. THE WAR.——The reader will find the English account of what is going on in Portugal, and also the French account, if I can find room for it.——The reader will see, that the commanders are as well matched upon paper as they are upon land.——I shall offer some remarks upon their dispatches in my next.

WM. COBBETT.

State Prison, Newgate, Tuesday, April 9, 1811.

OFFICIAL PAPER.

PORTUGAL. THE WAR.——*Dispatches from Lord Talavera to the War Secretary, dated at Villa Seca, 14 March, and at Louzao, 16 March*, 1811.—*Published in London, 7 April*, 1811.

Villa Seca, 14 *March*, 1811.

The enemy retired from their position which they had occupied at Santarem and the neighbourhood in the night of the 5th

inst. I put the British army in motion to follow them on the morning of the 6th. Their first movements indicated an intention to collect a force at Thomar, and I therefore marched upon that town, on the 8th, a considerable body of troops, formed of a part of Marshal Sir William Beresford's corps, under Major-General the Hon. William Stewart, which had crossed the Tagus at Abrantes, and afterwards the Zezere, and of the 4th and 6th, and part of the 1st divisions of infantry, and two brigades of British cavalry. The enemy, however, continued his march towards the Mondego, having one corps, the 2d, on the road of Espinhel; General Loison's division on the road of Ancião, and the remainder of the army towards Pombal. These last were followed, and never lost sight of, by the light division and the royal dragoons, and the 1st hussars, who took from them about 200 prisoners.—On the 9th the enemy collected in front of Pombal the 6th corps, with the exception of General Loison's division, the 8th corps, and the ninth corps, and General Montbrun's division of cavalry. The hussars, which, with the royal dragoons and light division, were immediately in front of the enemy's army, distinguished themselves in a charge which they made on this occasion, under the command of Colonel Arenschildt. A detachment of the 16th light dragoons, under Lieut. Weyland, which had been in observation of the enemy near Lyria, made prisoners a detachment, consisting of 30 dragoons, on that morning; and had followed the enemy from Lyria, and arrived on the ground just in time to assist their friends the hussars in this charge. I could not collect a sufficient body of troops to commence an operation upon the enemy till the 11th. On that day, the 1st, 3d, 4th, 5th, and 6th, and the light divisions of infantry, and General Pack's brigade and all the British cavalry, joined upon the ground immediately in front of the enemy, who had commenced their retreat from their position during the night. They were followed by the light division, the hussars and royals, and Brigadier-General Pack's brigade under the command of Major-General Sir William Erskine and Major-General Slade, and made an attempt to hold the ancient castle of Pombal, from which they were driven; but the 6th corps and General Montbrun's cavalry, which formed the rear-guard, supported by the 8th corps, held the grounds on the other side of the town, the troops not having arrived in time to complete dispositions to attack them before it was dark. Upon this occasion Lieutenant Colonel Elder's battalion of Portuguese caçadores distinguished themselves. The enemy retired in the night; and on the 12th, the 6th corps, with General Montbrun's cavalry, took up a strong position at the end of a defile between Redinha and Pombal, with their right in a wood upon the Soure river, and their left extending towards the high ground above the river of Redinha. This town was in the rear. I attacked them in this position on the 12th, with the 3d and 4th light divisions of infantry, and Brigadier-General Pack's brigade, and the cavalry, the other troops being in reserve. The post in the wood upon their right was first forced by Sir William Erskine with the light division. We were then able to form the troops in the plain beyond the defile; and the 3d division under Major General Picton were formed in two lines in the centre, having General Pack's brigade supporting their right, and communicating with the 3d division, and the light division in two [illegible] the left. These troops were supported in the rear by the British cavalry; and the 1st, 5th, and 6th divisions were in reserve. The troops were formed with great accuracy and celerity, and Lieutenant-General Sir B. Spencer led the line against the enemy's position on the heights, from which they were immediately driven, with the loss of many men killed and wounded, and some prisoners. Major Gen. Sir William Erskine particularly mentioned the conduct of the 52d regiment, and Colonel Elder's caçadores, in the attack of the wood, and I must add, that I have never seen the French infantry driven from a wood in a more gallant style. There was but one narrow bridge, and a ford close to it, over the Redinha river, over which our light troops passed with the enemy; but as the enemy commanded these passages with cannon, some time elapsed before we could pass over a sufficient body of troops to make a fresh disposition to attack the heights on which they had again taken post. The 3d division crossed, however, and manœuvred again upon the enemy's left flank, while the light infantry and cavalry, supported by the light division, drove them upon their main body at Condeixa. The light infantry of Major-General Picton's division, under Lieut. Col. Williams, and the

4th caçadores, under Colonel de Regoa, were principally concerned in this operation. We found the whole army yesterday, with the exception of the second corps, which was still at Espinhal, in a very strong position at Condeixa; and I observed, that they were sending off their baggage by the road of Ponte de Murcella. From this circumstance I concluded that Colonel Trant had not given up Coimbra; and that they had not been able to detach troops to force him from the place. I therefore marched the 3d division, under Major-General Picton, through the mountains upon the enemy's left, towards the only road open for their retreat; which had the immediate effect of dislodging them from the strong position of Condeixa; and the enemy encamped last night at Cazal Nova in the mountains, about a league from Condeixa.—We immediately communicated with Coimbra, and made prisoners a detachment of the enemy's cavalry which were upon the road.—We found the 6th and 8th corps formed in a very strong position near Cazal Nova this morning, and the light division attacked and drove in their out-posts: but we could dislodge them from their positions only by movements on their flanks. Accordingly I moved the 4th division under Major-General Cole upon Panela, in order to secure the passage of the river Esa, and the communication with Espinhal, near which place Major General Nightingall had been in observation of the movements of the 2d corps since the 10th; and the 3d division, under Major-General Picton, more immediately round the enemy's left, while the light division and Brigadier-General Pack's brigade, under Major-General Sir W. Erskine, turned their right; and Major-General Alexander Campbell, with the 6th division, supported the light troops by which they were attacked in front. These troops were supported by the cavalry, and by the 1st and 5th divisions, and Colonel Ashworth's brigade in reserve.—These movements obliged the enemy to abandon all the positions which they successively took in the mountains; and the two corps d'armée, composing the rear-guard, were flung back upon the main body at Miranda de Corvo, upon the river Esa, with considerable loss of killed, wounded, and prisoners. In the operations of this day, the 43d, 52d, and 95th regiments, and 3d caçadores, under the command of Colonels Drummond and Beckwith, and Major Patrickson, Lieut. Colonel Ross, and Majors Gilmour and Stewart, particularly distinguished themselves; as also the light infantry battalions of General Picton's division under Lieutenant Colonel Williams, and the 4th caçadores under Colonel de Regoa, and the troops of horse-artillery under the command of Captains Ross and Bull. The result of these operations has been that we have saved Coimbra and Upper Beira from the enemy's ravages, and we have opened the communications with the northern provinces, and we have obliged the enemy to take for their retreat the road by Ponte de Murcella, in which they may be annoyed by the militia acting in security upon their flank, while the Allied Army will press upon their rear. The whole country, however, affords many advantageous positions to a retreating army, of which the enemy have shewn that they know how to avail themselves.—They are retreating from the country as they entered it, in one solid mass; covering their rear on every march by the operations of either one or two corps d'armée, in the strong positions which the country affords; which corps d'armée are closely supported by the main body. Before they quitted their position they destroyed a part of their cannon and ammunition; and they have since blown up whatever the horses were unable to draw away. They have no provisions excepting what they plunder on the spot; or, having plundered, what the soldiers carry on their backs; and live cattle. I am concerned to be obliged to add to this account, that their conduct throughout this retreat has been marked by a barbarity seldom equalled, and never surpassed. Even in the towns of Torres Novas, Thomar, and Pernes, in which the head-quarters of some of the corps had been for four months, and in which the inhabitants had been induced by promises of good treatment to remain, they were plundered, and many of their houses destroyed on the night the enemy withdrew from their position; and they have since burnt every town and village through which they have passed. The convent of Alcobaça was burnt by order from the French head-quarters. The Bishop's Palace, and the whole town of Leyria, in which General Drouet had had his head quarters, shared the same fate; and there is not an inhabitant of the country of any class or description, who has had any dealing or communication with the French

army, who has not had reason to repent of it, and to complain of them.—This is the mode in which the promises have been performed, and the assurances have been fulfilled, which were held out in the Proclamation of the French Commander in Chief: in which he told the inhabitants of Portugal, that he was not come to make war upon them, but with a powerful army of one hundred and ten thousand men, to drive the English into the [illegible]. It is to be hoped that the example of what has occurred in this country will teach the people of this and of other nations what value they ought to place on such promises and assurances, and that there is no security for life or for any thing which renders life valuable, excepting in decided resistance to the enemy. I have the honour to enclose returns of killed and wounded in the several affairs with the enemy since they commenced their retreat. I have received the most able and cordial assistance throughout these operations from Lieutenant General Sir Brent Spencer and Marshal Sir W. Beresford, whom I had requested to cross the Tagus, and who has been with me since the 11th instant; from Major Generals Sir W. Erskine, Picton, Cole, and Campbell, Major General Slade and Major General the Honourable C. Colville, and the General and other officers commanding brigades under their orders respectively. I am particularly indebted to the Quarter-Master-General Colonel Murray for the assistance I have received from him, and the Deputy Adjutant-General the hon. Colonel Pakenham, and the Officers of the Adjutant and Quarter-Master General's departments, as also to those of my personal Staff, who have given me every assistance in their power.—I am sorry to inform your Lordship that Badajos surrendered on the 11th inst.

Louzao, March 16.

Major-General Cole joined Major-General Nightingall at Espinhel on the afternoon of the 14th, and this movement, by which the Esa was passed, and which gave us the power of turning the strong position of Miranda de Corvo, induced the enemy to abandon it on that night. They destroyed at this place a great number of carriages, and buried and otherwise destroyed or concealed the ammunition which they had carried; and they likewise burnt much of their baggage: and the road throughout the march from Miranda is strewed with the carcases of men and animals, and destroyed carriages and baggage. We found the enemy's whole army yesterday in a very strong position on the Ceira, having one corps as an advanced guard in front of Foy d'Aronce on this side of the river. I immediately made arrangements to drive in the advanced guard, preparatory to the movements which it might be expedient to make to cross the Ceira this morning. Brigadier General Pack's brigade had been detached in the morning through the mountains to the left as well to turn the enemy in his position at Miranda de Corvo as in view to any other they might take on this side of the Ceira. The light division, under Major General Sir W. Erskine, was ordered to possess some heights immediately above Foy d'Aronce, while Major-General Picton's division was moved along the great road to attack the left of the enemy's position and of the village.—The 6th division, under Major-General Campbell, and the hussars and 16th light dragoons, supported the light division, and the 1st division and the 14th and royal dragoons, the third. These movements succeeded in forcing the enemy to abandon his strong positions on this side of the Ceira, with considerable loss. The Colonel of the 39th regiment was made prisoner. The light troops of General Picton's division under Lieut.-Col. Williams, and those of Major-General Nightingall's brigade, were principally engaged on the right, and the 95th regiment in front of the light division; and these troops behaved in the most gallant manner. The horse artillery, likewise, under Captains Ross and Bull, distinguished themselves upon this occasion. The troops took much baggage and some ammunition-carriages in Foy d'Aronce. I had been prevented from moving till a late hour in the morning by the fog; and it was dark by the time we gained possession of the last position of the enemy's advanced guard. In the night the enemy destroyed the bridge on the Ceira, and retreated, leaving a small rear-guard on the river.

Return of the Killed, Wounded, and Missing of the British and Portuguese Forces in the several affairs with the French Army, from the 6th to the 15th of March, 1811.

8th and 9th March.—1 horse killed, 2 rank and file, 2 horses, wounded; 7 rank and file, 8 horses, missing.

11*th March*.—11 rank and file killed; 2 Ensigns, 2 serjeants, 16 rank and file, wounded.

12*th March*.—17 rank and file, 3 horses, killed; 3 Captains 5 Lieutenants, 3 Ensigns, 1 Staff 7 serjeants, 153 rank and file, 4 horses, wounded: 1 serjeant, 14 rank and file, missing.

14*th March*.—1 Lieutenant, 14 rank and file killed, 1 Major, 5 Captains, 4 Lieutenants, 1 Ensign, 12 serjeants, 112 rank and file, wounded; 4 rank and file missing.

15*th March*.—2 Lieutenants, 1 serjeant, 6 rank and file, killed; 1 Lieutenant, 1 Ensign, 1 serjeant, 59 rank and file, wounded.

Names of Officers killed, wounded, and missing of the Army under the Command of Lieut.-Gen. Lord Viscount Wellington, K. B. in the several affairs with the French Army from the 6th to the 14th of March, 1811, inclusive.

11TH MARCH.

1st Bat. 95th Foot.—Second Lieut. Hopwood, wounded.

3d Caçadores—Ensign Joze Joaquim Ligeo, severely wounded.

12TH MARCH.

2d Bat. 5th Foot—Lieut. Clerke, severely wounded.

1st Bat. 45th Foot—Lieut. March, slightly wounded.

1st Bat 52d Foot—Lieut. Cross, Ensign Lafford, Adjutant Winterbottom, wounded.

1st Bat 88th Foot—Lieut. Heppenstal, slightly wounded.

94th Foot—Captain Bogue, severely wounded.

1st Bat. 95th Foot—Lieut. Beckwith, wounded.

1st Caçadores—Captain Chapman, 95th Foot, ditto.

11th Portuguese Regiment—Capt Waldron, 27th Foot, ditto.

4th Caçadores—Ensign Joze Filicissimo, ditto.

6th Ditto—Ensign Joze P. de Catto, ditto.

14TH MARCH.

1st Bat. 52d Foot—Lieut. Thomas Gifford, killed.

1st Bat. 43d Foot—Capt. Napier, severely wounded, Captain Dalzell, slightly wounded; Ensign Carroll, severely wounded.

1st Bat. 52d Foot—Captain George Napier, severely wounded: Capt. William Mein, slightly wounded; Capt. William Jones, severely wounded.

5th Bat. 60th Foot—Lieut. Wynne, slightly wounded.

74th Foot—Lieut. Crabb, ditto.

1st Bat. 95th Foot—Major Stewart, severely wounded, (since dead): Lieut. Strode wounded.

1st Caçadores—Lieut Joaquim Manuel, wounded.

15TH MARCH.

5th Bat. 60th Foot.—Lieut. Sawatzky, killed

1st Bat. 88th Foot.—Lieut. Heppenstal, ditto.

1st Bat. 95th Foot.—First Lieut. M'Culloch, severely wounded; Second Lieut. Kincaird, slightly wounded.

Foreign-Office, April 6.—A dispatch was received this morning by the Marquis Wellesley from Charles Stuart, Esq his Majesty's Minister at Lisbon, of which the following is an extract:

Lisbon, March 23. 1811.

The army of General Massena continues to retreat towards the frontier, and every march is facilitated by the abandonment of wounded, the destruction of baggage, and whatever can encumber their movement. They attempted during the 18th and 19th to make a stand in the Sierra de Moita, but they were driven from that position with the loss of 600 prisoners on the 19th. On the 21st they reached Galiza. The British head-quarters were at Pombeiro on the 11th, and at Algazil on the 20th. The cavalry and light troops continued in sight of the French rear guard, and the movement of the allied army along the skirts of the Estrella, which flank the positions in the valley of the Mondego, promises new impediments to their retreat. The accounts from the frontier of Spanish Estremadura state that the greater part of the French force which came from Andalusia have returned to that province. Marshal Soult moved in the middle of the month towards Seville at the head of 4000 infantry and 1500 cavalry. No considerable force has been left in the town of Badajos. The siege of Campo Major continued during the 19th, 20th and 21st. A breach having been effected, the place capitulated on the morning of the latter day. The garrison, in number about 250 militia, have remained prisoners of war. The French force before the place consisted of 4000 infantry and 500 cavalry. The advanced guard of Marshal Beresford reached Portalegre on the 20th, where that officer was expected on the following day.

PORTUGAL. THE WAR.——*The Portuguese Papers contain a dispatch from Lord Wellington, to Seignor M. P. Forjas, dated the 14th of March, containing precisely the same details as those in our Gazette Extraordinary, to which, however, are added, the following particulars respecting Badajos, and his own intentions, had his reinforcements from England arrived at the time he expected them.*

I am much concerned, however, to have to inform your Excellency that the town of Badajos surrendered on the 11th inst. to the enemy. Though I have not yet learned all the circumstances of this event, I can have no doubt with respect to the fact. From the moment when the enemy entered Estremadura, and employed his forces against that place, my attention was called and directed to the means of saving it.—Antecedent to the unfortunate battle of the 19th of February, I determined to reinforce the Spanish army, in order to oblige the enemy to raise the siege of that place, and I should have carried into effect this my determination, had I been joined by the reinforcements which I expected to arrive in the Tagus about the end of the month of January.—The battle of the 19th of February destroyed the Spanish troops on whose aid and co-operation I had depended. It was, in consequence, impossible to detach a sufficient number of troops to effect the object I had in view. I determined, however, after the arrival of the reinforcements, though the enemy should not have retired from his position on the Tagus, to attack him, should the state of the roads permit.—The reinforcements arrived in the beginning of March, but had not then joined the army, and in the night of the 5th the enemy retired from the position he occupied. On the 6th inst. I desired General Leite, the Governor of Elvas, to communicate to the Governor of Badajos, by means of signals, or in any other manner which might best suit, that Massena had begun to retreat, and that he might be assured that I would succour him as soon as possible; in the mean time I trusted that he would defend the place to the last extremity.—I had in consequence made every arrangement to detach a body of troops when the enemy should leave the Tagus and the Zezere, and, accordingly, with this view, troops marched from Thomar on the 9th, as they did also from other points; that part of the corps of Marshal Beresford which had taken post on the other side of the Tagus, and the vanguard of which had advanced to within three marches of the fortress of Elvas.—On the morning of the 9th I received at Thomar intelligence of the most favourable kind from Badajos, by which I was induced to believe not only that the place was not in any actual danger, but that the fire made on the enemy was much superior and effectual to that received from him; and that, with the exception of the loss sustained in the death of General Menacho, it had suffered very little; that there was no want of provisions or ammunition, and that it was, in fact, in so good a condition, that it was probable it might hold out a month.—General Imaz, a person of equal reputation with the late Governor, succeeded to the command, and the greatest confidence was reposed in him; but he surrendered to the enemy on the day following that on which he received my assurances of succour; at the same time that I urged him to defend it to the last extremity.—It is useless to make any reflection on the facts here stated. The Spanish nation has lost in the course of two months the fortresses of Tortosa, Olivenza, and Badajos, without any sufficient cause—and at the same time Marshal Soult, with a corps of troops which never was supposed to exceed 20,000 men, besides the capture of the two last places, has made prisoners and destroyed above 22,000 Spanish troops. I have the honour to remain, with sentiments of esteem and consideration, your Excellency's most faithful servant,

WELLINGTON.

Head-quarters, Villa Seca, March 14, 1811.

In a second dispatch to M. de Forjas, dated March 16, Lord Wellington writes as follows:

After I had sent off to your Excellency my former dispatch of the date of the 14th, I learned some further particulars relative to the surrender of Badajos. It appears that the enemy had on the 9th made a breach nearly 18 feet in breadth, but which was not practicable.—On the same day the Governor of the place acknowledged the signal and the receipt of the message I had sent to him; on the 10th he discontinued hostilities, and on the 11th surrendered the place, delivering up the garrison prisoners of war.—The number of the garrison at the time of the surrender was 9,000, while that of the ene-

my was only 9,600 infantry and 2,000 cavalry. The garrison wanted neither provisions nor ammunition.—In my letter of the 6th instant, I requested the Governor of Elvas to desire the Governor of Badajos to observe secrecy with respect to the retreat of Massena, to prevent its reaching the knowledge of the enemy by means of deserters, as I thought to meet with him again at Badajos, but he published the intelligence as soon as he received it, asserting, at the same time, that he did not believe it. He, in like manner, communicated it to the French General. —When Badajos had surrendered, the enemy directed his operations against Campo Major, in which direction he has moved.—I have the honour to be, with consideration and particular esteem, your Excellency's attentive and faithful servant,

WELLINGTON.

Head-quarters, Lousa, March 16, 1811.

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.—*French Official Intelligence from the Armies published at Paris, 31st March, 1811.*

General Foy arrived here at Paris the day before yesterday, with letters from the Prince of Essling. He left the head quarters in Portugal on the 13th instant.—The army was in the best condition. There were hardly any sick. The soldiers were full of ardour.—Marshal the Prince of Essling deemed it expedient to make a movement. He had pushed his right to the Zezere, and established his head-quarters at Pombal.—Several corps of troops in the pay of England had been defeated. Columns had penetrated Portugal in every direction, disarming the inhabitants, and reducing them to submission.—Adjutant Commandant Avy has also arrived from Badajos, which he left on the 11th of March, dispatched by the Duke of Dalmatia, with the colours taken by the Marshal during the six weeks that he has been in Estremadura. He is also the bearer of the capitulation of Badajos. —The capture of Badajos and Olivenza, the action at Castillegos, and the battle of Gebora, are important military events which have turned to the confusion of our enemies. Twenty thousand prisoners, colours, and several hundred pieces of cannon, are in our power.—On the 5th of March, some important events took place before Cadiz. A division of 6,000 English, and from 7 to 8,000 Spaniards, landed about the end of February, at Algesiras. This column, consisting of 14,000 men, intended to attack the Duke of Belluno in the rear, and to raise the siege of Cadiz. The plan was completely frustrated. The Duke of Belluno defeated the enemy, and drove them into the Isle of Leon, taking three stands of colours, four pieces of cannon, and 760 men. He killed and wounded more than one-third of the English.—General Sebastiani, who commands the 4th corps, consisting of 20,000 men, supposed that the enemy, who landed at Algesiras, was intended to attack his right, while a division from Murcia should march on his left. He detached a part of his army against this division. He did not learn what passed until the 7th. The division of Murcia fled at the sight of his sharpshooters. In the mean time, Ballasteros advanced upon Seville, with the remains of his corps which escaped from the battle of Castillegos, amounting to about 3,000 men. He was met by General Darricau, who put him completely to the rout, and pursued him to a considerable distance.—On the 10th of March the siege of Cadiz was resumed with fresh ardour. All these events have filled our friends in Andalusia with admiration, and the enemy with dismay.

SIEGE OF BADAJOS.

[Extracts from the General Orders, published on the 20th of February, by Marshal the Duke of Dalmatia, General-in-Chief of the army of the south, and of a dispatch transmitted on the 22d, by his Excellency to his Serene Highness Major-General the Prince of Neufchatel and Wagram.]

The General-in-Chief announces to the army, the brilliant advantages that the 5th corps of the army, commanded by Marshal the Duke of Treviso, and the cavalry of reserve under the orders of General Latour Maubourg, have successively obtained over the enemy, under the walls of Badajos.—Since the commencement of the siege of this fortress the enemy made two sorties, for the purpose of retarding the approaches and destroying our works. They were vigorously repulsed, and lost a great number of men. The infantry in the trenches, and the companies of sappers under the orders of Captain Costé, as well as the 4th dragoons, commanded by Colonel Farine, distinguished themselves by their bravery. The General of Division Girard ably directed the movements of the troops, under

the orders of Marshal the Duke of Treviso. The Chief of battalion, Cazin, commanding the engineers, was killed in one of these sorties. He was an officer of great merit, and is much regretted. The battery of the first parallel, which was opened on the height of Vento, is called after him. Captain Vainsot of the engineers, a distinguished officer, as well as Captains Lapoterié and Presat of the staff, were also wounded.—In the mean time the cavalry of reserve under the orders of General Latour Maubourg made an incursion into Portugal, and alternately appeared before the fortresses of Elvas and Campo Mayor. In the various skirmishes he had with the enemy, he killed several and took some prisoners. The Spaniards notwithstanding, who from the tardiness of their succours were not able to prevent the capture of Olivenza, dispatched by forced marches the two divisions that had joined the English army at Lisbon On the night of the 5th they appeared on the heights of St. Christoval, and established a communication with the troops in Badajos. The cavalry which had completed the investment of the garrison on the bank of the Guadiana, was obliged to retire, and pass the Gebora The two divisions of relief entered Badajos.—On the 6th General Latour Maubourg was ordered to advance, and endeavour to re-establish the blockade upon the right bank. The brave cavalry under his command presented themselves at three in the afternoon before the Spanish and Portuguese cavalry, part of which was drawn up on the left bank of the Gebora, charged and overthrew them, with the loss at least of three hundred men and as many horses, of which several were drowned. The 14th regiment of dragoons acquired great honors in forcing, under the fire of the enemy's grape, the passage of the bridge of Gebora. —On the 7th at noon, the enemy made a general sortie on the left bank, upon the right of our attack, and manœuvred, in a manner, for the purpose of forcing us to quit that position, with the view of afterwards attacking the rear of the continuation of the parallel. They had already reached the redoubts Bruchon and Cazaux, which crowned the heights of St. Michael, and took possession of them; but the dispositions were so well made, and the reinforcements sent by Marshal the Duke of Treviso arrived so opportunely, that the enemy were only masters of these redoubts some seconds, and notwithstanding their force, which amounted to 10,000 infantry, and 600 cavalry, besides some field pieces, they were completely routed and driven to the glacis of Fort Picurina and the garrison. The enemy left 150 killed behind them; and, according to the accounts of deserters, they had upwards of 1,000 wounded; they also lost several officers of rank We had to lament the loss of some brave men. Captain Cazaux, of the light artillery, Lieutenant Brachon, of the sappers, were killed: Captain Mutta, of the 40th regiment, and Colonel Vigent, of the [illegible]4th, were wounded. The Commander in-Chief had ordered the General of Division Gazan, Head of the Staff, to direct for that day the attack on the right: his dispositions were excellent, and he was ably supported by the General of Division Gerard The Chief of Battalion Arnaud, Aide-de-Camp to General Gazan, and Sub-Lieutenant Ingaldo, in the service of his Catholic Majesty, were wounded.—The enemy remained quiet on the 8th. He appeared astonished at his loss on the preceding evening, and the resistance he met. —On the 9th, he made a sortie on the right bank with his cavalry and the two divisions of infantry which came from Lisbon They took a position on the heights of St. Christoval, for the purpose of re establishing the communication with Elvas and Campo Mayor, and facilitating the introduction of supplies into Badajos; thereby appearing to renounce any intention of a new sortie against the front of attack.

STORMING OF FORT PARDALERAS.

The enemy would have been instantly attacked in his position on the right bank, if the passage of the Guadiana, having been impeded by various circumstances, had not retarded this operation; and if the works executed by the Imperial corps of engineers, under the orders of General Lery, and those of the artillery commanded by General Bourgeat, had been sufficiently advanced to favour this other enterprise.—The parallel of the attack in the centre had already reached to within 160 yards of the salient angle of Fort Pardaleras: two batteries were established, and hopes were entertained that after silencing the fire of the Fort, it would be possible, by one of those bold strokes which commonly succeed in war, to carry it by assault. It was resolved to attack it. On the 11th, in the afternoon, the bom-

bardment, which was begun six days before, was resumed with fresh vigour ; and at the same time the two batteries, which were erected against the face of the middle bastion of Fort Pardaleras, opened their fire. By night-fall, that of the enemy was silenced, but the fire from the garrison encreased. Notwithstanding this circumstance, 400 brave fellows, under the orders of Captain Coste, who had been placed in the trenches by the Duke of Treviso, were commanded to advance, to rush to the entrance of the fort, to break the palissades and to enter the works. It was executed with all possible bravery, with shouts of *Long live the Emperor!*—In less than a quarter of an hour, they were masters of the fort, and the garrison were taken prisoners. They also took six pieces of cannon. We had only seven or eight men wounded. [illegible] beginning of the siege to the taking of Pardaleras, the enemy did not relax their fire. They increased it after this event. But the direction given by General Lery to the parallels was so scientific, and the batteries of General [illegible] so well adapted to localities, and the objects at which they were aimed, that this prodigious fire was [illegible] [illegible] Th[illegible] ed on with all possi[illegible] teries, *a ricochets*, we[illegible] against the extent of [illegible] of several bastions of the fortre[illegible]

BATTLE OF THE GEBORA.

The enemy had established his camp upon the heights of St. Christoval, on the right bank of the Guadiana ; and while he was occupied in completing it, and rendering the passage of the Gebora impracticable, the fort of Pardaleras was taken. He conceived himself in perfect security in this position, having easy communications, with Elvas and Campo Mayor.

(To be continued.)

HAMBURGH DEPUTATION TO NAPOLEON.

(Concluded from page 863.)

—If your Majesty, from that devoted point whence you take a view of human affairs, permit our feebleness to indulge in any degree of pride, we still venture to think that we enter not as a vulgar territory, as an obscure acquisition, into that immense circle of provinces, struck with admiration, and happy in obeying a single master."

Reply of his Majesty.

"Gentlemen, Deputies of the Hanse Towns of Hamburgh, Bremen, and Lubeck —You formed part of the Germanic Empire ; your Constitution terminated with its existence. Since that time your situation was uncertain. I intended to reconstitute your cities under an independent administration, when the changes produced in the world by the new laws of the British Council rendered the project impracticable. It was impossible for me to give you an independant administration, since you could no longer have an independant flag.—The Decrees of Berlin and Milan are the fundamental laws of my empire. They cease only to have effect as to those nations which defend their sovereignty, and maintain the religion of their flag. England is in a state of blockade as to those nations which submit to the Orders of 1806, because the flags thus submitting to the English laws are denationalized ; they are English. Those nations, on the contrary, which feel their own dignity, and find in their courage and power sufficient resources to disregard the blockade by notification, commonly called a paper blockade, and to approach all the ports of my empire, except those under real blockade, according to the known usage and the stipulations of the treaty of Utrecht, may hold communication with England. As to them, England is not blockaded. The decrees of Berlin [illegible] Milan, flowing from the nature of things, shall continue to form the public code of my empire as long as England maintains her Orders in Council of 1806 and 1807, and violates the stipulations of the treaty of Utrecht upon this subject.—England acts upon the principle of seizing the enemy's merchandize, under whatever flag it might be. The empire has been compelled to admit the principle of seizing English merchandize, or proceeding from the commerce of England, in whatever territory it may be. England seizes in every sea the passengers, merchants, and carriers belonging to the nation she is at war with. France is compelled to seize the English travellers, merchants, and carriers, in whatever part of the Continent they may be, and wherever she can reach them ; and if in this system there be any thing little consonant to the spirit of the age, it is the injustice of the new English laws that must be charged with it.—I have been

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from *so great a change*; hinting, at the same time, *at what took place in France*. This is the string upon which they will work, and by which means they will endeavour, indirectly, to prevail upon him to believe, that, to preserve the kingly government of this country, it is necessary that a system of the most shameless corruption, of the most profligate bribery, of perjury the most execrable, should exist, and that those, who choose the lawgivers of the kingdom, should, in many instances, be distinguished by their infamy.——And, is the Prince to be made to believe, that the existence of such things is necessary to the support of the throne? I trust not; and, indeed, if what I have heard, from pretty good authority, be true, he is by no means likely to listen to such advisers. The Pitt system was not none of his. He had no hand in the funding or the supporting of it. He has had nothing to do with the matter, any more than the Jacobin Reformers have had. He has, like them, suffered by the system. He is, at present, clean of all share in it, and so he will remain, if he yield not to very unwise counsel.

JUBILEE DOLLARS.——A few days ago Lord FOLKESTONE noticed, in the House of Commons, the want of money for *change*, experienced throughout the country; and stated, that he had received information, that, at a fair in Berkshire, the change was so scarce, that the people found it impossible to buy and sell for want of silver.——On the 11th instant, MR. MANNING, who is, it seems, DEPUTY GOVERNOR of the Bank of England, and also a Member of Parliament, made the following declaration as to Dollars.——He said, that "he "had waited for some time, expecting to "see in the House a Noble Lord (Folke-"stone) who had expressed an anxiety as "to the supply of silver coinage. He "now thought it his duty to inform the "House, in answer to what had fallen from "that Noble Lord, that the Bank *was now* "*in the course* of having *a large quantity of* "*Silver Tokens or Dollars* stamped, for the "purpose of putting them into circulation "at the rate of 5*s.* 6*d.* each. He thought "it right to say so much, previous to the "rising of the House, that the public "might be aware of the circumstance, and "that persons who might be drawing "Dollars out of circulation, in the hope "of their rising *in value*, might *be assured* "that their *expectations in this respect would* "*be disappointed*[*]."——The object of this no man can mistake. It was a sort of *advertisement* to the people not to *hoard* or *purchase* up Dollars.——But, does MR. MANNING think, that it will produce this effect? If he does, he is, I think, very much deceived; for, what is it to the public, whether the Bank issue more dollars, so long as the paper bears the same relative proportion in value to silver and gold that it now bears?——The paper is of *less value* than the Dollar at 5*s.* 6*d.* That is the real cause of the scarcity of change; and, the issuing of a few millions of Dollars will have very little, if any, effect, in raising the value of the paper; because it will take so very small a part of it out of circulation.——After what we have seen, we shall, I trust, stand excused for not looking upon the Rulers at the Bank as *conjurors*. They have told us, that they raised the Dollar to 5*s.* 6*d.* in order *to prevent those in circulation from going out of circulation*; and, the effect has been *precisely the contrary*. Upon their wisdom, then, we can have no reliance.——The device of issuing 10*s.* and 5*s.* notes, to which I am convinced they must come, before it be long, has, I dare say, been thought of and discussed. The measure would, to be sure, be a desperate one. The *cat* would come on a gallop. The 5*s.* note would in all likelihood, be given for a quartern loaf, at the end of a month from the time of its issuing. No wonder, therefore, if every other thing is first tried.——But, as to the new issue of dollars; if they be of their former weight and fineness; if they be *real* Spanish dollars, *they will not remain in circulation*, whatever MR. MANNING and his colleagues may think of the matter.——The real sterling value of the Dollar is, as was stated the other day by MR. YORKE, 4*s.* 6*d.* It has gradually risen to 5*s.* 6*d.* And, why should it not *continue to rise*? There is, I think, no man, even in this country, so stupid as to believe, that the paper money will not grow, every day, of less and less value.——In the fall of paper money the progress always becomes more and more rapid towards the close. But what is the risk in *hoarding* real money, even upon the supposition, that the progress will be no more

* It is worthy of remark, that, when this notification was given, there were but about *five members* in the House; so that it was not very surprizing that LORD FOLKESTONE should not have been in his place.

rapid than it has been? It is monstrously absurd to suppose that the progress will not be more rapid. But, let us take it at the progress of the last four or five years. If a man had put four dollars in his chest *a year ago*, they would, to be sure, have yielded him *no interest*; but, then, if he had now a mind to lug them out, he would get *22s.* for them, and they cost him but *20s.* when he put them in. Here is *ten per cent.* for his money; and, if he locked them up *two years ago*, there is *five per cent.* Besides, he has *better security* than he can have upon any thing but land. If he has land security, he must pay for it in a diminution of interest. *Land* gives THREE AND A HALF per cent. with perfect security and without depreciation. *Funds* give FIVE per cent. with paper-money security and with gradual depreciation. *Hoarding*, suppose the dollar to rise another sixpence in a *year's* time, gives TEN per cent. with better than paper-money security and without any depreciation; and, suppose the dollar to be two years before it rises another sixpence, hoarding will, even in that case, give FIVE per cent. And, in favour of hoarding there are these two capital considerations: *First*, that the hoarder has always his money at command. He can, at any hour, make use of it to the best advantage. He runs no risks with banks or bankers or any thing else; and, if his object be finally to lay it out upon land, he is able to buy when no other man happens to be able or willing. He has always his money *in his hand*. And, *Secondly*, hoards are beyond the reach of the tax-gatherer. They are like the plate or jewels in a man's house. While a guinea lies quietly in your chest, it cannot be said to yield any *income*. Indeed, though it is growing in value, like the lamb in the womb of its mother, it does not actually produce any thing, and cannot be *taxed* any more than the unborn lamb can be *tythed*. Therefore Hoards *pay no income tax*.——It would not do for a man to put *all* property into a hoard; because, if he had to wait three or four years for a rise in the value of the hoard, he would, of course, have *no income*. But, upon the supposition, that the dollar will rise as it has done of late, how could a man employ his money so well as to hoard it up? It would yield him ten per cent interest; it would always be at hand for any advantageous purpose; and, it would pay no income tax. Besides, suppose .... Nay, pray excuse me, Mr. PERCEVAL! Suppose; .... Don't be frightened: I am only *supposing*, by way of illustration. *Suppose*, then, that then paper-money were to become worth nothing at all! Suppose, that, in spite of all that can be done; in spite of that decision of which you appear confident in the Honourable House; and in spite of all the *Remedies* that all the Scotch Reviewers put together can suggest; *suppose*, I say, that the paper-money were, from whatever cause, to become worthless, quite *good for nothing*. Suppose this, which is *possible*, were to take place. What would then be the effect of hoarding? What would, then, be the situation of a man with ,000 dollars in his chest? What would every dollar *then* be worth? In the case here supposed, and which may *possibly* arrive, every thing would fall in price at an astonishing rate. The quartern loaf, in all probability, would not be of higher price than it is in France; or, than it used to be in England previous to the creation of the National Debt. In short, there is little doubt but the quartern loaf would sell for about *3d.* instead of about *1s. 3d.* So that, every dollar, which a man should happen to possess, at the time of the fall of the paper, would be worth five times as much as it is now.——Here is a temptation to hoard? Here is a game of chances for a man to play! Such a game as wa never before offered to avarice.——Here then, is this great *chance*, over and above all the solid advantages before mentioned. And, does Mr. MANNING flatter himself, that, with all this before the eyes of the people, and the whole of which every man of them understands, they are to be persuaded by him and his colleagues of the Bank *to desist from withdrawing dollars from circulation*? Oh, no! Mr. MANNING! You must pay, really *pay* your promissory notes; that is, you must give gold and silver for them, whenever people carry them to your Shop, before the public will be persuaded that the Dollar will *not continue to rise*. Your mentioning, in the House of Commons, *that you were going to send out more dollars*, will be easily seen through. Why *mention* the thing *there*? A very good way of *advertising*; but, that was all. And, then, *when* are you going to put them out? When are you going to send forth a supply? You should have told the people this; for they cannot go on much longer without *something* [illegible]. And, when

you do, begin, will you give them to *any body* in payment of your notes? Will you let *any* man who brings in one of your notes take away dollars in return? How *long* will you do this? Will you do it for *day?* If you will, I'll engage, that the Old Lady shall have as many thousands at her levee as ought to be sufficient to repel ac invasion by the largest army of France. ——It is not, Sir, *telling* the people that they are going to have dollars that will make them think less of those that they now have. They must *see* the new dollars first; and then *any* man must be able to go, at any time, and *change his notes for dollars.* When men can do this, they will be more indifferent about the dollars; but, until then, be you assured, that they will hoard all the dollars they can get, or pass them from hand to hand at a higher and a continually-rising value.——So that, if you and your colleagues are really "*in course of preparing*" dollars for issue, pray think of what I have been saying. I can hardly suppose that you will go so far as to issue another batch of dollars under the present circumstances. One would think it *impossible* that any set of men upon earth should entertain such a scheme. Yet, after what we have seen, in the recent rise of the price of the dollar, what may we not expect!——There has been a *base metal* issue talked of, as the only means of preventing people from *hoarding* and *exporting.* For these two purposes, such a currency, or rather coin, would be quite efficacious; but there its efficacy and utility would end. Nobody would *hoard* and nobody would send it *abroad;* but, who would *take* it, except the inhabitants of Bedlam, or those who ought to be there? And, for their supply, *who* would not *make* enough without the assistance of the mint? ——This scheme is like all the rest: the offspring of a desperate disease in the hands of shallow-brained doctors.——I am aware that I shall be called upon for *my remedy.* But, I will not tell it. I know the sure and certain means of making gold and silver as plenty in England as it is in France, and of making a part of that now in France come to England. But, I do not choose to tell it; and I w[illegible] not tell it. ——It [illegible] the full-blooded Anti-jacobins who got the currency into its present state, and let them get it out again. It is not six years since they called me a traitor for foretelling what is now come to pass. Much good may their 5*s.* & 6-penny dollar do them, then!

If they want people to lament, let them go elsewhere for them. They will hear no lamentations from me. Let their own followers, let those, who, partly through folly and partly through base self-interest, have been on their side and given countenance and support to them in all their proceedings; let these people lament, if they choose it; I shall not; and I shall not, because I know, that, *in the end,* the state of the currency will produce *infinite service to the country,* compared with which the ruin of those who will be ruined is not worth thinking about.——It is with sincere satisfaction, that I see, in the American papers, that the BANK OF THE UNITED STATES is not to have its charter renewed. For the sake of my friends in that country, and for the sake of humanity, I hope it *never* will be renewed. Where there is such an establishment, the government will always contrive to have *a National Debt;* and then comes all that *we* now *feel,* and, which is a great deal more, all that we *dread.* In short, it appears to me, that if a set of the most cunning men that ever were born had been bricked up in conclave, as the Cardinals used to be, for a half a life time, in order to devise something by the means of which a people should be made to labour most zealously for their own debasement, corruption, ruin, and misery, they could not have discovered any thing more efficacious than Paper-money and National Debts. The two always go together. They are inseparable companions. They always rise and fall together. There can be no National Debt without a Paper-money; because it is with paper, in one shape or another, that the interest of such Debt must be paid; and the moment there is a Paper-money, the government will, somehow or other, get hold of it. Indeed, it is the government than *makes* and *upholds* a paper money. ——It was very wise in the American government to put a stop to this rising mischief in their country. After what they have seen *here* they would have been shamefully deficient in their duty if they had not done what they have. Yet, the measure appears to have been carried only by the casting vote of MR. GEORGE CLINTON, the VICE President (and who, as the reader knows, is also President of the *Senate*), whose name ought to be held in honour in every part of the world.

CONSOLIDATED FUND.——The reader

has seen, in the newspapers, a report of the Speech of MR. PERCEVAL upon the SURPLUS of the Consolidated Fund. MR. BANKES, we are told, heard it with *great satisfaction*, and, from appearances, the whole of the Honourable House seemed *quite pleased* with it.——The news-papers took it up the next morning, and off they went upon a full cry. One would have thought that a mine, an inexhaustible mine, of pure gold had been discovered, and that the nation were actually beginning to finger the precious metal.——The COURIER broke forth thus:——" By the Report of " the Parliamentary proceedings of yes- " terday the Public will perceive, *with* " *great pleasure*, the very *flourishing state of* " *the Revenue*, notwithstanding the embar- " rassments our commerce has had to sus- " tain, and the gloomy predictions of men " who have no confidence in any thing " but the irresistible ascendancy of the " enemy. The surplus produce of the " Consolidated Fund during the last year, " ending on the 5th instant, exceeds by " nearly a million and a half, the estimate " of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, an " estimate for which he was reproved as " being too sanguine in his expectations. " The circumstances of the moment are " indeed *most flattering*, the Regent's Go- " vernment *is most auspicious*! Our Reve- " nue, amidst difficulties, in defiance of all " the artifices and hostility of our enemies, " rising *above the most sanguine calculations*, " of those even who have *the highest confi-* " *dence in its solidity*."——Solidity, did you say? Show us this Surplus in *gold and silver*, and then we will hear you talk of *solidity*——The public, in general, employ their time much too well to know what the *Surplus* or the *Fund* itself means.——It would be a waste of time to give them a description of these things; but, one of these days, when we have leisure to laugh, I will tell them what they mean. At present, let me beg of them to bear in mind, that, *every year*, from the outset of the war against the Jacobins and Levellers in 1793; *every year*, let who would be minister, we have been told, that our money affairs were in *a more prosperous way than they were in the year before*. Every year has the *Debt increased*; every year have the *Taxes been augmented*; every year have the poor become more and more miserable and the *poor rates more and more heavy*; every year has the *paper-money augmented*; every year have the *gold and silver diminished* in quantity; and yet (Oh, wondrous people!) you have every year been told, that your money affairs have been more and more prosperous; And, so you will be told to the very end; nay, you will be told so after the end; for, I verily believe, that, if the dollar were worth fifty pounds in paper, the same thing would be told you about the "*flourishing* state of our finances." ——The French paper, the MONITEUR, in answer to a Speech of MR. ADDINGTON, like this of Mr. PERCEVAL, said: " *Pay* " *your bank notes in gold and silver*, and *then* " we will believe in the *solidity* of your fi- " nances; but not before."——Indeed, it is an insult to common sense to talk of *flourishing finances* where nothing but *paper* is to be seen. Who is to tell any thing at all about the matter? What *standard* is there? How is any one to know the *value* of what is brought to account? There is such a working about with paper, that no one can tell what any thing is worth. All is uncertainty and confusion; and so long have we been accustomed to hear these assertions of pecuniary prosperity made, that, at last, they are, with all men of sense, become a mere sound.——Amidst all this prosperity, however, our Minister is, it seems, about *to borrow money for our use*! It is stated that he means to make a loan *of* 19 *millions*, and we know that he has obtained an Act for funding 12 millions in the shape of Exchequer Bills; making together 31 millions to be added to the National Debt in this one year! ——Now, is there any other country in the world where, under such circumstances, any body would think of coolly telling the people, that their finances were in *a most flourishing state*? I ask you, reader; I put it to you, whether you think, that there is any other country in the world, where any body would dream of uttering such an assertion, under such circumstances?——But, the state of mind in which the people are, in this respect, is owing to the operation of the paper-money system. Men see and talk of paper-money as property so long, 'till, at last, the confusion in their minds makes them stupid; and they see nothing in a clear and rational light. They lose all distinct notions as to property, money, debts, credits, riches and poverty; 'till, in the end, they become great, overgrown babies in every thing relating to such matters.——I, for my part, believe, that the Minister himself is perfectly sincere upon this point. His clerks make up the account; there stand the *figures*, in rank

and file, marshalled for attack upon the enemy. But, alas! the *figures* is all! It is all mere names and signs. And, to his utter astonishment, he finds, amidst all this plenty of money, this *surplus,* or *overmuch,* of funds, he is obliged to borrow immense sums for the use of the nation, and to make enormous additions to the mortgages upon that revenue, which he represents as being *superabundantly* productive.——In my garden there was an *Ant* hill. Fifty times did I and my gardener disperse the little creatures with our feet; and still would they return and proceed again as if nothing had happened. At last, said I, "let the poor devils alone, "Robinson; for they are just like us "English people."——But, I know of nothing except the *Ants* that are like us. Every thing else, that has eyes and ears, seems to be able to profit from experience. We are, however, doing no more than fulfilling the predictions of Hume, even to the very letter. Year after year we listen to the same story, and our credulity really appears to increase with the number of the times that we are deceived.

W^M. COBBETT.

State Prison, Newgate, Friday,
April 12, 1811.

PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.

Lincoln's Inn, 8th April, 1811.

SIR;—As Paper-money is a child of Pitt's Anti-reformist War, and, consequently, a grand-child of the Borough System; and as the inevitable catastrophe of this same Paper-money may throw the nation into a convulsion fatal to the state, unless a radical Reform of Parliament, if not previously accomplished, shall be immediately at hand, for opening to the distracted public a haven of tranquillity, in which they may find repose, and expect as speedy a cure of the public malady and wounds, as nature, wisdom, and virtue can administer; it must afford a lively satisfaction to our country to see the Prince Regent repel an attempt to barter military rewards for parliamentary votes; thus manifesting a mind which cannot be uncongenial with a constitutional Reform of the Borough System.—And if, Sir, rumour be correct in reporting (and I have it on respectable authority) that already two select meetings of Parliamentary Reformers have been held, in which Mr. Brand and Sir Francis Burdett were present, with other leading gentlemen who have hitherto ranged themselves under their respective standards; but who, from a sense of their country's wrongs and danger, have wisely given to the winds those shades of opinion which, by keeping them asunder, had hitherto checked the progress of Reform in public opinion.—On the principle that government in every country, and of every form, ultimately depends on public opinion, and in a free state is thereby preeminently influenced, it is the intention of these persons to promote, under good auspices, town and county meetings, for collecting the sense of the nation, on the two following questions: Does the House of Commons, as now constituted, represent or speak the sense of the nation? and, is it not equally essential to the independence of the crown and the liberties of the people, that the said House be constitutionally reformed?—As a prelude to such town and county meetings, it is intended, as I understand, to convene a general meeting in the metropolis, to be holden towards the end of May; and the delay of advertising it is only occasioned by a desire, first to engage as stewards a numerous body of noblemen and gentlemen of character and property.—A knowledge of the happy union that has taken place between the two divisions or sects of Reformers, must, in every bosom of which public virtue is an inhabitant, make a strong sensation, and cause a happy augury of success. In proof that it has had this effect on mine, I beg leave to present you with an effusion it has produced, being a Parody on Dryden's well known verses on the three greatest of epic poets.—And I trust that not only the members of parliament who have attended the select meetings I have mentioned, (and full half were members), but all those who supported in parliament the respective motions for Parliamentary Reform, made in the two last sessions by Sir F. Burdett and Mr. Brand, as well as later converts, will exhibit to your readers a contrast to your "LEGION CLUB" and their modern counterparts, that will do honour to our age and nation.

To the Prince Regent, and the Parliamentary Reformers of the Present Day.

A SONNETT.

Thrice, godlike men, in distant ages born,
England adorn'd, and brightly now adorn;
The first, with energy and valour glow'd,
Fam'd Runnymead and Magna Charta show'd;
That wisdom grac'd the next, the Bill of Rights;
But still, the epochs of those patriot fights,

Yield in effulgence to that coming day,
When Radical Reform shall claim the lay
Miltonic; and our country, truly free,
With ever-verdant wreaths of liberty
Their honour'd brows shall deck, whose gen'rous toil,
Secure, shall fence it, in our genial soil;
Those, of tyrannic pow'r but lopp'd the living shoots,
These, end the noxious tree—these kill the very roots!

A STUDENT IN THE LAW AND CONSTITUTION.

MR. ROGER O'CONNOR.

TRIM ASSIZES, WEDNESDAY, MARCH 13.

This day *Roger O'Connor*, and *Rodrick O'Connor*, Esqrs. and *Peter Hayes*, were given in charge for assaulting Henry Ogle.

Mr. JEBB stated the case, and called the prosecutor, who proved that he had been violently assaulted and beaten by the two O'Connors, father and son, on two distinct days, at Dangen Castle, the residence of the elder O'Connor. The witness had gone to the house of the latter to demand a receipt in full for half a year's rent for which Roger O'Connor, his Landlord, had seized and sold Ogle's chattels.

Cross-examined by Mr. O'Connor.

Q. Do you know two men of the name of Martin M'Keon and James Crosbie? A. I do.

Q. Look on the Bench at my Lord Norbury, Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas; is he a sworn friend of your's? A. I never spoke to the Gentleman in my life.

Q. Is he a sworn enemy of mine? A. I do not know.

Q. Did you ever say, if my rent was to be decided before Lord Norbury and a Trim Jury, they would make right wrong, and wrong right? A. I never said any such thing.

Lord NORBURY.—If any person was to say such a thing, I would feel it my duty to apply to His Majesty's Attorney-General to file a criminal information.

Mr. *O'Connor*.—I will prove it to your Lordship this day upon oath.

The witness was then examined by Mr. O'Connor as to a variety of dealings relative to the rent of the premises.

Lord NORBURY.—I have every wish to give every possible and reasonable degree of latitude in the cross-examination; but, Mr. O'Connor, I request you to recollect there are a number of poor wretches in the dock, waiting to take trial for their lives.

Mr. *O'Connor*.—I do not know how, or why, I am so hemmed in. Is there a man in the country but myself, that would have been sent to the Assizes to stand his trial for a common assault—to be dragged into this Court, instead of being sent to the Sessions, for the purpose of making me more particular than any other man—I, who hardly ever stir abroad, except when I go to Dublin or England with my family—who am unacquainted with the gentlemen of the country—who never was in one of their houses for seven years—whose only acquaintance, and that but a slight one, in the country is Mr. Winter? Why should I be treated in a manner totally different from any other man?

Lord NORBURY.—I only wish to assist you in your mode of proceeding and to save as much of the public time as we can.

DEFENCE.

Nicholas Kenney, Owen Tracy, and Dorah Crosbie, swore positively that the prosecutor was the first aggressor.

Martin M'Keon examined by Mr. O'Connor.

Was one of the persons left as keeper on the prosecutor's property, and had a conversation with him.

Q. Had you any conversation with him relative to the Learned and Noble Lord on the bench?

Lord NORBURY.—Sir, I caution you not to commit a studied contempt of this Court. I have as much temper and forbearance as any man that has the honour of presiding in a similar situation. As to myself, I am totally indifferent to what was said, but I never will suffer any man under colour of a defence to be guilty of a studied contempt, because it cannot be relevant to the issue; and as to the gossiping of a parcel of illiterate fellows, it can be of no use to you; and I will not set a precedent for insulting the coming judges of assize.

Mr. *O'Connor*.—My Lord, I do think it very relevant; and if it should be a contempt, I do it in ignorance. Perhaps I may put the question this way:—Did you hear any thing from the prosecutor respecting the trial? A. This is the great man that you thought so much about, and that the people thought so much about; and that they thought to crown king of this place. And, if he was governor or king of Tara, you would be worse off than you are—but, if it was left to a jury of Trim and Lord Norbury, little of it he would ever put into his pocket;—you know little about it, for

they would make right wrong, and wrong right.

Lord NORBURY.—Q. Who was present? A. James Crosbie.

James Crosbie examined by Mr. O'Connor.

Is the second keeper that was on the prosecutor's property. The prosecutor said, is not this a terrible thing, that he should be such a tyrant; but I will let him know I have a friend—my Lord Norbury is a friend of mine, is an intimate friend of mine, and a sworn enemy to Mr. O'Connor; and if it is left to the decision of my Lord Norbury, and a Jury of Trim, by the *maculate farmer*, he would never get his rent, for they would make wrong right, and right wrong.

Mr. M'NALLY to the prosecutor.—Q. Is that true? A. It is as false as any thing as ever was said.

Q. You have heard what he has said respecting the Noble Lord on the Bench: does he swear false? A. I say it is a most infamous lie.

Here the case closed —Lord NORBURY summed up the evidence.

The Jury retired for about an hour, and then brought in the following verdict:—*R. O'Connor*, Esq. guilty—*Roderick O'Connor*, Esq. not guilty—*Peter Hayes*, guilty.

Mr. *O'Connor* begged leave to address the Court. He said the verdict just given reminded him of a verdict given against him on a former occasion, in a civil action, tried in the same Court-house, before his Lordship, in which the verdict was not only against the evidence, but against the charge of the Noble and Learned Lord. The verdict of this day was a proof of the testimony which charged Mr. Ogle with having said that he could not have justice from a Trim Jury; and he now felt that justice was not to be had for him in the county of Meath.

Lord NORBURY said, he would not listen to such a charge against the Jury; they had always shewn themselves the protectors of the peace and liberty of the subject, and had executed their duty this day with a conscientious adherence to the evidence given, and with a merciful attention to the case of the younger O'Connor, whom they had acquitted, and in doing which they had done right; as to any imputation on his Lordship himself, that was below his resentment. Though not of the old Nobility of the country, he was as proud as any Lord that had a title, and he could not condescend to vindicate his conduct from malignant and unfounded imputations.

Mr. *O'Connor* said, he alluded to his Lordship's conduct heretofore in the House of Commons, when Attorney General: to that conduct he imputed the partial treatment he had received: it had poisoned the opinion of the people against him; it had affected him in his character and in his dearest interests. But, however, he thanked the Noble Lord for the patience with which he had attended to the trial, and permitted him to expend so much time.

Lord NORBURY replied, that when the history of the year 1798 came fairly to be stated to posterity, he had no doubt but the Attorney-General of that day would appear as deserving the thanks of the country.

Mr. *O'Connor*.—Then, my Lord, for your satisfaction, I tell you I am writing that history.

Lord NORBURY said, that what he had said did not relate to Mr. O'Connor, but to his family, which had been troublesome, and disturbers of the peace.

Mr. *O'Connor*.—Your Lordship alludes, I presume, to my brother, now absent in France, with whom Government capitulated, and permitted to go abroad.

Lord NORBURY.—I will hold no farther conversation with you, Mr. O'Connor: let the gentleman be taken into custody; we will consider of the sentence.

Mr. M'NALLY informed the Court, it was the intention of the prosecutor to bring an action, and said, he gave this intimation for the purpose of mitigating the sentence: and that Mr. O'Connor should have nothing to complain of he would advise his client to lay the *venue* in a different county.

Mr. *O'Connor* was sentenced to be confined one month, and Mr. *Hayes* one fortnight.

CORN AGAINST SUGAR.

Resolutions and Petition of the Corn Growers of the County of Fife, at Cupar, the 29th March, 1811.

In a Meeting of the Noblemen and Gentlemen, Heritors of the County of Fife, held here this Day, in consequence of Advertisements in the Edinburgh Newspapers, to consider of the expediency of petitioning Parliament against the additional Duty, proposed to be laid on Spirits made from the Grain,

General Wemyss in the Chair,

The Meeting being constituted, General Wemyss laid before them a letter from several Heritors of the County, addressed to Mr. Wedderburn, Convener, requesting him to call this Meeting, together with the Edinburgh Newspapers, containing the Advertisement summoning the Heritors to meet this day and place. There was likewise laid before the Meeting, a letter from the Convener of the County of Aberdeen, referred to in the above advertisement, with the Petition thereto annexed, which was read in the Meeting.—The Meeting having fully deliberated upon the subject which they were called to consider,

Resolved—That this Meeting is apprehensive, from information communicated to them, that the Bill lately brought into Parliament for increasing the Duties on Spirits distilled in Great Britain, if passed into a law, will operate as a prohibition against the use of Grain in the Distilleries.

Resolved—That this Meeting therefore agree to petition both Houses of Parliament, to be heard by Counsel against the Bill being passed into a law, and direct Petitions to be made out and signed by the Heritors present, in the following terms.

"Unto the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled—The humble Petition of the Noblemen, Gentlemen, Heritors of the county of Fife, at their General Meeting, assembled at Cupar this 29th of March 1811; sheweth, That your Petitioners have observed with concern that a Bill has lately been brought into Parliament for laying additional Duties on Spirits distilled from Grain, which the Petitioners are apprehensive will operate as a prohibition against the distillation of spirits from that commodity; and on that account, they beg leave respectfully to represent the bad consequences of such a measure to the interests of the County.

"It has hitherto been almost universally admitted, that any permanent prohibition of this nature would be productive of dangerous consequences to the landed interests of the country; and accordingly it is expressly stated by the Committee of the Honourable House, which recommended the use of sugar in the distilleries as a temporary precaution in existing circumstances, that the permanent adoption of the measure would be attended with great evils to the agriculture of the country, that they felt it incumbent on them to state, that nothing in the evidence before them could induce a recommendation to that effect; and that they conceived that the frequent repetition would be still more hurtful.

"Your petitioners, therefore, sensible of the bad effects which have already resulted from the temporary prohibitions that have taken place, entertain well grounded alarms, that any permanent prohibition, would prove most prejudicial to the agricultural interests of the country, and, of course, to the public in general. Grain in this country is at present very abundant, and the farmers are suffering considerably from its present depressed price—from the want of demand for it—from cattle having fallen rapidly in value, and from the taxes which the present situation of the country renders unavoidable.

"Your Petitioners on these and other grounds to be stated to the Honourable House, therefore most humbly pray the Honourable House to allow them to be heard by Counsel against the passing of the foresaid Bill, or to grant such relief to your petitioners, as to the Honourable House in its wisdom may seem proper.

"And your Petitioners shall, &c."

Resolved—That the Petitions be transmitted to the earl of Morton, and Sir John Anstruther, of Anstruther, bart. M. P. accompanied by letters from the Preses of this Meeting, requesting them to present the petitions to the House of Peers, and House of Commons respectively.

Resolved—That Copies of this minute be transmitted to the Members of both Houses of Parliament connected with the County of Fife.

That the Minutes of this Meeting be published in the Edinburgh and London Newspapers, and that the Clerk be instructed to transmit Copies of the Minutes to the Conveners of all the other Counties of Scotland.—Signed in Name, and by appointment of the Meeting, by

W. Wemyss, P.

General Wemyss having left the Chair, the thanks of the Meeting were unanimously voted to him for his conduct as Preses of the Meeting.

CORN AGAINST SUGAR.

England.—*Protest of the Landholders against the Distillery Bill.—The* Duke *of* Bedford *in the Chair.*

At a Meeting of Noblemen and Gen-

tlemen, held at the St. Alban's Tavern, St. Alban's-street, London, on Tuesday, 9th April, 1811.

His Grace the Duke of BEDFORD, in the Chair.

The following Resolutions were unanimously agreed to:

1st, Resolved, That under the protecting influence of the laws, framed at the end of the seventeenth century, for the encouragement of Agriculture, the cultivation of our soil provided an abundant supply for consumption, and produced a large surplus for exportation.

2d, Resolved, That the duty of sixteen shillings then imposed on the importation of Barley, when the price of that article did not exceed thirty-two shillings per quarter, gave to the Farmer a decided preference in the Home Market till the value of Barley exceeded that sum.

3d, Resolved, That in consequence of the depreciation of money, 32*s.* at the time this protecting duty was imposed, appears from Sir George Shuckburgh's Tables, to have been equal to 85*s.* in the year 1800; and that, in consequence of the progressive depreciation, it must now be equal to a larger sum.

4th, Resolved, That the policy of the present Corn Laws, which admits the foreign importer into competition with the British Corn Grower, when Barley (on the cultivation of which the abundance of all other Grain mainly depends) is at 33*s.* per quarter, does not therefore appear to us to merit that applause, which has been so studiously bestowed upon it; for, by these laws, the effectual encouragement formerly given to Agriculture has been reduced, and the Country has since become dependent on importation for its sustenance.

5th, Resolved, That it appears from the Report of the Committee of the House of Commons appointed in the year 1808, "To inquire and report how far and under what circumstances it may be practicable and expedient to confine the Distilleries of the United Kingdom to the use of Sugar and Molasses only; and also what other provisions can be made for the relief of the Growers of Sugar in the British West India Colonies," that the suspension of the Grain Distillery was recommended under the circumstance of the stoppage of all foreign importation, as a means of temporary relief to the immediate distress of the Colonies; and that a permanent or frequent interference with this source of encouragement to the Agriculture of the Country, was deprecated in the strongest terms.

6th, Resolved, That on the principle of giving aid to the West India Colonies in the year 1808, the use of Grain in the Distilleries was prohibited when the price of Barley was nearly the same as when Parliament in the year 1802, acting solely with reference to the encouragement of Agriculture and the due supply of the Country, removed the prohibition of Distilling from Grain.

7th, Resolved, That it is therefore incorrect to affirm, that the use of Sugar was never admitted in the Distilleries to the prejudice of the Agricultural Interest of Great Britain, from the consideration of the situation of the West Indian Colonist.

8th, Resolved, That in the Bill now before Parliament the equivalent Duty is so settled, as by a Bounty on Sugar to prevent the Manufacture of Corn Spirits from entering into competition on fair terms with the Manufacture of Sugar Spirits, unless the Price of Barley is five shillings and nine pence per quarter lower than the Price of one hundred weight of Sugar, exclusive of the duty.

9th Resolved, That this calculation makes no allowance for the additional expence of manufacturing Spirit from Grain beyond the expence of manufacturing Spirit from Sugar, which at the rate of one penny per gallon would prevent the manufacturer of Corn Spirit from meeting the Manufacturer of Sugar Spirit on fair terms in the Market, unless the quarter of Barley was seven shillings and three pence lower than the price of one hundred weight of Sugar: and if at the rate of two pence, would exclude him from the Market, unless the quarter of Barley was eight shillings and nine pence cheaper than one hundred-weight of Sugar; yet it is generally admitted that the difference in the expence of manufacturing Corn and Sugar Spirit (exclusive of the advantage derived from the Grain) exceeds that sum.

10th, Resolved, That adopting the calculations on which the Bill proceeds as correct, though we deem them to be far otherwise, and assuming the Duties to be so settled that Sugar Spirits, while Sugar is at forty-three shillings and nine-pence per hundred weight, can enter into competition with Corn Spirit whilst Barley is at thirty-eight shillings per quarter: it follows that if

Sugar is reduced to forty-two shillings and nine-pence per cwt. Corn Spirit cannot enter into competition unless Barley is at thirty-seven shillings per quarter, and that the following Table will shew the highest prices at which, if Sugar should fall in value, Barley can be used in the Distilleries:—

Per Cwt.		Per Quarter.
41s. 9d.	Barley is excluded if above	36s.
40s. 9d.	Ditto	35s.
39s. 9d... ...	Ditto	
38s. 9d..	Ditto	33s
37s. 9d	Ditto	
36s. 9d.	Ditto.	31s.
35s. 9d.	Ditto.	30s.
34s. 9d....	Ditto	
33s. 9d.	Ditto	
32s. 9d....... ..	Ditto	
31s. 9d	Ditto.	

11th, Resolved, That the grievance occasioned by this measure appears to us therefore to be misunderstood, when it is represented as fixing thirty-eight shillings, or any other certain sum as the maximum at which Barley can be used for Distillation.

The real grievances of which those concerned in British Agriculture have to complain are—That by an unprecedent refinement in the vicious policy of Legislative Restrictions, the price at which Grain can be used for this purpose is made to depend upon the value of another article;—That if in consequence of an abundant crop, the market price of Sugar should be as low as in 1807-8, Barley would be excluded from the Distillery, unless its value was reduced under twenty-eight shillings per quarter, a price at which it cannot be grown without a great loss;—And that it is thus rendered impossible for the farmer to compute the fair rent he can give for Land, without entering into an investigation of the probable price of Sugar during the currency of his Lease.

12th, Resolved, That it is therefore either a misconception, or a wilful misstatement of this measure, to affirm, that "the West India Colonist, so far from being in effect admitted to an equal competition for the Distillery with British Corn, is not even admitted upon terms as favourable as the foreign importer. The foreign importer is admitted into general competition with the British Corn Growers when Barley is at 33s. per quarter, while 33s. per quarter is the price now proposed to be fixed for the admission of Sugar into competition with British and Foreign Corn conjointly, on what is assumed to be an equal footing."

13th, Resolved, That it appears necessary to give the Public this explanation of the Bill now under the consideration of Parliament, because if the statement was founded, or the reasoning just, which has been relied upon by the West India Planters and Merchants, it must follow, that if under a system of equivalent Duties, calculated on Sugar being at 43s. 9d. per cwt. and Barley at 38s. per quarter, a proposal was made to admit Sugar to a competition in the Home Brewery, it would be in the estimation of that Meeting no hardship to the British Farmers, whilst foreign Barley was permitted by Law to be imported at 33s. per quarter.

For it seems impossible to deny, that the same reasoning they have used to vindicate the admission of Sugar, under these circumstances, to a competition in the Distillery, must also authorise the inference, that the measure of admitting it to a competition in the Brewery, would in like manner "only afford support to the British Colonies, far short of what they feel themselves equitably entitled to"—"at the expence of our enemies"—without discouraging the agriculture of this Country." BEDFORD.

Resolved, That the Thanks of this Meeting be given to his Grace the Duke of Bedford for his great attention to the business of the day.

OFFICIAL PAPER.

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.—*French Official Intelligence from the Armies, published at Paris, 31st March, 1811.*—BATTLE OF THE GEBORA—*concluded from p. 893.*

.... Dispositions however were made to attack him in this position, but they were necessarily suspended until the waters of the Gebora and Guadiana, which had overflown the fields, should retire, and our means of passing secured. Captains Royal, of the Marine engineers, and Gillet, of the pontoniers, laboured so hard, that on the 18th we were able to send infantry and cannon across the river. On the following night the troops destined by the Duke of Treviso for that purpose were sent over. General Latour Maubourg placed his cavalry of reserve in line; and on the same day a new mortar battery, which was established on the left of the attack of the centre, obliged the enemy to shift their camp, and to place themselves out of the protection of the

Fort San Christoval.—On the 19th, before day, General Latour Maubourg forded the Gebora with his cavalry above the bridge, which had been destroyed by the enemy two days before. He moved forward, rapidly, by the road from Badajos to Campo Mayor, where he commenced an attack on the left of the enemy's line. The 2d hussars even penetrated into their camp for a short time. During this attack, the infantry and artillery, under the orders of General Guard, passed the fords to the right and left of the bridge, notwithstanding the rapidity of the current, and that they were up to the middle in water. As soon as the columns were formed, the Duke of Treviso ordered General Girard to march against the right of the enemy, and to manœuvre as if he intended to gain the height and place himself between the enemy and Fort Christoval. The right having been forced, General Girard was to alter his movement from the right, and fall upon the main body of the enemy, while General Latour Maubourg, with his cavalry, should attack him on the left flank and break his line. This double movement was executed with all the perfection that might be expected in the field of Mars from the most experienced troops, notwithstanding the brisk fire kept up by the enemy. The 34th and 88th regiments, forming the brigade of General Philippon, were in the first line, having one battalion deployed and two others in column. The 100th followed in reserve at half distance from the line. The 2nd company of the 3d regiment of artillery advanced on a line with the infantry, with two batteries. The fire of our troops commenced at 100 paces, and was kept up without at all interrupting the movement. A part, however, had their bayonets crossed, until all the masses of the enemy were penetrated and put to the rout. The cavalry, which followed close behind the foot, then made several charges, which were all crowned with the most complete success. At ten o'clock in the morning, the two Spanish divisions, which twelve days before arrived from Lisbon, existed no longer; 850 of them were killed. Six stands of colours, 17 pieces of cannon, 20 ammunition carts, and 5200 prisoners remained in the hands of the Imperial army. The few who escaped threw themselves tumultuously into Elvas and Badajos. Mendizabal and Lacarrera, who were in the last square, ignobly sheltered themselves in the first of these fortresses. 1200 Portuguese and Spanish cavalry who were in the battle, abandoned the infantry. —Among the prisoners there are 350 officers, in which are included, Lieutenant-General Viruez, four Brigadier-Generals, and 15 Colonels or Lieutenant-Colonels, as well as several officers of Mendizabal's staff. It is asserted, that General Garcia has been discovered among the dead, besides two brigadiers and several officers of rank.—[Here follows a list of the officers who principally distinguished themselves.] - Our loss in this battle consists only of 140 wounded; the number of killed amounts only to 30; most of the wounded will be soon able to join their regiments.

Extract from a Second Dispatch from Marshal the Duke of Dalmatia to the Prince of Neufchatel, dated Badajos, March 12.

Monseigneur,—I have the honour to inform your Serene Highness that the city of Badajos has submitted to the arms of his Majesty the Emperor and King. On the evening of the 10th the breach was rendered practicable, and the necessary dispositions for carrying it by assault having been made, the Duke of Treviso summoned the Governor, who, after many difficulties, at last listened to reason, and thus avoided a fresh effusion of human blood. In the course of the night the capitulation which I have the honour to transmit to your Excellency was signed, and on the 11th the troops of his Majesty entered Badajos. The garrison marched out with military honours, grounded their arms on the glacis, and were marched as prisoners of war to France. I have the honour to send to your Excellency a list of the general and superior officers, and a numerical account of the subalterns and soldiers who have set out. Their number amounts to 7155, of whom 512 are officers, including a Lieutenant-General, two Field Marshals, four Brigadiers, 15 Colonels, and 24 Lieutenant-Colonels, or Majors. Exclusive of these, there are in the town 1100 sick and wounded, and I have sent home 220 married people or children, who in the last six months have been torn from their families, and compelled to serve. We also picked up in the town 300 soldiers who had hid themselves. Thus the whole of the prisoners taken at Badajos amounts to 9000 at least.—We found in the fortress 170 pieces of cannon, mortars, and howitzers of various calibres: 80,000 pounds of powder, 300,000 cartridges, and a

great deal of projectiles, besides two bridge appasatuses in excellent condition. In the course of the siege the garrison expended two hundred and thirty thousand pounds of powder, and two millions of cartridges. The soldiers picked up 8000 twenty-four pound shot, and upwards of 600 shells, which were fired back into the fortress. There was no want of provisions. The enemy intended to convert Badajos into another Saragossa. The greater part of the bastions and outlets of the streets had entrenchments thrown up. But it appears, even from the avowal of their leaders, that, being in ignorance as to the real point of attack, until the moment that the breaching battery was established, they were incapable of resistance when the breach was rendered practicable. Notwithstanding, the English General, Lord Wellington, did not cease to desire him from Lisbon, to hold out, and that he would send him succours. It would appear from several letters which were intercepted, that such was his intention. Without doubt the English General believed that he had fulfilled his engagements, in getting rid of the two Spanish divisions which had joined his army, and particularly when he learned that these divisions had been completely destroyed at the battle of Gebora.—A circumstance took place which possibly contributed to protract the siege for some days. When the enemy made their last sortie to prevent the covert-way from being crowned, General Menacho, the Governor, was killed. General Imas, his successor, wished to give some proofs of his talents, and thereby occasioned a longer resistance.—I have the honour to transmit to your Highness a copy of 'The Journal of the Siege.' It contains an account of our loss and expenditure during the operations. I also send a copy of the Order of the Day which on this occasion I addressed to the army.—Adjutant Commandant Avy will have the honour of delivering you my dispatches, and 25 stands of colours, taken from the enemies of the Emperor at Olivenza, at the battle of Gebora, and at Badajos, to be laid at his Majesty's feet. I intreat your Highness to present these honourable trophies.—The surrender of the troops which defended Badajos completes the destruction of the late army of Romana, which, two months ago, was 20,000 strong. Of these 17,500 have been made prisoners of war, and sent to France; the remainder have been killed or dispersed. There are also a great many wounded in the hospitals of Campo Mayor and Albuquerque. There only remains the corps of Ballasteros, which is in the county of Niebla, and some wrecks of regiments escaped from the battle of Gebora, which Mendizabal in vain endeavours to re-assemble in Portugal. These important results, obtained in a short space of time, will produce a great effect in the southern provinces of Spain and Portugal.—I must remark to your Highness, that among the prisoners at Badajos there are a great number who have been taken several times before—men, officers, and Generals; General Garcia is one of them; he was taken at Ferrol, where he took the oath of fidelity.—[Here follows an account of the officers who have particularly distinguished themselves.]—I have the honour to be," &c.

The following are the principal articles of the Capitulation of Badajos:

"The garrison will march out with the honours of war, drums beating, lighted matches, and two field-pieces at the head of the column.—Their Excellencies the General in Chief, the Duke of Dalmatia and Marshal the Duke of Treviso, being desirous on this occasion to give the garrison a proof of their esteem, in consideration of their gallant defence, agree that they shall march out by the breach. The troops will lay down their arms on the glacis, as they march out, leave their two pieces of cannon there, and be sent as prisoners of war to France.—It is agreed, although from the notoriety of the tolerant principles possessed by the French no stipulation is necessary to this effect, that the inhabitants of Badajos shall not be called to account for their political opinions. Their religion, being the same with that of the French, will be protected, instead of being restrained. They shall not, no more than the other inhabitants of Spain, be compelled to take arms against the Spanish troops."

BATTLE OF BARROSA.

French Account, published at Paris, 3 April. 1811.—Extract from the Correspondence of the Army of the South of Spain, of the 16 March.

An army of from 16 to 18,000 men, of which 6 or 7000 were English, landed at Algesiras on the 28th of February. It consisted of 4000 English troops from Cadiz, 3000 from Gibraltar, 6000 Spaniards from Cadiz, and about 4000 collected

from different parts of the coast. The Spaniards who sailed from Cadiz were embarked in the bay on the 21st of February, but they were not able to put to sea until the 26th. On the 28th they formed a junction at Algesiras with the other troops. On the 2d of March this corps advanced to Cassas Viajas.—The plan of the enemy was to raise the siege of Cadiz, and to take all the French lines in the rear, while an attack was to be made, on the works before Cadiz by the garrison of that place. At the same time the ships of war and gun-boats were to threaten debarkations on every point. Ballasteros was to march upon Seville, and an insurrection was to break out in the mountains of Ronda, which town was also to be attacked. This vast project has, however, been totally defeated.—After having issued orders respecting his line, the Duke of Belluno formed a reserve at Chiclana, composed of the first brigade of the division of Ruffin, and of the second brigade of Leval's division, and reinforced the garrison of Medina Sidonia.—The Spanish scouts appeared on the 4th of March, in the direction of Chiclana. On the 5th the enemy's army advanced to take possession of that town, which they knew contained the depots, magazines, and head-quarters of the French army.—The Duke of Belluno marched towards them with two brigades, three squadrons of cavalry, two batteries of artillery, and about 6,000 men. All who shewed themselves were driven back. The enemy was forced back upon the sea, and his plan was thereby already rendered impracticable.—The Duke of Belluno, in prosecuting his success, arrived close upon the sea shore, whence he perceived that the important position of Barrosa was occupied by an English brigade, forming the rear-guard of the allied army. He ordered General Ruffin to take possession of that height, which was carried at the *pas du charge,* and several pieces of cannon and some prisoners were taken. He then advanced upon the enemy's flank, towards the sea, at the same time that a brigade of Villatte's division, which had taken possession of the *tete de pont* of St. Petre, proceeded against the head of the column. These three brigades of the French army had thus almost envelloped the enemy.—Meanwhile the enemy, sensible of the difficulties of his position, determined to return, and presented four lines, which appeared to consist of 4000 men each.—As soon as the Duke of Belluno saw that the enemy's force was so considerable, and that the English formed a great part of it, he ordered General Villatte's brigade to leave the passages to the Isle of Leon open, and to advance towards his right, and he also directed General Ruffin to evacuate the height, and to close upon his left, being no longer in expectation of surrounding the enemy, but confining his object to the establishment of a line parallel to the sea, and including within it a Spanish division, which had been cut off by a detachment of 1500 men of the main body of the corps d'armée. General Ruffin was already engaged with this division. He repulsed, with great vigour, two attacks of the enemy, in which they were always two to one. Being severely wounded, he remained on the height with about 100 soldiers, who were also wounded, and his brigade joined the Duke of Belluno on his left. Successive attacks took place on the centre but every time the enemy presented themselves they were repulsed. Constantly disappointed in the plan of advancing to Chiclana, confined towards the sea, and convinced that all their efforts had proved abortive, and the field of battle being strewed with their dead, they considered themselves fortunate to have the opportunity of profiting of the movement which had been made by General Villatte, and of throwing themselves into the Isle of Leon, which they did without any consideration for one of the Spanish divisions, which was thus separated from Cadiz, but which, having wandered about all the following day, succeeded in entering the Isle of Leon during the night, as the blockade was not re-established on that point until the 7th.—Thus between 5 and 6,000 Imperial troops disappointed the execution of a plan long meditated by an enemy, drove them up against the sea, and compelled them to return to Cadiz, whence the greater part of their force had sailed only a week before. The Duke of Belluno took three standards, four field-pieces, and made 720 prisoners.—The action was extremely obstinate. The French charged several times with the bayonet. We had 1,300 men killed, wounded, or made prisoners. Among the latter were 150 men, all wounded, who were taken on the height defended by General Ruffin, and about 30 sharp shooters, who were the only French made prisoners without being wounded. The first battalion of

the 8th regiment was charged in a wood of olives, in which it was placed as a corps of sharp shooters. The eagle bearer being killed, his eagle could not be found. This regiment having been employed as sharp shooters by the General's order, it ought not to be blamed for the loss of the eagle. —General Ruffin is among the prisoners, and his wound is severe. It is believed, however, that it will have no dangerous consequences. This General evinced the greatest intrepidity, and his misfortune was entirely owing to his being wounded. —The General of Brigade, Chaudron Rosseau, and Colonel Autier, are killed. These officers were distinguished for their bravery, and have fallen gloriously.— The number of the enemy counted dead on the field of battle is 900, including 300 English, and we are assured that a great number were carried off. The enemy's loss cannot be estimated at less than 4,000 men, that is to say, the triple of ours. One half of this loss, at least, was sustained by the English troops.—On the 6th the English vessels made an attack along the whole of our line. They effected several debarkations, and were every where repulsed at the point of the bayonet. In these different affairs we made about 50 prisoners. Four gun-boats were sunk. Several pinnaces, which were to serve for the re-embarkation, came on shore, without any person on board, the whole of their crews having been lost. It is to be regretted that the Duke of Dalmatia, when he set off for Estremadura, did not leave the whole of Andalusia and the kingdom of Grenada under the orders of the Duke of Belluno. The 4th corps was thus left independent, also the corps of Generals Godinot and Darrican, and the Duke of Belluno had only the troops employed in the siege at his disposal, to guard his immense line, to repulse the real or false attacks made at all points, and to oppose the army in front of him; so that whilst the enemy had united all his means, the 4th corps, and the corps of observation under General Godinot, that is to say, more than 25,000 men, were of no use in this important affair.—The 4th corps supposed that the debarkation at Algesiras menaced their right, at the same time that the Murcian insurgents were attacking its left. General Sebastiani only learnt, when too late, that the troops that had disembarked were marching against the left of the blockading army. If one of his divisions had acted upon the rear of the enemy's corps, and if the Duke of Belluno had only to oppose its entrance into the Isle of Leon, the whole of this corps would have laid down their arms. The Commandant of Ronda has repulsed and dispersed the insurgents in the mountains. As soon as General Sebastiani was informed of the march of the enemy's corps against the first corps, he detached a division towards Cadiz. General Godinot also detached nine battalions; but these reinforcements which might have been useful, arrived too late. The enemy, after their defeat, placed themselves in a state of security within the walls of Cadiz. We are assured that this affair is a source of discussion and dissatisfaction between the English and Spaniards.

ANHOLT.—*Letter from J. W. Maurice, commanding a Detachment of Marines at Anholt, to Sir James Saumarez, giving an Account of the Repulse of the Danes from that Island.—March 27, 1811.*

Sir;—I reported to you in my letter of the 10th ultimo my having received information of an intended attack on this Island by the Danes. On the 8th instant I received corroboration of this intelligence; but as every exertion had been made to complete the works as well as our materials would allow, and as piquets were nightly stationed from one extreme of the Island to the other, in order to prevent surprise, I waited with confidence the meditated attack.—Yesterday his Majesty's ship Tartar anchored on the north side of the Island. The enemy's flotilla and army, consisting in all of nearly four thousand men, have this day, after a close combat of four hours and a half, received a most complete and decisive defeat, and are fled back to their ports, with the loss of three pieces of cannon and upwards of five hundred prisoners; a number greater by one hundred and fifty men than the garrison I command.—I am now to detail the proceedings of the day. In the morning, just before dawn, the out-piquets on the south-side of the Island made the signal for the enemy being in sight. The garrison was immediately put under arms, and I lost not a moment in proceeding with the brigade of howitzers, and two hundred infantry, accompanied by Captain Torrens (who had hitherto acted as Major-Commandant to the Battalion), in order to oppose their landing. On ascending an elevation, for the purpose of

reconnoitring, I discovered the landing had already been effected, under the cover of darkness and a fog, and that the enemy were advancing rapidly and in great numbers.—On both wings the enemy now far outflanked us, and I saw that if we continued to advance, they would get between us and our works; I instantly ordered a retreat, which was effected in good order, and without loss, although the enemy were within pistol-shot of our rear, and seemed determined to enter our batteries by storm; but Fort Yorke and Massareene batteries opened such a well-directed fire of grape and musketry, that the assailants were obliged to fall back and shelter themselves under the sand-hills. As the day lightened, we perceived that the enemy's flotilla, consisting of 18 gun-boats, had taken up a position on the south-side of the Island at point-blank shot. I ordered the signal to be made to the Tartar and Sheldrake that the enemy had landed, upon which these vessels immediately weighed, and under a heavy press of sail used every endeavour to beat up the south-side, but the extent of shoals threw them out so many miles, that it was some hours before their intention could be accomplished. The gun-boats now opened a very heavy fire on our works, while a column of about six hundred men crossed the island to the westward, and took up a position on the northern shore, covered by hillocks of sand, by breaks and inequality of ground. Another column made many attempts to carry the Massareene battery by storm, but were as often repulsed, and compelled to cover themselves under hillocks of sand, which on this island are thrown up by every gale.—The column on the south-side had now succeeded in bringing up a field piece against us, and Captain Holtoway, who had commanded at the advanced post, joined us by water. I had been under great apprehensions that this officer had fallen into the hands of the enemy; but finding after several gallant attempts, that he was cut off from reaching head-quarters by land, he, with the coolest judgment, launched a boat, and landed his party under Fort Yorke amidst the acclamations of the garrison. Immediately afterwards Lieutenant H. L. Baker, who, with Lieutenant Turnbull, of the Royal Marines, and some brave volunteers, had in the Anholt schooner, gone on the daring enterprize of destroying the enemy's flotilla in his ports, bore down along the north-side of the island. Things were in this position when the column on the northern shore, which, divided by the sand-hills, had approached within fifty paces of our lines, made another desperate effort to carry the Massareene battery by storm; the column to the south-east also pushed on, and the reserve appeared on the hills ready to support them: but while the Commanding Officer was leading on his men with great gallantry, a musket-ball put a period to his life. Panic-struck by the loss of their Chief, the enemy again fell back, and sheltered themselves behind the sand-hills. At this critical moment Lieutenant Baker, with great skill and gallantry, anchored his vessel on their flank, and opened a well-directed fire. The sand hills being no longer a protection, and finding it impossible either to advance or retreat, the assailants hung out a flag of truce, and offered to surrender upon terms; but I would listen to nothing but an unconditional surrender, which, after some deliberation was complied with.—In the mean time the gun-boats on the south side, which had been much galled by the fire of Fort York and Massareene Battery, got under weigh, and stood to the westward, and the column of the enemy which had advanced on the south-side, finding their retreat no longer covered by the flotilla, also hung out a flag of truce, and I sent out an officer to meet it. I was asked to surrender; the reply that I returned, it is unnecessary to mention. The enemy finding my determination sought permission to embark without molestation; but I would listen to nothing but an unconditional submission; and I have the pleasure to inform you, that this corps also laid down their arms, and surrendered themselves prisoners of war.—The prisoners, which were now more numerous than my small garrison, were no sooner secured, than operations were commenced against the reserve, which had been seen retreating to the westward of the island.

(To be continued.)

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"The best security against a total want of circulating medium, in the time of our utmost need" "will be found in the necessity, which persons in the middling classes of life already feel, of providing "before hand for such an occasion."——Lord Grenville's Speech, in the House of Lords, 13th Dec. 1803.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

Jubilee Dollars.——The observations, in my last Number, upon the manifest advantages of *hoarding*, have called forth the wrath of one or two of the venal tribe of writers, who ascribe those observations to a wish on my part "to *destroy public credit*, and to cause *confusion* and *uproar*." I wonder that these venal personages had not added, that my ultimate design was to take advantage of the said confusion and uproar, in order to get out of prison, and to free myself of the fines and recognizances, to which I am subjected. There wanted only this to make the charge complete.——Poor fools! How they *fret* themselves! How they discover their alarm! How they betray their dread of me, even in this situation! The world will easily judge how bad their cause must be, when every line of mine appals them thus. Why do they not *laugh* at me? I am a fool, they say; a writer whom all the nation despises; a person whose word passes for nothing. Why, then, do they not *laugh*, laugh heartily at me? And, on the other hand, if they have been expressing all this contempt in jest; if they do really think me able to do injury to *public credit*, why do they not endeavour to dissuade me from my purpose by good words? Their *railing* at me will not make any man disbelieve my facts, or be unconvinced by my arguments. Their curses, which are always sweet to my ears, will not *lower the price of the Dollar*; no, nor will they prevent it from *rising*. It will continue to rise, in spite of all they can say or do. They have succeeded in their endeavours to keep down the Jacobins and Levellers; their lies and their [illegible] have served their purpose thus far; and all that they have now to do is to lie down the Dollar. Oh! this Dollar! [illegible] Dollar is the thing! This Dollar, which, by the order of the Privy Council, passes for 6d. *more than is written upon it*. It is called "Bank Token for *five* shillings." And that same Bank now tells the same people, amongst whom it was issued at 5s. that it is *worth more* than the said five shillings.——But, to return to the subject of *hoarding*, I would ask these venal men *why* they look upon me as desiring to destroy *public credit* and to cause *confusion* and *uproar*; why they think that my wish to produce this effect is indicated in my observations on the *advantages of hoarding*.——Are we to look upon *public credit* as dependant upon people's abstaining from hoarding? Will their hoarding up the real money destroy *public credit*? If it will, public credit is, I am satisfied, in a very bad way.——But as to "*confusion* and *uproar*," can the hoarding of money produce any such effects? On the contrary, it appears to me, that the hoarding of money is a very *quiet* operation, and tends as little to produce quarrels and strife as any thing can. When a man has got his money in a hoard, he is very apt to be as still as a mouse. He will take good care not to *boast* of it; he will have no desire to challenge any one to a comparison of hoards; and, in short, it seems to me, that nothing is more likely to produce peace and quietness than hoarding. ——In my last number, I proved the great advantage of hoarding, to *individuals*; and I am of opinion, that it will not be less so in a *national* point of view. This is no new opinion of mine. I expressed in the 4th Volume of the Register, pages 795 and 796, upon the memorable occasion, when Mr. Jekyll, having heard that hoarding was going on, *complained* of it, in the House of Commons, described it as a *great evil*, and, in the true spirit of a *lawyer*, proposed to *put a stop* to it, and, of course, to *punish* the parties guilty of it. Mr. Addington, the "great man" of that day, agreed with his brother lawyer as to the *baseness* of the practice of hoarding, and assured him, that the matter had been *under the consideration of the Privy Council*. ——Upon this Lord Grenville made some very good observations, in the speech, part of which I have taken for my motto, and a fuller extract from which I here in-

sert, in order to shew, that the opinion of the usefulness of hoarding is not confined to the Jacobins and Levellers.——"We are told from authority, that there appears in the country an eagerness to collect, or, as it is insidiously called, to hoard cash. In times of scarcity the ignorant are taught to clamour against the farmer and the contractor, who by collecting and preserving grain, afford to a country its only security against famine. By the salutary provision of nature, the measures which individuals take in such cases for their own security and benefit constitute in their aggregate the security and advantage of the community itself. In the same manner (it might appear paradoxical, but if a paradox, it was one which he held in common with all enlightened writers on this subject) the best security against a total want of circulating medium in the time of our utmost need, would be found in the necessity, which persons in the middling classes of life already feel, of providing beforehand for such an occasion. How indeed, could it be expected, that when a man of that description joins the volunteer ranks, and serves his country in the field, he should leave his family rely entirely, and for their daily bread, on the paper of a private banker, whose counting-house may be at that very moment occupied by the enemy.—The steps taken by such individuals to make provision for this case, must then of necessity produce at this time an increased demand for specie; that demand will in this, as in every other article, produce an increased value; and, unless the nature of things be inverted, the increased value must, in its turn, produce an increased supply. He was therefore beyond measure astonished to hear that in some other place, this conduct in persons of such a description had been spoken of as a fit subject of reproach and censure; and that this opinion had proceeded from a quarter which ought to be of the highest authority in matters of this nature. Such language could have no other tendency in this case (as in that to which he had already likened it) than to raise popular odium, and to excite popular tumult, against men who used their own discretion in disposing of their own property. If it were fit to censure such a disposition, it must be essential to endeavour to prevent it. There were two precedents in history which might be resorted to for this purpose: two cases where, in support of an excessive issue of paper, government had regulated by law the quantity of specie which each individual should be suffered to retain. Those were the Mississippi scheme, and the scheme of the assignats. In both instances the measure had immediately annihilated the paper it was intended to support. He had no fear that the same principle, by whatever authority it had been countenanced, would be acted upon to the same extent in this country; but he must take the liberty to say, that in so far as it was followed up, either in speech or action, exactly in that proportion the public credit was affected and injured by it. The danger of such a shock to private paper, as he had stated, in the case of invasion, was not to be guarded against by such language, which had no other tendency than to increase that danger."——Lord Grenville said this on the 13th of December, 1803. I had said nearly the same thing ten days before. But, at any rate, this was said *by him;* and here is not only a *justification* of the practice of hoarding, but an eulogium on it.——Upon this same occasion LORD LIVERPOOL ascribed the evil of the Bank restriction to the *great prosperity* of the nation; to its wonderful *increase of trade;* its fine *spirit of adventure.* These, he said, gave rise to an *increase of paper.* Well: but, what is the cause of the rise of the Dollar *now?* Trade is not *now* so very flourishing. It has not increased of late. The spirit of adventure is not *now* so very fine.——The truth is, that those who attempt to ascribe the scarcity of coin to any other cause than the over issue of paper; and who attempt to ascribe that over issue to any thing other than the increase of the *national debt* and the *taxes;* all such persons must be involved in everlasting inconsistencies.——Before I quit the subject of hoarding, I must observe, that to hoard the money is the only means of *preventing it from going out of the country.* It will not circulate with the paper in its present state. The Privy Council and the Bank People saw that the Dollar, though already raised to 6*d.* above its old real value, would not condescend to pass any longer with the paper; and, therefore, they raised it to 5*s.* 6*d.* They did this avowedly *because the dollars were going out of circulation.* Very well, then, is it to be

supposed; will the Bank Pe[ople], or even the Privy Council, suppose, that the *guinea* or *half-guinea*, or any other piece of gold or of silver will pass upon a par with that same paper? It is notorious that it does not; and it is evident that the thing cannot be.——Well, then, what is to become of the coin? What is to be done with it? Those who possess it will do one of two things with it: they will sell it for paper, and will, of course, obtain a greater sum in paper than they had in money; or, they will *hoard* it, having patience to look forward to the happy times when there will be nothing but money passing.——If John a' Nokes, for instance, sells a guinea, it may soon find its way into the hands of some one, who will *send it out of the country*; but, if he put it safely into his hoard, it is sure to remain in England, where it will be ready to [illegible] as soon as circumstances are [illegible] allow it *to pass for its value*, [illegible] pen[d] only from one of [illegible] otal annihilation of th[e] [illegible] two prices, [illegible] [illegible] *a step to* [illegible] *Europe*. To [illegible]

[illegible] ——This is one of these notions that are [cre]ated by the reluctance which men have to see the truth; for, if it were not for such reluctance, every one would perceive, that, whether we have any thing from the Continent or not, the gold will not remain here, and will, of course, go there, *unless it be hoarded*. It does not go [illegible] because we *owe* money there. It goes because it cannot pass for its worth here; and, as to a *mode of conveyance*, that will never be difficult to find.——Hoarding, therefore, is, under such circumstances, the only means of reserving any coin [in] the country; and is, therefore, a practice very beneficial in a national point of view.——A correspondent has given me an instance, that occurred during the time of the assignats in France, which will serve to illustrate what was said in my last about the advantage of hoarding to private persons——"One," says he, "who saw farther than his neighbours, got a large "sum by *pawning* Louis d'ors, or French "Guineas. He pawned 1,000, and bor"rowed 900 *in assignats*. With these he "bought more Louis, at a time when "they bore a premium of twenty per "centum. He went on thus, 'till he had "about 3,000 Louis in pawn, where he let "them remain 'till the assignats lost cent. "per cent., and then he *redeemed his Louis* "*for half their value*. Was not this a curi"ous speculation? But, I could fill your "paper with others as curious."——It was a very curious speculation; but, it was no more than what we shall see here, and what, indeed, we do see here now, in some degree. This shows the advantages of hoarding, whenever there is a paper-money that has begun to depreciate, where the depreciation has been produced by no *sudden or alarming* danger. No such cause [illegible] here now. There has been no *external* [illegible] for the depreciation of the paper. [A]ll is internal; and, of course, the pro[gre]ss downwards must continue, until great [illegible] and mischief arise out of it, unl[ess] [illegible] *remedy* be provided; and what remedy I shall leave to be found out by those, who [illegible] [illegible] what all the [illegible] acknowledges is now come to [illegible] [illegible] It will de[illegible] We shall then have [illegible] of *both the parties*. [illegible] to say as to [illegible]. We shall have their opinions and prediction upon record. They have both been, they both are, supporters of the [illegible] *system*. They are both alike pledged to the whole of the *Pitt system*. Let us, then, *hear them out*, and make a memorandum of what each of them says of the *future* fate of the paper money.—When that is done, I will give *my* opinion; *I*, whom the venal writers call the organ of the Jacobins, will tell the world what the Jacobins think of the matter: and, when that is done, we will all stand quietly by, and let *events* decide which of the three have most understanding. The other two parties have all the Doctors of all sorts with them. "Theirs the Gospel is, and

theirs the Laws!" They have all the grave and reverend Seniors. All the gowns and all the wigs. They have both Universities and all these *learned* bodies called Societies and Institutions. We have for us nothing at all but our own plain sense. And, we shall see, therefore, in the event as to the paper money, in what degree they are *our superior*.

American States.——In another part of this Number, will be found a Letter from Mr. Pinckney to Lord Wellesley upon the subject of the Orders in Council. ——It is, I think, impossible to deny, that, through the whole of this letter, Mr. Pinckney is unanswerable. The Berlin and Milan Decrees *were revoked*, and, according to *our promise*, we should have revoked the Orders in Council.——But, while this is decidedly my opinion, far be it from me to regret the *consequences* of our non-compliance. I mean the Acts which have been passed in America, to prevent any importation from England, and which I look upon as greatly favourable to the real interests of both countries. The former interruptions to intercourse were productive of much good; but this will, I hope, put an end to the unnatural *dependence* upon each other, which was so mischievous to England as well as to America.——The truth is, that it is, and long has been, the policy of those statesmen, who have now the predominance in America, to *wean* that country from this. The close connection between them they looked upon, and very justly, as tending to disturb the peace of America, because it kept alive a party hostile to the very nature of the Social Contract. To see their country liable, at any time, to be plunged into distress, unless it submitted to the will of another nation, was what they could not endure. Experience has convinced them that America can dispense with European manufactures; and, therefore it is, that they now assume a tone of more indifference than upon any former occasion.—— Mr. Pinckney's Letter contains, in the very tone of it, a proof of the indifference of the American government as to any accommodation with ours. Those who have been anticipating, that the non-importation Act would not pass, do not appear to have perceived how much the circumstances of America are altered of late years. The former suspensions of trade with us, have produced effects, never to be done away. They not only disposed, and indeed, compelled the Americans to become manufacturers, but they also sent them out *hands* to assist them. Such has been the progress of manufactures there, that, as I am informed, a considerable quantity of cotton and woollen yarn has already been *exported* to Europe. Perhaps not less than 30 or 40 thousand Merino sheep have been introduced into the American States. Under these circumstances it would be madness for any one to suppose, that the American government did not hail with joy the fair pretence for passing a new Act of non-importation of English goods; and, especially when we reflect, that the persons now in power in America have always been opposed by the English merchants and their adherents in the United States.——Some of our newspapers give extracts from those of America, exclaiming bitterly against the *non-importation Act*, and also against the rejection of the *Bank Charter*. But, they take these extracts from prints wholly devoted to the English Merchants. If they were to quote from prints of the other side, they would convey to their readers quite a different view of the matter. ——The fact is, that the *Bank of the United States* was little else than an *English* concern. It was little else than a *branch* of her ladyship in Threadneedle-street. She is, indeed, the only *original* Bank in the whole World. All the others, no matter where they be, are, more or less, her offspring, and are, more or less, dependent upon her. The Bank in America was a powerful instrument in the hands of the English merchants and their party. Therefore it is no wonder at all that their prints cry out against its being put a stop to. No wonder that, in the language of Sir John Sinclair, they call this measure "NATIONAL SUICIDE." The straw-pen Baronet says, that "to cause any material "diminution of that *mine of national prosperity* (Bank Notes), would be a species "of POLITICAL SUICIDE, altogether "unpardonable."——It is very curious to observe the similarity in the language. But, it seems, that the American Congress do not see any thing of the nature of a *mine* in the paper of their Bank, though, observe, *that* paper was *payable in specie* at the will of the holder, and not, like ours, *payable in other bits of paper*. They saw no *mine* in it except a mine for subverting the morals and the liberties of the people. *They* appear not to have had the smallest notion of the efficacy of bank notes in caus-

ing an increase of corn and meat and wool. *They* appear not to have any notion of the force of bank notes in causing sunshine and showers and pulverizing frosts. Bedlam does not appear to have extended its philosophy so effectually to that country yet, notwithstanding the crowds of English merchants there settled.——The Americans are a cool, sensible, observing race of men. They have, too, had *ample experience* on the subject of paper-money; and it is no wonder, especially when they cast their eyes this way, that they resolve to tolerate nothing of the kind *of a national Bank*, out of which they must be sure, that a *national debt*, would soon grow, and, what a *national debt* produces they well know from our sad example. *War* and *taxation* are as necessary to a funding system as blood and bone are necessary to the human body; and, in time, war and taxation produce what we now see and feel.——Our prints would fain persuade us, that these Acts against *importation* and against the *bank*, in America, are the work of a mere faction; that they have been passed for selfish purposes; and that they are *disapproved of by the people*. But, *why* should we believe this? If, indeed, the Congress were not chosen by the people; if none but here and there a knot of bribed miscreants had the privilege of voting for Congressmen; if these latter were themselves a set of base jobbers; if the President, or his Secretary, in one way or another, could, through the means of these sham Representatives and Senators, buy and sell the people like cattle at a fair; if, in short, the Congress of America, were, like the *Corps Legislatif*, a set of purchased, perjured, knaves, intermixed with a due proportion of fools and cowards; if this were the case, then, indeed, there might be some reason for treating their decisions as the result of some villainous bargain, in which their own immediate profit was uppermost, or as the effect of an uniform desire to support a system, through the means of which the people were oppressed and robbed with impunity. But, being *really chosen by the people*, and chosen *annually* too, they must be supposed to speak the wish of the people, whether that wish be wise or foolish. ——It seems to me, that this state of things between England and America is fortunate for both countries, but more particularly for the former, whose only chance of salvation lies in a speedily betaking herself to the cultivation of her own natural and mighty *internal resources* and in casting off at once all dependence upon external commerce. If I am asked, how the *taxes* are to be raised without external commerce, and how, if the taxes fall off, the *interest of the national debt* is to be paid; I answer, that these are no affairs of mine; that my anxiety extends no farther than the preservation of England and Scotland and Ireland, one independent country, inhabited by a free and happy people; but, that, I beg to observe, that, if the *taxes* and the *fundholders' interest* depend upon external commerce, there is a strong probability that they will both suffer a great diminution.

Portuguese Grant of Money. ——The House of Commons has had laid before it a Letter from the Viscount Talavera, dated in October last, upon the subject of yielding *relief* to those persons in Portugal, who have suffered from the operations of the war. Upon the report in this Letter, it would seem, that the grant of 100,000*l.* to these sufferers has been made, after a Message to that intent from his Royal Highness, the Prince Regent.——But, by a reference to the letter, the reader will perceive, that his Excellency the Lord Marshall does not suggest the necessity, nor, indeed, the propriety, of *parliamentary* relief, but of relief from *the charitable disposition* of the good people of this country, whose usual benevolence he takes this opportunity most aptly to extol; and, having determined upon the propriety of the thing, he, without seeming to entertain any doubts as to its practicability, leaves Lord Liverpool nothing to do but "to consider of *the mode* of recommending "the Portuguese to the charitable dispo- "sition of his Majesty's subjects."—— Now, why was not this plan pursued? It certainly would have been preferable to a *parliamentary* grant; because it would have afforded those who love the Portuguese and their cause a fair opportunity of evincing it; while, on the other hand, it would have left no room for grumbling amongst those who may think that Portugal has already cost us a great deal too much, and that, in spite of all appearances, or, rather, reports, to defend a people, except in the character of *auxiliary*, is impossible.——I approve of the Lord Marshall's plan; and, doubtless, those who have always been for the war in Spain and Portugal, would have chearfully contributed towards the relief of the poor crea-

tures, who have so severely suffered from that war.——Whether the war was, on our part just or unjust, wise or foolish, is not here the question; the question is whether the poor unfortunate wretches who have suffered from it ought to be relieved from this country, and this is a question, which, I think, must be decided in the affirmative, unless, indeed, we could *make France* afford them relief, which is not very probable.——There can be no doubt, that, if it had not been for us, the poor creatures would not have had their country ravaged in the manner that they have. To be sure, what we have done, and are doing, is all *for their good;* but, still, they ought to be compensated for their losses, because, as to individuals, at any rate, there is no satisfactory proof, that they invited us to their country.—— It may be said, that it is better for them to suffer loss of goods and chattels and even loss of life, than to let the French have the government of the country in their hands; that, compared to this, hanging or drowning or shooting would be nothing. This is going a good way: further than our life-and-fortune-men would like to go, I believe. But, let it be so, still we went to Portugal without being actually *sent for* by the people at large, and, therefore I am decidedly for their being compensated for their losses and sufferings by us. But, then, I am for the mode pointed by the Lord Marshall. I am for leaving the honour of relieving the Portuguese *to those who were for the war in Portugal.* To them belongs the merit of making and abetting the war, and I would by no means deprive them of the pleasure of paying the expences of it. ——Not a word, however, do we hear of MEETINGS for this purpose! Whither are fled all the choice spirits of good old full-blooded Anti-Jacobin times; No meetings at the Mansion House! No meetings at Lloyds!! No Turtle Patriot meetings; Why, the very Turtle and Turbot and Venison and Wine that were swallowed upon the proclaiming of this war would have fetched half the money now granted to the poor, miserable, naked, starving and lacerated wretches that it has produced. What! *A hundred thousand Pound!* Spirit of Voluntary Contributions, whither art thou fled! Art gone amongst the worms to seek "the great statesman "now no more?" What! A hundred thousand pounds! Why it is not above *a shilling a head* for the poor creatures. It is not enough to get them *one single quartern loaf* each. This is liberality and charity indeed.——But I hear of no *meetings.* There used to be meetings for raising money for shoes and flannel shirts and trowsers and drawers, and all manner of things, in order to make our allies comfortable while they were fighting against the French. The very women and children used to subscribe. But, now, alas! all that the poor Portuguese have got, or are likely to get, in the way of voluntary contribution, is about 10 lines of doggerel from the pen of poet Fitzgerald; and, he being a *pensioner,* even that cannot be called *voluntary.* This is a sad falling off to be sure. Why should not those, who met for the purpose of instigating the war, subscribe 20 or 30 thousand pounds each? And those, too, who *Addressed the King* upon his resolution to enter into the war. These are the men to indemnify the poor creatures in Portugal, who, if they had 12 or 18 guineas each given them, might get on again pretty well; but, really, to vote the people of Portugal *a shilling* each is what I could not have expected.——Let us hope, however, that we shall see meetings held yet. Those who *instigated* the war, and who, no doubt, saw clearly the *profits* of it, will, let us hope, not remain deaf to the tender voice of charity, especially when the goddess speaks through the lips of a *Wellesley.* But, it is time for them to begin to meet; for, the next dispatches may tell us, that the Lord Marshall is again at his old work of *drawing* Massena after him; and it would be very convenient for the Portuguese to hear of our charitable movements *before that takes place.* ——Before I quit this subject, I cannot help remarking how *unanimous* the Honourable House was as to the vote of a hundred thousand pounds to the Portuguese. Mr. PONSONBY seconded the motion. All was harmony. And, in the other House, the harmony was, if possible, still more striking; and LORD WELLESLEY, when he proposed the measure, talked about that "distinguished *warrior,*" his brother, in strains that really were quite moving.—— The daily newspapers have taken their fill of victory; and, indeed, with some of them the two frequent effects of inordinate repletion seem to have followed. The TIMES, which for some time seems to have been *doing penance,* in the hope of *working out its salvation,* has, upon this occasion, surpassed even the regular traders. ——It is, to be sure, shameful, to the last degree, to hear boastings like those of the

last week. Why, what *is* it, after all? What have we *gained?* Who have we *beaten?* What place, or what men, or what cannon have we *taken?* When the French were following our army, we said, that our General was not *running away;* but that he was *drawing the French after him.* Why do we not allow that the same may now be the case as to the enemy? What a shame! How foolish is this! What shall we gain by it in the end? Is it not better to speak modestly and truly of such things; and, especially until we know the *result* of the war. It is by the *result* that the victory is known.——Besides, we always seem to forget the *cost* of this war. We seem to forget, that the French General has maintained his army in the country, and that ours has been maintained by the draining of England. Only consider what shipping we have had attendant upon this our army, carrying it supplies of all sorts, and having transports constantly at hand to bring it off, if necessary. We seem to forget this. And, then, we maintain that *all* the people in Portugal are *enemies of the French.* So that they have all sorts of difficulties to encounter. They are in an *enemy's* country; they have no communication with home; they have no supplies but what they collect upon the spot; no shipping; no external resources; while we have a fleet the seamen of which are half as numerous as their army; and, yet they have been able to keep their ground, to lie in front of us, aye, and to *hem us up* for six months.——But, after all, what was Massena to do, if we did not go *out of our lines?* If our general resolved not to stir out, it was useless for the French to lie where they were. The question of *victory* is to be settled by the *result;* and as to that no man can yet know any thing. If, indeed, Spain and Portugal shall be finally freed of the French, *completely freed,* and made independent, then it may be said, that we have been *victorious;* but, not 'till then. And, in the mean while, I beseech my credulous and easily-amused countrymen to remember how many cannon-firings and illuminations and what huzzaings, took place for our *victories,* during the *American War.*

WM. COBBETT.

State Prison, Newgate, Tuesday, April 10, 1811.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

ENGLAND.

REPORT *of the Queen's Council, on the State of His Majesty's Health.—Queen's Lodge, Windsor, April* 6, 1811.

Present, the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, Earl Winchelsea, Earl of Aylesford, Lord Eldon, Lord Ellenborough, Sir W. Grant, (the Duke of Montrose being absent, on account of indisposition.)—We, the Members of the Council, here present, appointed to assist Her Majesty in the execution of the trust committed to her Majesty, by virtue of the Statute passed in the 51st year of His Majesty's reign, entitled, "An Act to provide for the Administration of the Royal Authority, and for the care of His Majesty's Royal Person during the continuance of His Majesty's illness, and for the resumption of the exercise of the Royal Authority by His Majesty;" having called before us and examined on oath the Physicians and other persons attendant on His Majesty, and having ascertained the state of His Majesty's health by such other ways and means as appear to us to be necessary for that purpose, do hereby declare the state of His Majesty's health, at the time of this our meeting, as follows:—That the indisposition with which His Majesty was afflicted at the time of the passing of the said Act does still so far exist, that His Majesty is not yet restored to such a state of health as to be capable of resuming the personal exercise of his Royal Authority.—That His Majesty appears to have made material progress towards recovery since the passing of the Act; and that all His Majesty's Physicians continue to express their expectations of such recovery.—(Signed) C. CANTUAR', J. EBOR', WINCHILSEA, AYLESFORD, ELDON, ELLENBOROUGH, W. GRANT.

ANHOLT.—*Letter from J. W. Maurice, commanding a Detachment of Marines at Anholt, to Sir James Saumarez, giving an Account of the Repulse of the Danes from that Island.—March* 27, 1811.

(Concluded from p. 928.*)*

I took the field with Major Torrens (who, though wounded, insisted on accompanying me) and Lieutenant and Adjutant Steele; but as our prisoners were so numerous, and as we had no place of security in which to place them, I could only employ on this occasion the brigade of

howitzers under Lieutenants R. C. Steele and Besant, of the Royal Marine Artillery, and part of the Light Company commanded by Lieutenant Turnbull. When we arrived at the west end of the island, we found that the enemy had formed on the beach, and were protected by fourteen gun-boats towed close to the shore. To attack such a force, with four howitzers and forty men, seemed an useless sacrifice of brave men's lives: I therefore with the advice of Major Torrens halted on the hills, while I reluctantly saw the reserve embarked under cover of the gun-boats, and the flotilla take a final leave of the island.—I am happy to say, our loss has not been so considerable as might have been expected from so desperate an attack, we having only two killed and thirty wounded. The enemy has suffered severely; we have buried between thirty and forty of their dead, and have received in the hospital twenty-three of their wounded, most of them have undergone amputations, three since dead of their wounds, besides a great number which they carried off the field to their boats. Major Melsteat, the commandant, fell in the field; Captain Borgen, the next in command, wounded in the arm; Captain Prutz, Adjutant General to the Commander of the forces in Jutland, lost both his legs; since dead.—The most pleasing part of my duty is to bear testimony to the zeal, energy, and intrepidity of the officers and men I had the honour to command: to particularise would be impossible; the same ardour inspired the whole. To Lieutenant Baker, next in command, who will have the honour of delivering this dispatch, and will give you every information you may require I am much indebted; his merit and zeal as an officer, which I have some years been acquainted with, and his volunteering with me on this service, claim my warmest esteem. Captain Torrens, the senior officer of the Royal Marines, and who acted as Commandant of the Garrison, bore a conspicuous part on this day, and although wounded, I did not lose his valuable service and able support. The discipline and state of perfection to which he had brought the battalion is highly creditable to him as an officer. Lieutenant R. C. Steele, senior Officer of Royal Marine Artillery, also claims my warmest acknowledgments for the arrangements he made, which enabled us to keep up so heavy and destructive a fire. Captain Steele, Lieutenant and Quarter-Master Fischer senior Subaltern, Lieutenant and Adjutant Steele, Lieutenants Stewart, Gray, Ford, Jellico, Atkinson, and Curtayne, all merit my warmest acknowledgments for the assistance they afforded me. Lieutenant Bezant, of the R. M. Artillery, deserves every commendation I can give him for his cool and able judgment in the direction of the guns on the Massareene battery. Lieutenant Turnbull, who acted as Captain of the Light Company, when we pursued the reserve, manifested such zeal and energy, that I have no doubt, had we brought the enemy again to action, he would have borne a very conspicuous part.—I cannot sufficiently express my thanks to Captains Baker and Stewart of the Tartar and Sheldrake, for their great exertions to get round to the Flotilla; and had the wind the least favoured them they would have destroyed the whole.—I am happy to add, that the property belonging to the merchants has been fully protected without meeting with the least loss.—The expedition sailed from the Randers, commanded by Major Melsteat (an officer of great distinction), and consisted of the following corps—2d Battalion of Jutland Sharp Shooters, 4th Battalion 2d Regiment of Jutland Yagers, 1st Regiment of Jutland Infantry, with some others, the names of which cannot be ascertained.—I have the honour to inclose the article of surrender, a return of killed and wounded, and a list of Danish officers killed and taken. Also a return of ordnance stores taken.—I have the honour to be, &c.—J. W. MAURICE, Commandant.

Article of Surrender.

"The Commanding Officer of the troops of his Danish Majesty occupied in the attack of Anholt, agrees to surrender prisoner of war at discretion, with all the troops, to the forces of His Britannic Majesty, with the reserve that their personal property shall be retained by them, and that, at the convenience of the Commander of the Island of Anholt, a cartel with unsealed letters shall be sent to Jutland. Given at Anholt, the 27th of March, 1811.—BORGEN, Captain and Commander in Chief of the Danish troops on Anholt.

DENMARK.—*Danish account of the attack upon Anhoult.—Copenhagen, March* 31, 1811.

It was some time ago determined to

make an attack upon the Island of Anhoult now in possession of the enemy, in order to conquer the fort and establishments there erected. This intention would have been put in execution in the fall of last year, but as the enemy's ships of war kept on their station until the frost and ice set in, this place was given up, being found to be impracticable.—It was in the commencement of this spring that the attack was again resolved to be made; but the gun boats which were intended to be used in the expedition were at that time in winter quarters in the lakes, which were this year for a long time covered with ice; and which prevented the vessels being put into activity before the beginning of the present month.—The order for attack was given, and on the 23rd instant, the flotilla and transports were assembled in Gierrila Bay. The island was reconnoitred, and it was found that there was only one schooner lying on the station. We knew that the Light-house was fortified, but no other part of the island. It was in consequence determined, that the troops should be disembarked by night, and on the morning march against the Light-house Fort, and storm it, while in the mean time the gun-boats were to fire upon it from the rear, a formal siege being found to be impracticable. On the 26th twelve gun-boats and twelve transport vessels sailed from Gierrila Bay, having on board the troops destined for the expedition. On the 27th, at 4 in the morning, the troops were disembarked in the greatest order. The first Lieut. Carl Holsten, in the naval service, marched immediately with 200 seamen, along the shore, but unfortunately he was discovered by a patrole of cavalry. The enemy now fled into the fort, and it was not in our power to cut him off. The intrepid naval Lieut. Holsten followed them, and stormed the fort, but was beaten off. Major Melstedt then put himself at the head of the 650 men under his command, and being joined by 150 men under Capt. V. Reydz, and the seamen under Lieut. Holsten, undertook a general storm, but were again forced to retire. In the meanwhile the flotilla were laid round the fort, and commenced a firing on it, whilst the troops were preparing for a fresh attack. The loss which had been sustained by these warriors only tended to increase their ardour. Whilst the gun-boats kept up a brisk fire on the flank of the fort, Major Melstedt on the one side, and Lieutenant Holsten on the other, commenced the attack. The out-works were already gained, and the troops were preparing to get over the high walls, when cartridge shot poured down on them from more than forty pieces of cannon. Major Von Melstedt ended his honourable career at the head of his troops. Captain V. Reydz then immediately took the command, and inspired new life into the brave troops, who with the greasest steadiness, stood the dreadful fire, and in conjunction with the valiant Lieutenant Holsten, again renewed the attack. A cannon ball carried away both of Captain V. Reydz's legs, and another put an end to the life of Lieutenant Holsten, whilst leading his brave seamen on to combat. The men who had still to pass the inner and very deep ditch, were obliged to give way for the cartridge balls, but their retreat was nevertheless conducted with the utmost order. An English battery pursued the fugitives, and the retreat was performed under a continual fire from the enemy. In the mean time, and very unexpectedly, a frigate was seen to the northward, which stood round to the east of the island, a brig steered to the west part, a schooner came from the southward. It came to blow hard, and the gun boats could no longer keep their station. Endeavours were then made to reimbark as many as possible of the troops, and to save such as had escaped from the enemy. The transport vessels had something the appearance of gun-boats, and they were therefore caused to steer towards the Trefeord, in order thereby to decoy the frigate to follow them, and thereby save the gun-boats, and the troops embarked on board of them; but the wind increased, and the gale became so violent, that the gun-boats could scarcely be kept afloat. To enter into an engagement with the enemy was not to be thought of, and it would have been a useless loss of time to have endeavoured, at this time to collect the boats together.—It was therefore deemed most expedient to let the flotilla disperse itself. Signal was accordingly made for boats to reach the nearest shore, and the flotilla accordingly dispersed itself agreeably to orders given. The movement could not be perceived by the frigate, which was lying to the eastward of the island, on account of the reef which run out from it.—Eight of the gun-boats that were nearest together, made the best of their way for Jutland, whilst the other

four, with the utmost bravery, engaged the brig and schooner; they detained the enemy in his progress, and brought him several points out of his course; one of these boats is safe, the fate of the other three is still uncertain, possibly they may be fallen into the enemy's hands. Although that this expedition has been unsuccessful, yet the enemy will certainly not have to boast of having obtained an easy victory; even during the retreat, the schooner sustained so much damage, that she was obliged to put in under the island, and to seek to obtain assistance. Besides the three commanders, several other of our Officers fell in the field of honour.—During the whole of the affair, the most determined courage was shewn on our part, and the very considerable loss sustained in killed and wounded in proportion to the corps employed, will sufficiently prove the determined resolution and courage with which these brave men continued the combat under such a heavy fire; and have again, on this occasion, proved the ancient valour which is inseparable from the character of the people of Denmark and Norway, who are always ready to shed their blood for their King and native country.

PORTUGAL.—*Copy of a Dispatch from Viscount Wellington, to the Earl of Liverpool; dated Pero Negro, 27th October, 1810.—Laid before Parliament, April, 1811.*

My Lord,—Your Lordship has been apprized of the measures which had been adopted, to induce the inhabitants of Portugal to quit that part of the country, through which the enemy was likely to pass, or which it was probable would become the seat of his operations; carrying off with them their valuable property, and every thing which could tend to the enemy's subsistence, or to facilitate his progress.—There is no doubt that these inhabitants had sufficient knowledge, from former experience, of the treatment they would receive from the enemy: and there is no instance of those of any town or village having remained, or of their having failed to remove what might be useful to the enemy, when they had sufficiently early intimation of the wishes of government or of myself, that they should abandon their houses, and carry away their property.—All those who are acquainted with the nature of military operations, with their dependance upon the assistance of the country to supply the wants of the army, and particularly with the degree to which the French armies depend upon this assistance, must be aware of the distress which this system has occasioned to the enemy; and the official and private letters which have been intercepted, are filled with complaints of its effects; which have been repeated in the official papers published in the Moniteur at Paris.—It happened, unfortunately, that the Indian corn harvest, which is the principal support of the inhabitants of a large part of Portugal, was on the ground at the moment of the enemy's invasion. This of course could not be carried off; and where the enemy's troops have been, they here, as usual, destroyed what they could not consume; and nothing remains.—If, therefore, the result of the campaign should be to oblige the enemy to withdraw from Portugal, it is much to be apprehended that the greatest distress will be felt in those districts through which the enemy's troops have passed; which there are no means whatever in this country of relieving.—Upon former occasions, the wealthy inhabitants of Great Britain, and of London in particular, have stepped forward to assist and relieve the distresses of foreign nations, whether suffering under the calamities inflicted by Providence, or by a cruel and powerful enemy. This nation has received the benefit of the *charitable disposition of his Majesty's subjects;* and there never was a case, in which their assistance was required in a greater degree, whether the sufferings of the people, or their fidelity to the cause they have espoused, and their attachment to his Majesty's subjects, be considered.—I declare, that I have scarcely known an instance in which any person in Portugal, even of the lowest order, *has had communication with the enemy,* inconsistent with his duty to his own Sovereign, or with the orders he had received.—I would, therefore, beg leave to recommend the unfortunate portion of the inhabitants, who have suffered from the enemy's invasion, to your Lordship's protection; and I request you to consider of the mode of recommending *them to the benevolent disposition of his Majesty's subjects,* at the moment, which I hope may be not far distant, that the enemy may be under the necessity of evacuating the country.—I have, &c.—(Signed) WELLINGTON.

PORTUGAL. THE WAR.——*Extract of Dispatches from Lord Viscount Talavera, Olveira de l'Hospital, March 21. 1811.*

The enemy suffered much more in the affair of the 15th than I was aware of, when I addressed you on the 16th inst; the firing was not over till dark, and it appears that great numbers were drowned in attempting to ford the Ceira.—The enemy withdrew his rear-guard from that river in the course of the 16th, and we crossed it on the 17th and had our posts on the Sierra de Murcella; the enemy's army being in a strong position on the right of the Alva. They moved a part of their army on that night, but still maintained their position on the Alva, of which river they destroyed the bridges. We turned their left by the Sierra de Santa Quiteria with the 3d, 1st, and 5th divisions on the 18th, while the light division and the 6th manœuvered in their front from the Sierra de Murcella; these movements induced the enemy to bring back to the Sierra de Moita the troops which had marched the preceding night, at the same time that they received their corps from the Alva, and in the evening their whole army were assembled upon Moita, and the advanced posts of our right were near Arganil, those of our left across the Alva.—The enemy retired from the position of Moita in the night of the 18th, and have continued their retreat with the utmost rapidity ever since; and I imagine their rear-guard will be at Celorico this day. We assembled the army upon the Sierra de Moita on the 19th, and our advanced posts are this day beyond Pinhancos. The Militia under Colonels Wilson and Trant, are at Fornos.—We have taken great numbers of prisoners, and the enemy have continued to destroy their carriages and their cannon, and whatever would impede their progress.—As the great number of the prisoners taken on the 19th had been sent out on foraging parties towards the Mondego, and had been ordered to return to their position on the Alva, I conclude that the enemy had intended to remain in it for some days.--Soult has gone to Seville since the fall of Badajos; and it is reported, that about three thousand French troops had been seen on their march through Barcarota to the Southward.

PORTUGAL. THE WAR.—*A dispatch, of which the following is an extract, was yesterday evening received from Lieutenant-General Lord Viscount Wellington, K.B., by the Earl of Liverpool, dated Goveia, March 27.—London, 13th April 1811.*

When I found that the enemy retired with such celerity from Moita, I continued the pursuit of them with the cavalry, and the light division under Major-General Sir William Erskine only, supporting these troops with the 6th and 3rd divisions of infantry, and by the militia on the right of the Mondego; and I was induced to halt the remainder of the army till the supplies, which had been sent round from the Tagus to the Mondego, should arrive. This halt was the more desirable, as nothing could be found in the country; and every day's march increasing the distance from the magazines on the Tagus rendered the supply of the troops more difficult and precarious; and the further advance of the main body for a few days did not appear to be necessary. The cavalry and light troops continued to annoy the enemy's rear and to take prisoners; and the militia under Colonel Wilson had an affair with a detachment of the enemy, on the 22nd, not far from Celorico, in which they killed seven and wounded several, and took fifteen prisoners. The militia under General Silveira also took some prisoners on the 25th.—The enemy retired his left, the 2nd corps, by Goveia through the mountains upon Guarda, and the remainder of the army by the high road upon Celorico. They have since moved more troops upon Guarda, which position they still hold in strength. Our advanced guard is in front of Celorico, towards Guarda, and at Alverca, and the 3rd division in the mountains, and occupying Porco Miserella and Prados.—The allied troops will be collected in the neighbourhood of Celorico to-morrow.—General Ballasteros surprised General Remon on the 10th, at Palma, and dispersed his detachment, and took from him five hundred prisoners.—General Ballasteros had since retired to Valverde, and I hear that General Zayas had been detached from Cadiz with six thousand men, including four hundred cavalry, to be disembarked at Huelva to join General Ballasteros.—P. S. Since writing the above, I have received the report of a gallant action of one of our patroles yesterday evening, between Alverca and Guarda, under the command of Lieutenant Perse of the 16th Light Dragoons, and Lieutenant Foster of the Royals, who at-

tacked a detachment of the enemy's cavalry between Alverca and Guarda, and killed and wounded several of them, and took the Officer and 37 men prisoners.—The enemy have withdrawn from Pinhel across the Coa.

Foreign Office, April 12.

Dispatches have this day been received at this office from Charles Stuart, Esq. his Majesty's Minister at Lisbon, dated the 30th ult. stating that Sir William Beresford, having united the whole of his force in Portalegre on the 23rd of March, advanced on the 24th, and attacked the enemy with his cavalry on the 25th. They were compelled to abandon Campo Maior, with the loss of 600 men killed and wounded. On the 26th General Beresford's head-quarters were at Elvas.—The enemy had withdrawn their whole force, excepting a weak picquet, to the other side of the Guadiana.—The corps under Marshal Soult has halted in the neighbourhood of Llerena.—General Ballasteros had returned to Gibraleon, on the 29th, where his force had been increased by the arrival of 6000 men under General Zayas.—Marshal Bessieres arrived at Zamora on the 5th of March, with 7000 men.

FRANCE.—*Decree relative to the making of Sugar and Indigo out of Beet Root and Plant-woad.—25th March*, 1811.

Napoleon, Emperor of the French, &c.—Upon the report of the commission appointed to examine the means proper to naturalise on the Continent of our empire, sugar, indigo, cotton, and divers other productions of the two Indies:—Upon the presentation made to us, of a considerable quantity of beet-root sugar, refined, crystallized, and possessing all the qualities and properties of cane sugar:—Upon the presentation also made to us at the Council of Commerce, of a great quantity of indigo extracted from the plantwoad, which our departments of the south produce in abundance, and which indigo has all the properties of the indigo of the two Indies:—Having reason to expect that, by means of these two precious discoveries, our empire will shortly be relieved from an exportation of 100,000,000, hitherto necessary for supplying the consumption of sugar and indigo:—We have decreed, and decree as follows:—Art. 1. Plantations of beet-root, proper for the fabrication of sugar, shall be formed in our empire to the extent of 32,000 hectares *. 2. Our Minister of the Interior shall distribute the 32,000 hectares among the departments of our empire, taking into consideration those departments where the culture of tobacco may be established, and those which, from the nature of the soil, may be more favourable to the culture of the beet-root. 3. Our Prefects shall take measures that the number of hectares allotted to their respective departments shall be in full cultivation this year, or next year at the latest.—4. A certain number of hectares shall be laid out in our Empire, in plantations of woad proper for the fabrication of indigo, and in proportion to the quantity necessary for our manufactures.—5. Our Minister of the Interior shall distribute the said number among the departments of the Empire, taking into particular consideration the departments beyond the Alps, and those of the South, where this branch of cultivation formerly made great progress.—6. Our Prefects shall take measures, that the quantity of hectares, allotted to their departments, shall be in full cultivation next year, at the latest.—7. The Commission shall, before the 4th of May, fix upon the places most convenient for the establishment of six experimental schools, for giving instruction in the manufacture of beet-root sugar, conformably to the process of the chymists.—8. The Commission shall, also, by the same period, fix upon the places most convenient for the establishment of four experimental schools, for giving instruction as to the extraction of indigo from the lees of the woad, according to the processes approved by the Commission.—9. Our Minister of the Interior shall make known to the Prefects in what places these schools shall be formed, and to which the pupils destined for this manufacture should be sent. The proprietors and farmers who may wish to attend the course of lectures in the said experimental schools shall be admitted thereto.—10. Messrs. Barruel and Isnard, who have brought to perfection the processes for extracting sugar from beet-root, shall be specially charged with the direction of two of the six experimental schools.—11. Our Minister of the Interior shall in consequence, cause to be paid to them

* The hectare is 2·472 English Statute Acres, or 2 A. 1 R. 35½ P.—therefore, 32,000 hectares are equal to nearly 80,000 English Acres.

the sum necessary for the formation of the said establishments, which sum shall be charged upon the fund of one million, placed, in the budget of the year 1811, at the disposal of the said minister, for the encouragement of the manufacture of beet-root sugar, and woad indigo.—12. From the 1st of Jan. 1813, and upon the report to be made by our Minister of the Interior, the sugar and indigo of the two Indies shall be prohibited, and be considered as merchandize of English manufacture, or proceeding from English commerce.—13. Our Minister of the Interior is charged with the execution of the present decree. NAPOLEON.

AMERICAN STATES.——*Mr. Pinckney to Lord Wellesley.—Great Cumberland Place, Dec. 10, 1810.*

MY LORD,

In compliance with the request contained in your note of the 6th instant, I proceed to recapitulate in this letter (with some variations, however), the statements and remarks which I had the honour to make in our conference of the 5th, respecting the revocation of the French Decrees, as connected with a change of system here on the subject of neutral rights.—Your Lordship need not be told, that I should have been happy to offer at a much earlier moment every explanation in my power on matters of such high concern to the rights and commerce of my country, and the future character of its foreign relations, if I had been made to understand that explanation was desired.—My written communications of August and November were concise, but they were not intended to be insufficient. They furnished evidence which I thought conclusive, and abstained from laboured commentary, because I deemed it superfluous. I had taken up an opinion, which I abandoned reluctantly and late, that the British Government would be eager to follow the example of France, in recalling, as it had professed to do in promulgating, that extraordinary system of maritime annoyance, which in 1807 presented to neutral trade in almost all its directions the hopeless alternative of inactivity or confiscation; which considered it as a subject to be regulated, like the trade of the United Kingdoms, by the statutes of the British Parliament, and undertook to bend and fashion it by every variety of expedient to all the purposes and even the caprices of Great Britain. I had no idea that the remnant of that system, productive of no conceivable advantage to England, and deservedly odious for its theory and destructive effects to others, could survive the public declaration of France that the edicts of Berlin and Milan were revoked. Instructed at length, however, by your Lordship's continued silence, and alarmed for the property of my fellow-citizens, now more than ever exposed by an erroneous confidence to the ruinous operation of the British Orders, I was preparing to support my general representations by detailed remonstrance, when I received the honour of your note of the 4th instant. In the conference which ensued, I troubled your Lordship with a verbal communication, of which the following is nearly the substance.—The doubts which appear to stand in the way of the recal of the British Orders in Council (under which denomination I include certain orders of blockade of a kindred principle and spirit) must refer to the manner, or the terms, or the practical effect of the alleged repeal of the decrees of France.—That the manner of the proceeding is satisfactory to the British Government cannot be questioned; since it is precisely that in which its own numerous orders for establishing, modifying, or removing blockades and other maritime obstructions, are usually proclaimed to neutral states and merchants.—The French repeal was officially notified on the 5th of August to the Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States at Paris by the French Minister of foreign affairs, as I had the honour to inform your Lordship in my letter of the 25th of the same month, which not only gave the import, but (as the enclosed copy will shew) adopted the words of General Armstrong's statement to me of the tenour and effect of that notice.—On the 9th of August the notification of Gen. Armstrong was published in the Moniteur, the official journal of the French Government, as the act of that Government; and thus became a formal declaration and a public pledge to all who had an interest in the matter of it.—It would be a waste of time to particularize the numerous instances of analogous practices in England, by which this course is countenanced; but a recent example happens to be before me, and may therefore be mentioned. The partial recal, or modification, of the English blockade of the ports and places of Spain from Gijon to the French territory (itself known to my

Government only through a circular notification to me, recited afterwards in the London Gazette) was declared to the American and other Governments in exactly the same mode.—I think it demonstrable that the terms in which the French revocation was announced are just as free from well founded objection as the manner.—Your Lordship's view of them is entirely unknown to me; but I am not ignorant that there are those in this country, who, professing to have examined them with care, and having certainly examined them with jealousy, maintain that the revocation on the 1st of November was made to depend, by the obvious meaning to those terms, upon a condition precedent, which has not been fulfilled, namely, the revocation by Great Britain of her Orders in Council, including such blockading orders as France complains of as illegal.—If this were even admitted to be so, I am yet to learn upon what ground of justice the British Government could decline to meet, by a similar act on its part, an advance, thus made to it by its adversary in the face of the world, towards a co-operation in the great work of restoring the liberty of the ocean; so far at least as respects the Orders in Council of 1807 and 1809, and such blockades as resemble them. It is not necessary, however, to take this view of the question; for the French revocation turns on no condition precedent, is absolute, precise, and unequivocal.—What construction of the document which declares that revocation might be made by determined suspicion and distrust, I have no wish and am not bound to enquire. Such interpreters would not be satisfied by any form of words, and would be likely to draw the same conclusion from perfect explicitness and studied obscurity. It is enough for me that the fair and natural and necessary import of the paper affords no colour for the interpretation I am about to examine.—The French declaration, "that the decrees of Berlin and Milan are revoked; and that from the 1st of November they will cease to have any effect," is precision itself: but they are followed by these words—"bien entendu qu'en consequence de cette declaration les Anglais revoqueront leurs arrets de Conseil, et renonceront aux nouveaux principes de blocus qu'ils ont voulu etablir, ou bien que les Etats Unis, conformement a l'acte que vous venez de communiquer, feront respecter leurs Droits par les Anglais."—If these words state any condition, they state two, the first depending upon Great Britain, the last upon the United States; and, as they are put in the disjunctive, it would be extravagant to hold that the non-performance of one of them is equivalent to the non-performance of both. I shall take for granted, therefore, that the arguments against my construction of the Duke of Cadore's letter must be moulded into a new form. It must deal with two conditions, instead of one: and, considering them equally as conditions precedent, to be performed (disjunctively) before the day limited for the operative commencement of the French repeal, must maintain, that, if neither of them should be performed before that day, the decrees were not to be revoked, and consequently that, as neither of them has been so performed, the decrees are still in force.—If this hypothesis of previous conditions, thus reduced to the only shape it can assume, be proved to be unsound, my construction is at once established; since it is only upon that hypothesis that any doubt can be raised against the exact and perspicuous assurances that the decrees were actually repealed, and that the repeal would become effectual on the 1st of November. This hypothesis is proved to be unsound by the following considerations.—It has clearly no foundation in the phraseology of the paper, which does not contain a syllable to put any condition before the repeal. The repeal is represented as a step already taken, to have effect on a day specified. Certain consequences are, indeed, declared to be expected from this proceeding; but no day is given, either expressly or by implication, within which they are to happen. It is not said "bien entendu que les Anglois auront revoque," &c. but "que les Anglois revoqueront," &c. indefinitely as to time.—The notion of conditions precedent is, therefore, to say the least of it, perfectly gratuitous; but it is also absurd. It drives us to the conclusion, that a palpable and notorious impossibility was intended to be prescribed as a condition, in a paper which they, who think it was meant to deceive, must admit was meant to be plausible.—It was a palpable and notorious impossibility that the United States should, before the 1st of November, execute any condition, no matter what the nature of it, the performance of which was to follow the ascertained failure of a condition, to be executed by Great Britain, at any time before the same 1st of November. That the act

expected from the United States was to be consequent upon the failure of the other is apparent. It is also apparent that upon any interpretation, which would make the act of Great Britain a condition precedent to the French repeal, consequently precedent to the 1st of November (when the repeal was, if ever, to take effect), that condition could not be said to have failed before the whole period, from the 5th of August to the 1st of November, had elapsed. But if Great Britain had the whole time within which to elect the course which she would pursue, what opportunity would be left to the United States (equally bound, upon this idea of conditions precedent, to act their part within the same period) to become acquainted with that election, and to decide upon and take their own course in consequence; to say nothing of the transmission of such intelligence of it to Europe as would be indispensable to the efficacy of the conditional revocation?—This general view would alone be sufficient to discredit the arbitrary construction under consideration: but it will be more completely exposed by an explanation of the nature of the act, which the letter professes to expect from the United States, in case Great Britain should omit to revoke. This Act is the revival of the Non-Intercourse Law against England; France remaining exempt from it, as well as from the provisions of the subsequent law, commonly called the Non Intercourse Act. Now, it is too plain upon the face of the last mentioned law (to which the letter expressly refers) to escape the most negligent and unskilful observer, that this revival could not by any industry or chance be accomplished before the time fixed for the cessation of the French decrees, or even for a considerable time afterwards; it certainly cannot be allowable to assume, that the revival was required by the letter (whatever was the object of the writer or his Government) to precede the cessation. And if this was not required, it is incontrovertible that the cessation would by the term of the letter, take place on the appointed day, whether any of the events disjunctively specified had intervened or not.—The first step towards the revival of the non-intercourse against England would be the proclamation of the President, that France had so revoked or modified her edicts, that they ceased to violate the neutral commerce of the United States. But the letter of Mons. Champagny left the decrees as it found them up to the 1st of November; and, consequently, up to that day it could not, for any thing contained in that letter, be said that the rights of American commerce were no longer infringed by them. A prospective proclamation, that they would cease to violate those rights, might perhaps be issued; but it could scarcely have any substantial operation, either in favour of France, or to the prejudice of England, until the epoch to which it had looked had arrived.—Let it be admitted, however, that all physical and legal obstacles to the issuing, before the first of November, of a proclamation, to take effect immediately, were out of the way. How would such a proceeding fulfil of itself the expectation that the United States would, before the 1st of November, "cause their rights to be respected by the English," in the mode pointed out by the letter, namely, by the enforcement of the Non-intercourse Law? The proclamation would work no direct or immediate consequence against England. Three months from its date must pass away before the Non-intercourse Law could revive against her; and when it did so, the revival would not be the effect of the proclamation, but of the continued adherence of England to her obnoxious system. Thus, even if a proclamation, effectual from its date, had been issued by the President on the day when the French declaration of repeal came to the hands of the American Minister at Paris, the intercourse between the United States and Great Britain would, on the 1st of November, have remained in the same condition in which it was found in August. As all this was well understood by the Government of France, the conclusion is, that its Minister, professing too to have the American law before him, and to expect only what was conformable with that law, did not intend to require the revival of the Non-intercourse against England as a condition to be performed before the first of November.—It is worthy of remark, as introductory to another view of this subject, that even they who conclude that the repeal of the French decrees has failed, are not backward to ascribe to the French declaration a purpose utterly inconsistent with that conclusion. They suppose the purpose to have been to affect the existing relations between America and England, by the only means which the declaration states—the act of Non-intercourse. And it is cer-

tain, that unless England should abandon particular parts of her system, this was the result avowedly in view, and meant to be accomplished.—But there could be no hope of such a result without a previous effectual relinquishment of the French decrees. A case could not otherwise be made to exist (as the Duke of Cadore was aware) for such an operation of the American law. To pass the law before the revocation of the edicts were impossible. With the law in his hands, it would have been miraculous ignorance not to know that it was the exact reverse of this which his paper must propose. He would derive this knowledge not from that particular law only but from the whole tenour and spirit of American proceedings, in that painful and anomalous dilemma, in which Great Britain and France, agreeing in nothing else, had recently combined to place the maritime interests of America. He would collect from these proceedings, that, while those conflicting Powers continued to rival each other in their aggression on neutral rights, the government of the United States would oppose itself impartially to both. The French declaration, then, had either no meaning at all, or it meant to announce to General Armstrong a positive revocation of the French edicts.—I should only fatigue your Lordship by pursuing farther a point so plain and simple. I shall, therefore, merely add to what I have already said on this branch of the subject, that the strong and unqualified communication from General Armstrong to me, mentioned in the commencement of this letter, and corroborated by subsequent communications, (one of which I now lay before you) may, perhaps, without any great effort of courtesy, be allowed to contain "that authentic intelligence" which your lordship is in search of. He could scarcely have been free from doubt, if the occasion was calculated to suggest it, and, if he had actually doubted, would hardly have spoken to me with the confidence of conviction.—It only remains to speak of the practical effect of the French repeal. And here your lordship must suffer me to remind you, that the orders of England of 1807 did not wait for the practical effect of the Berlin decree, nor linger till the obscurity in which the meaning of that decree was supposed to be involved, should be cleared away by time or explanation. They came promptly after the decree itself, while it was not only ambiguous but inoperative, and raised upon an idle prohibition, and a yet more idle declaration, which France had not attempted to enforce, and was notoriously incapable of enforcing, a vast scheme of oppression upon the seas, more destructive of all the acknowledged rights of peaceful states than history can parallel. This retaliation, as it was called, was so rapid, that it was felt before the injury which was said to have provoked it; and yet that injury, such as it was, was preceded by the practical assertion on the part of Great Britain, of new and alarming principles of public law, in the notification of the blockade of May, 1806, and in the judicial decisions of the year before. To uphold the retaliatory orders, every thing was presumed with a surprising facility. Not only was an impotent, unexecuted, and equivocal menace presumed to be an active scourge of the commerce of neutral nations, but the acquiesense of those nations was presumed against the plainest evidence of facts. The alacrity with which all this was done can never be remembered without regret and astonishment; but our regret and astonishment must encrease, if after some years have been given to the pernicious innovation which these presumptions were to introduce and support, something like the same alacrity should not be displayed on seizing an honourable opportunity of discharging it for ever.—It is not unnatural to imagine that it will be discharged with pleasure when it is considered, that, having never been effectual as an instrument of hostility, it cannot now lay claim to those other recommendations for which it may have heretofore been prized. The Orders in Council [of November] have passed, through some important changes; but they have been steady, as long as it was possible, to the purpose which first impressed upon them a character not to be mistaken.—In their original plan they comprehended not only France and such allied or dependent Powers as had adopted the edict of Berlin, but such other nations as had merely excluded from their ports the commercial flag of England.

(To be continued.)

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

Jubilee Dollars.——In my last Number but one, page 899, the reader will find, that I noticed an intimation, relative to Dollars, which intimation was given, in the House of Commons, by Mr. Manning, who is, it seems, Deputy Governor of the Bank of England.* The notification of Governor Manning was this: that "the Bank was now *in the course* of having "a *large quantity* of Silver Tokens, or "Dollars, stamped, for the purpose o "putting them into circulation at 5s. 6d. 'each. And, he said, that he gave this 'notification in order that those persons, 'who might be *drawing Dollars out of* '*circulation*" (alias, *hoarding* them), "in the hope of their rising in value, might be ASSURED, that 'their expectations in this regard, will be disappointed."——The Honourable Governor will be deceived in *his* expectations, and of that he may be *assured;* for, the persons who have deemed it prudent to begin to hoard will not be turned from their purpose by any thing short of a ready payment of the Bank notes in gold and silver of the sterling value. This the Governor may be assured of. The day of *faith* is fast passing away. Men will now believe, as to the Bank of England, only that which they *see* and *touch*.——The project of issuing more Dollars at the nominal value of 5s. 6d. appeared to me to be so wild, that I could not believe it to be seriously entertained, unless the Dollars of the new issue were to be *lighter* or of *baser metal* than the former issue. To *gain a little time,* however, it might be of use. Merely to gain a little time and to assist in supplying the metropolis with change for a few weeks, and thus postpone the public complaints 'till after the session of parliament was over.——This, I imagine, can be the only object of the Governor and his Associates; and, accordingly, we see it now announced, in *a paragraph in all the newspapers;* a circular paragraph, such as the dealers in various other valuable wares cause occasionally to be put in the papers; in this manner, we see it announced, that 300,000 Dollars are actually gone off to be stamped. The words are these:—"On Monday, 300,000 Dollars were sent from the Bank to Mr. Bolton's, at Soho, to be stamped, and the same quantity are to be forwarded in a few days. They are expected to be in circulation *in the course of three weeks.*"——Three weeks! So, here is nearly a month gained; and, in all probability, they will not be in circulation so soon as that. In *circulation,* did I say? I mean issued; for *circulate* they will not. And, unless they are sent to country towns by the Bank itself, not a Dollar of them will ever leave London, except for the purpose of going to hoards in the country, or of sailing down the Thames.——Do Gov. Manning and his compeers imagine, that the people who are now hoarding, will cease to hoard upon the strength of these paragraphs? Have these great men found, that the notification, given by Governor Manning, has produced any such effect?——In matters of this sort, there is a species of sagacity, in the mass of the people, which is quite incredible to those who do not reflect upon the power of habit and of interest. But, this almost instinctive sagacity aside, who is so little informed, now-a-days, as not to perceive, that the issue of this sum of Dollars cannot, upon any rational principles, put a stop to the practice of hoarding?——It

* I begin to think, that it may be of use to the People to know the *names* of the persons, who have the management of this concern, and I therefore will here insert the present list of them:

John Pearse, Esq. Governor:
Wm. Manning, Esq. Deputy Governor:

Twenty-Four Directors.

Alexander Baring, Esq.
George Blackman, Esq.
John Bowden, Esq.
Cornelius Buller, Esq.
James Campbell, Esq.
Henry Davidson, Esq.
George Dorrien, Esq.
Thomas Langley, Esq.
Thomas Lewis, Esq.
Beeston Long, Esq.
— Maitland, Esq.
[illegible]iam Mellish, Esq.
Jeremiah Olive, Esq.
John H. Palmer, Esq.
Charles Pole, Esq.
John B. Richards, Esq.
Wm. T. Robarts, Esq.
John Staniforth, Esq.
Henry Smith, Esq.
A. H. Thomson, Esq.
Samuel Thornton, Esq.
Stephen Thornton, Esq.
Robert Wigram, Esq.
John Whitmore, Esq.

will be *two or three months* before these Dollars are out, and by that time, there will not, I should imagine, be any thing, in the semblance of money, left in circulation.——What, then, will these 600,000 Dollars do? I suppose, for *argument's sake*, that there are so many to come out; though the reader will please to observe, that *I do not believe the fact*, and that, if he believes it, the fault is none of mine. For argument's sake, however, admitting that there are 600,000 Dollars coming forth, we have next to consider what proportion in amount they will bear to the *paper* in circulation; because, without taking this view of the matter, it will be impossible for us to form any thing like a correct notion as to the effect which the issuing of the Dollars is likely to produce. ——By a reference to my Letter XXI, on the subject of PAPER AGAINST GOLD, in the last volume of the Register, at page 1221, the amount of the Bank Notes is stated from the information furnished by the Bullion Committee. The exact amount of the Country Notes could not be ascertained; but, as will be seen by referring to the above page, the amount of the Bank Notes, a year ago, could not be less than 56,000,000 of pounds, not including ten or twelve millions of Exchequer Bills, and various other paper, which performs, in many cases, the office of a circulating medium. Since that time the quantity of paper must have greatly increased; because we have seen all the gold disappear, and, in short, because we have seen the Dollar raised in nominal value against the paper.——But, to obviate all pretence for disputation upon this point, let us suppose, that the quantity of paper has *not increased* since that time. Mind, I do *not* regard it as a matter of *doubt*. I wish this to be clearly understood. I merely admit the supposition for argument's sake.——Well, then, there are 56,000,000 of pounds in circulation in *paper promises*; and, of course, the proportion which the 600,000 Dollars will bear to this is as 1 to 339 and a fraction; that is to say, there will be, when these Dollars *all* come out, which I think they never will; but, if they do, there will then be in circulation, 1 pound *in silver* for every 339 pounds in *paper promises*! Aye, you may stare, Governor; but, if there be any truth in arithmetic, there will be in circulation 339 pounds in paper pr[illegible] for every 1 pound in your five and [illegible] nny Dollars.——Believe, then, who[illegible]; believe, whoever is ideot enough, that the issuing of this quantity of Dollars will put either a *stop* or a *check* to hoarding.——But, I must not quit this part of the subject, even for the present, without shewing a little more fully the grossness of the folly of supposing, that such a sum of Silver Tokens or Dollars can have the effect expected from it.——The reader will bear in mind, that, in all these operations of currency, it is not the positive but the *relative* amount of the metal or the paper, that is to be kept in view as the governing principle. If all the gold and silver in circulation, in any country, did not amount to *a hundred pounds*, that would not be an argument against the paper of such country, provided the paper did not exceed *four* or *five* pounds. Keep this constantly in view, for the whole question turns upon it.——Any measure that adds to the quantity of real money without adding to the quantity of the paper-money will, of course, raise the value of the paper money; and, one of the consequences of that will be an indisposition to hoard the real money.——But, what is the nature and tendency of this operation of the Bank? Why, they are about to issue 165,000 pounds worth of Dollars. *Where* did they *get* them?——Pray, reader, mark this inquiry.——How did they come by them? They were hardly given to them as a present? What should any one see in their faces to make them a present of 600,000 Dollars?——They *bought* them to be sure. Did they so? Then they *gave something* for them, I suppose?——Now, Governor Manning, attend to me. *What* did you give for these 600,000 Dollars? Answer me that.——"Why, *Bank* "*notes*, to be sure."——You did, did you? So, then, the way you go to work to *diminish* the quantity of your paper, is, to *increase* it by the purchase of real money to be issued out afterwards. This is a curious way of *lessening* the quantity of your paper.—But, this is not all. The effect of your operation does not stop here. There are other paper-money makers besides you.—You were compelled to give more for your real money than its nominal amount in circulation, and, therefore, you were, of course, compelled to raise the nominal value of that already in circulation. What is the effect of this? An immediate rise in all prices: an immediate demand for more currency than was in circulation before; and, of course, an immediate addition to the quantity of every species of

paper money in every part of the kingdom; which is infallibly accompanied with an immediate further depreciation of the paper money in general; a still wider disparity between the value of that and the value of real money; and, as sure as man is true to his own interests, as sure as self-preservation is the strongest motive of action, so sure your operation does, in a short time, give new life to the practice of hoarding.——If the reader pays due attention to what has been here said, and if he joins me in opinion, he will also join me in a laugh at the *remedies* of the Scotch Reviewers, whose profundity has carried them so far round the circle, that they at last almost touch the shallowness of their countryman, Sir John Sinclair.——I have now to notice, what I ought to have noticed in a former Number, certain facts connected with this subject, which facts it will hereafter be of great consequence to have before us, and, which, even now, it is useful to have before us.——In the early part of this month, there was a rumour afloat about great forgeries upon the Bank of England, whereupon, the Bank caused to be published the following advertisement.—" *Bank of England,* " *April* 4, 1811. The Governors and Di-" rectors of the Bank of England having " been informed that Lists of supposed " Forged Notes have been industriously " circulated, which may create alarm and " inconvenience to the Public, they think " it right to give this public notice that " such Lists have not been circulated by " their authority.—The Governors and " Directors also observe paragraphs in the " public papers, stating that plates used " by the Bank for printing Bank-Notes " have been stolen and made use of in " the fabrication of forged Bank Notes, " the Governors and Directors think it " right thus publicly to state that such pa-" ragraphs in the public papers are totally " unfounded. ROBERT BEST, Sec."—This seems of little consequence, at first sight; but, it is of great consequence, if we consider how strongly indicative it is of a consciousness on the part of these people, that the public *had their eye upon them.* " How is it with me, when every " noise appals me!" exclaims MACBETH. The bare rustling of the leaves, under some circumstances, produce more trepidation, than, under others, is produced by a pistol at the breast.——These *rumours,* these *hearsays:* Oh! how they would have been despised, twenty years ago, by the Governor and Company of the Bank of England, whom common ...... named but with a sort of religious awe. Sad slaves they were, certainly, for their pains, and bitter fruit has their slavish notions, in this respect, entailed upon their children; but, such was the fact. What, then, must be the state of the Bank; how must it feel, when it thinks it necessary, to contradict, in this official and solemn manner, a mere rumour of the day; when this Governor and Company think it necessary to enter the lists with the grinders of paragraphs, who are paid (as appears from a late trial) at about three halfpence a-line?——Another fact worth notice is the measures resorted to by the *Bankers,* that is to say, the individual Banking Houses, in London, on account of the scarcity of *change,* namely, gold and silver *under one pound.* The inconvenience they experienced was notified to the public in a paragraph in the following words, on the 6th of April.——" We understand a " meeting of Bankers is to be called in " consequence of the *scarcity of silver,* by " which they are very *oppressively* and al-" most exclusively affected. There is no " house of moderate business, which does " not at present suffer an average loss of " 400*l.* per annum in paying the fractional " parts of their customer's draft; to do " which, they are compelled *to pay a pre-" mium of from 2 to 3 per cent. for silver.* " It is matter of surprise that some mea-" sure has not already been adopted, as it " is evident, that in proportion as the " community find it difficult to pay the " fractions of small bills, will the number " of small drafts be increased; and if the " Bankers continue to pay such drafts, " *the hoarders of silver will be encouraged in " their present practices,* being assured of a " market, whatever be the premium they " choose to exact. *It is recommended* to " all persons drawing drafts, to draw for " *even sums,* leaving the odd shillings upon " account, or taking the balance from " their tradesmen; by which means the " Bankers will be eased of part of the " burden, which to them becomes a seri-" ous loss, while to others it is trifling."

—This paragraph, which was a *circular,* which appeared in all the London daily papers, and which, I dare say, cost 200 pounds for the insertion, is full of curious matter; but, one fact that it states is worthy of particular notice; namely, that the Bankers "*pay* for *silver coin,* a pre-" mium of from 2 to 3 per centum," while

poor DE YONGE, since I was sent to jail, was prosecuted and found guilty of the CRIME of *selling coin*; a crime of which all the Bankers in London are here openly declared to be guilty! It is perfectly notorious, that this traffic in coin for paper, and paper for coin has been going on for a long while. The silver has been sold at the *Turnpike gates*, at the *Play-houses*, at *Wild Beast Shows*, and at many other places, *an inquiry* as to which ought to take place. But, as to the places here mentioned, the sale of the silver coin at them is notorious; and, yet, none of the parties (either buyers or sellers) have, that I have heard of, ever been either convicted or prosecuted. We are, however, to hear more of this, it appears, LORD FOLKESTONE having said that he will bring the matter forward.——Now, is there not enough disclosed in this paragraph to forbid the hope, in any sane mind, that the forth-coming 600,000 Dollars will put a stop to the hoarding? Why, if a man can get 2 or 3 per cent. for silver, and if he can get this as often as he can lay hold of the silver, who will be beast enough to pass it *at par*? The girl, that I have heard of, who used to scratch the bedstead, and think it was her side, would not be fool enough to pass that at par for which she could get 2 or 3 per centum premium at the corner of every street.——The paragraph of the Bankers (for it is very evident that it came from them) must, like all the other attempts of the sort, inevitably augment the evil it was intended to diminish; for, those who did not *before* know that silver was worth 2 or 3 per cent. beyond its nominal value, would know it now, and would, accordingly, rake together all they could.——The consequence of this and the other attempts to put a stop to hoarding has been an increase of the scarcity of silver coin. The business in shops and houses of public resort is become very troublesome owing to this scarcity. One of the effects produced has been the use of *copper halfpence*, which had sunk almost out of use before this scarcity of silver drew them forth. One of the conditions now of changing a pound note generally is, that the party receiving the change shall take 5*s*. or 10*s*. in these halfpence, five sixths of which, perhaps, are *counterfeits*; and, those not half the due weight, composed of base metal, brass for the most part, or block tin, or something that is very little worth. Here again is an augmentation of the mass of the circulating medium, and, of course, another cause of further depreciation.——Some Shop-Keepers and retail dealers, in London, notify, by a placard at their window, that they will take the dollar in payment at 5*s*. 9*d*. while others go so high as 6*s*. So that it must be downright brute folly to suppose, that the appearance of 600,000 Dollars, though they should be confined to London, would change the face of things, or induce any human being to forego the great and obvious advantages of hoarding.——In the country the distress, from the want of change, is still greater than in London; and it is with extreme difficulty, that people can travel from one place to another. In some places, at fairs and markets, *two prices* have been made, a *money* price and a *paper* price. It is impossible that this state of things should long continue. There must either two prices take place very shortly in all the affairs of men, in all parts of the country, or there must be *small notes*, I mean notes under twenty shillings. This would enable the system to stagger along a little longer; but, it could not, I think, be long. *Small notes* some people cry out against as a horrible device? *Why*, I know not; for, a 5*s*. note is not, that I can perceive, any more horrible than a 20*s*. note. It is made of the same sort of stuff; it issues from the self-same source, and proceeds from the same system.——I have some other remarks to submit to my reader upon the probable consequences of all these things; but, I cannot refrain from introducing in this place a passage from the late EARL OF LIVERPOOL'S Letter to the King, written in 1805.——There is nothing here said against the paper-money, which I had not said *three years before* this Lord published his book; but, I like to shew the Anti-Jacobins what *he* said, and that, too, *to the King*.——

In the course of the last year, *Spanish Dollars* to a considerable amount were 'sent into circulation, with new impres- 'sions struck upon the face and reverse of them. They were issued, with the consent of Government, by the Bank of England, who engaged to receive them back at the rate or value at which they 'were sent into circulation. This measure was adopted in conformity to what had been practised with respect to Copper Tokens, in the beginning of the 17th century. I have already observed, that Queen Elizabeth would not suffer any

"currency of this description to be issued; "and James I. when he did issue them, "would not suffer them to be called "Coins, but Tokens: many of these Cop- "per Tokens were sent into circulation in "a subsequent period by individuals, par- "ticularly during the confusions that pre- "vailed in the course of the civil wars. "The Dollars issued in the course of last "year are certainly not Coins, though "they have the impression of your Ma- "jesty; for they are not current under "your royal authority, and no one is "obliged to take them as legal tender in "payment of any debt. They are merely "Silver Tokens.——The justification of "this measure rests singly on the absolute "necessity there was for these Silver To- "kens, to pay the seamen of the royal "navy, and the artificers in the great docks "of the kingdom, from the want of Coins "of the lower denominations, which are "necessary for that purpose: the blame, "therefore, if any such is to be imputed, "falls not on those who permitted these "Dollars to be issued, but on those who "neglected to supply your Majesty's sub- "jects with a sufficient quantity of legal "Silver Coins to be employed in those "payments, for which these Dollars now "pass. But not only your Majesty's "*sailors* and your own artificers are in "want of legal Silver Coins; the labourers "in every part of the country, and the "manufacturers in the great and populous "towns of this kingdom, and all your good "people in every part of it, particularly "the inferior classes, suffer equally from "the want of them. On this occasion "allow me to submit to your Majesty a "moral consideration, which will, I am "persuaded, make a strong impression on "you: the lower ranks are occasionally "led into excesses from the want of a suf- "ficient quantity of Coins of the smaller "denominations; for when they receive "their weekly wages, they are frequently "compelled by their employers to attend "for payment at ale-houses and places "of that description, where Coins, or a low "sort of paper currency sometimes called "Silver Notes, are provided for that pur- "pose; and the poor are thereby too fre- "quently tempted to spend, in the pur- "chase of liquors, a part of what they "have gained by their industry, which "ought to have been reserved for the "sober maintenance of themselves and fa- "milies."——Now, this is all very true; but, who had contributed more towards this system than this old man himself? He had *always* supported PITT. He was *always* in some office under him, and, indeed, under every other minister during the last fifty years of his life. This, to be sure, was no reason why he should not endeavour to do a little good, to utter a little useful truth, before he went under ground, before he finally bid adieu to the people, out of whose taxes he had received so much; but, he should, I think, have taken this occasion (the last that was to offer!) of doing, or attempting to do, or, at least, expressing a wish to do something like justice to those, by whom this poisonous system had been opposed, and who had long been objects of persecution.——If, in the year 1805, the want of silver coin was severely felt by labourers and journeymen, what must they feel from that cause *now*? There is hardly a master tradesman in England, who can pay his men separately on a Saturday night. How should it be, indeed, when the Bankers, it is openly declared, give 2 or 3 per centum for silver, and when guineas are said to sell for 26 or 27*s*. The 7*s*. gold piece passes pretty current, I believe, at 8*s*. or perhaps more. While this is the case how is it possible for people to have silver wherein to pay workmen's wages?——For want of silver and gold for this purpose, they must take paper. They must put their men in classes and pay them three or four in one payment; or, they must give them paper in *advance*, or the men must give the masters *credit*, and thus *running accounts* and all the endless trouble and vexation of them to such persons.——But, whence is *to come* the paper for these small payments. When I say *small* payments, I mean small separately considered, and not in their aggregate amount; for, thus viewed, they are very large indeed, as will be at once perceived, when it is considered, that the *wages* upon a farm are generally nearly equal to the *rent*, and when we reflect, that, of every article of dress and of furniture, *nine tenths* of the amount is in *workmanship*.——*Whence, then, is to come* the thing to supply the place of gold and silver for the payment of *wages*? And, what effect must this new issue have upon the paper system? Is it not as clear as the sun, that there must be more paper issued to supply the place of the hoarded coin, and to carry on these operations between *master* and *man*, to say nothing about *army* or *navy*? The coin being hoarded, is it not clear that *more paper* must come to supply

the place of that coin; and what, then, will be gained by a new issue of 600,000 Dollars, if the very operation includes a further depreciation of the paper, first by an issue of paper in the purchase of these Dollars, and next by the depreciation occasioned by another issue of paper to supply the place of the coin hoarded on account of that rise in the price of the Dollar, without which a new issue of Dollars could not have been thought of?——But, in order to get a clear understanding upon this part of the subject, we must have something better than mere conjecture as to the amount of money used in the *weekly payments for labour*; because, when we know pretty exactly what that amount is, we shall be able to form something like a well-grounded and satisfactory opinion, FIRST, *as to the quantity of paper which has been added to the mass by the absence of coin*; and, SECOND, *as to the effect which the issuing of 600,000 Dollars will have in bringing coin back into circulation.*——There were, in England Wales and Scotland, when an Account of the Population was taken ten years ago, numbers as follows:

England and Wales.	
Persons chiefly employed in Agriculture	1,713,289
Persons employed in Trade, Manufactures, and Handicraft	1,843,353
Scotland.	
First Class as above	365,516
Second Class as above .	293,373
	4,215,531

This includes *masters* as well as *men*, and the families of both; and also *yearly* servants as well as weekly labourers. But, it is to be observed, that the wives and children *work*, in many instances; and that one half, perhaps, of the workmen in the second class are unmarried.——Allowing, therefore, one master and master's family in every *five* of the first class, and one in every *ten* of the second class; allow one third part of the farming labourers to be yearly servants; allow one half of the remainder of the whole to be married men, having 3 children each; but, allowing also that the wife and children earn half as much weekly as the man, and to be taken as such: according to this estimate the reader will find, that, in this island, there are to pay weekly,

Workmen of the two classes 2,654,159.

Now, as to the amount of their wages, taking one with the other, the rate cannot be lower than 15 shillings a week for each man; which would make,

Weekly wages............ £.1,990,618

Part of this sum might, and, doubtless, was, paid in paper; but, the far greater part must, I should think, have been paid in coin, before coin vanished from circulation. If we deduct a quarter part of the sum, upon the supposition that so much of it used to be paid in paper, we shall then find, after having reduced it to the lowest possible calculation, that there was,

Weekly wages until now paid in coin............... £.1,492,964

This, then, was about the amount of the coin paid every Saturday night to *workmen*, consequently there must have been this much in circulation in small gold coins and in silver, with a few copper-pieces. Well, the far greater part of this is in circulation no longer. The famous plan, proceeding from the joint deliberations of the Privy Council and the Bank, sent it all, or nearly all, out of circulation. The wages must, of course, be paid now in paper. *How the thing is managed* it matters not to the argument. Paid in paper the wages must now be some how or other; and of course, there is now so much more paper afloat than there was before; which paper the new Dollars will have to face when they come out, if ever they dare shew their heads, or, rather, if this paper ever dares meet them at the price of 5*s.* 6*d.*——What are 600,000 Dollars, then? What figure will they cut? What head will they make? Their amount, as I showed before, is 165,000 pounds, a little more than A TENTH *part of enough to pay the weekly wages!* This is the view to take of it. The coin that used to pay the weekly wages was, as we have seen, about £1,492,964; and, that being now hoarded, the Bank are (as *is said*) about to send out £.165,000 to *supply its place!* And this is their scheme; this is their remedy; this is their grand specific to prevent people from hoarding! Why, the £.165,000 would be hoarded in three days. Not a Dollar, except at an enhanced price, would be seen in circulation at the end of three days. One of the poems of the pensioned poet, Fitzgerald, would do as much good as such an issue of Dollars as this.——But, what have I done? What have I estimated here? Not much more than half. The hundreds of thou-

sands of persons, not included in either of the above classes, yet paid weekly, such as Porters, Waiters, Drawers, Car-men, Coachmen, Stable-men : in short, to give any thing like a correct general description of them is impossible. All of these get paid in small gold or silver. Then the sums necessarily current in shops and passing from hand to hand amongst others besides workmen Then the *army* and *navy*, and all their numerous retainers. What sums in coin must all these have received weekly ! That coin is *now* hoarded ; its place is, because it must be, *supplied by paper* ; the amount cannot be less than *two or three millions* of pounds and, does Governor Manning think, that he will put this paper out of circulation again by *a hundred and sixty five thousand pounds* in Dollars? Why, his Dollars would scarcely suffice for paying the weekly allowance to the PAUPERS of this prosperous country. In 1803, the annual sum expended upon the Paupers in England and Wales (exclusive of Scotland) was 5,348,205 ; and, if we suppose, as we must, that the Paupers have increased as fast in the last 8 years as they did in the 8 years before 1803, the sum annually expended on them now amounts to £.6,943,433. Less than a fourth part of the Paupers are kept in Workhouses. But, suppose a fourth part of the money to be laid out upon those in the Houses ; there will then remain £.5,207,575 to be paid to the OUTS ("I bar fallacious inuendo") ; to be paid, I say, to the *out paupers*, who get their pay weekly from the overseer. Now, if you divide this sum into fifty two, or weekly, allotments, you will find, I believe, that there will require, as

	£.
The weekly payment to the *out-lying* Paupers of England and Wales..........................	100,145

This is exclusive of Scotland, observe; so that, when Governor Manning's 600,000 promised Dollars, or 165,000 pounds, have had taken from them, the sum necessary for the weekly pay of the *out paupers* in England and Wales, there will be 65,000 pounds worth of these Dollars left ! Is it not shocking, then ; ought it not to make one ashamed of one's country, to see it stated in the public prints, that these 600,000 Dollars are calculated to remove the present distresses? The whole 600,000 are not sufficient to furnish the overseers with the means of paying *all* the poor, if we include Scotland.——Is it not, then, monstrous to suppose, that the issuing of this mere drop in the bucket will put a stop to hoarding, or lower the price of the Dollar ?——Let us now (for it has a very close connection with the subject before us) cast our eyes towards our ancient ally, AUSTRIA. It will be borne in mind, that a part of *our National Debt*, the dividends on which are paid in paper-money by our Bank ; that a part of this Debt ; a part of our Funds ; a part of our Stock ; a part of what is called the *Funded Property*, was borrowed of the people for, and in the name of, the *Emperor of Germany* ; and, it is even now called the *Imperial Loan*. It stands in the Public Accounts thus :

	£.	s. d.
For the Emperor of Germany..............	7,502,633	6 8

How *exact* they are ! Punctual to a penny ! Good God, what a people we are !——Upon this sum the annual *interest* or *expence*, is £.496,277 7s. 11d. They might have put *t'other penny* ! What a people, Good God !——Here is nearly half a million of money, you see ; nearly a twelfth part of enough to feed all our Paupers ; and this sum we have had to pay for many years, and are paying it yet, for the Emperor of Germany, whose daughter has now become the spouse of Napoleon. ——But, at any rate, this Emperor being so much in our debt, it is worth while for us to pay a little attention to what is said about *his* finances. Here it is, as I find it in the Times news-paper of the other day ; and I beseech the English reader to pay attention to every word of it ; for, he may be assured, that it is, of all things connected with politics, the most interesting that he can have submitted to him.——"The Emperor of Austria has issued a 'long edict, for the purpose of regulating 'the current value of the Vienna bank-'paper, which is well known to have 'suffered a great depreciation. This edict, 'which is dated the 20th of February, '1811, sets out with enumerating the 'measures which were taken *for supporting the finances* of Austria in September last, by imposing a tax of 10 per cent. 'on moveable and on real property. Notwithstanding this, however, the value of the paper-money *continued to fall*, 'and sunk so low as 1,200 in exchange for specie. It then goes on to mention the inconveniencies which arose to in-'dustry and property from this state of things, proceeding from the "*excess of* '"*a worthless paper money.*"—In order to remove this evil, the edict circumscribe

"the mass of paper money, and fixes it at "1,060,798 753 florins, which is the "whole sum to remain in circulation, and "to be afterwards funded. But the mass "so diminished is not to be realised, or "to pass at its nominal value; and on "this head the edict contains the following regulations:—1. The Vienna bank-"paper shall not remain in circulation "after the last day of January, 1812.—"2. Till then it shall pass current in payments at the fifth part of its nominal "value. 3. From the 15th of March "1811, the bank-paper in all redemption "bonds and payments shall be fixed at "one fifth of its nominal value; that is "to say,

Bank-money of	5 florins, at	1 florin.
	10 .... at	2 ....
	25 .... at	5 ....
	50 .... at	10 ....
	100 .... at	20 ....
	500 .... at	100 ....

"and at this rate it shall be taken by the "public treasury, and by private individuals, till the end of January, 1812. "4. From the 1st of Feb. 1812, the Vienna "bank-paper shall be taken out of circulation, and payments in it shall cease "with the 31st of January, 1812.—5. "Redemption-bonds can no longer be circulated but in exchange for bank-"paper at one fifth of its nominal value. "By this means the amount of redemption-bonds can in no case rise higher "than 212,159,750 florins.—The edict "then goes on to state, that the Emperor "will adopt means for placing these redemption-bonds under the guarantee of "the Hereditary States, for funding and "gradually annihilating the paper-money, "and establishing a sinking-fund; and "that he will publish new regulations to "that effect as soon as he has come to a "settlement with the Diets of Hungary "and Transylvania in relation to the present matter. In the mean time he declares to his faithful subjects, that the "money arising from THE SALE OF THE "PROPERTY OF THE CHURCH CONTINUES TO "BE APPROPRIATED TO THE EXTINCTION "OF THE PAPER-MONEY.—Then follow a "variety of minor regulations with re"spect to the payment of debts due to "individuals and to the State, according "to the value affixed to the bank-paper "by the edict."——Bravo! Take breath and at it again! Does not our poor £7,502,633. 6s. 8d. tremble, my neighbours? If the Emperor, our ancient and faithful ally in the Anti-Jacobin war, were to tender us payment in his paper-money now, what should we say? Yet, I do not see how we could refuse it; how we could say that it was not a *legal tender*, after the principles upon which "the great 'man now no more," and his living followers, have acted.——This paper-money is, then, come down to *one-fifth* of the real money value. *Ours* retains about *four fifths* of its real money value, supposing the dollar to be *freely current* at 5s. 6d. Mr. HUSKISSON said our paper had sunk *three* shillings in the pound when he wrote his pamphlet. The fall since that, or the rise in the price of silver (they are the same thing), is, we all know, ten per cent. that is to say two shillings in the pound more, making, in the whole, 5s. in the pound; that is to say 25 per centum; that is to say, *one fourth part;* leaving, as I said before, the paper-money at *four fifths* of the value of real money.——At present, it would be useless to waste one's time in conjectures as to what will be the *future progress* of our paper-money, especially as there seems to me, and, I think, must to every rational man, so little room for conjecture; the fact being so plain before us. But, I cannot refrain from requesting the reader; I cannot refrain from requesting all those who have, or are likely to have, any public power in their hands, to *look well at the state of things in Austria.* What! *sell the property of the Church!* Alas! how were the Jacobins of France abused for doing that! Yet, this is now going on under a government that joined us in making war against those Jacobins, one of whose crimes in our eyes was, the sacrilegious seizing hold upon Church Property. ——What a revolution must this be in Austria! The change must have been such as to turn society almost upside down. The CLERGY, who were always *the greatest enemies to the liberties of the people,* have now to smart in their turn. The people can lose nothing. They cannot be worse off than they were before. They cannot be more cruelly taxed and insulted; and, though they may *get* nothing, in the first instance, by the change, they have that which is cheering to all men, namely, *the pleasure of seeing their insolent oppressors pulled down.*——Whenever there has been a paper-money that has ended in a Bankruptcy, the *Church*, where there has been Church *Property*, has tasted of the effects of it. And, one can-

not but be struck with wonder, that in France, in Austria, and many other countries the established Clergy have, nineteen out of twenty, been amongst the most forward in support of the system that has produced, and that did naturally and obviously tend to produce their own overthrow. This has always been matter of wonder with me. But, leaving the cause to others, the fact is notorious; and, therefore, when the day of their fall has arrived, they have never been proper objects of pity. There has been in their conduct, in the countries referred to, a malignity unknown to all others but the lawyers, and surpassing even that of this latter tribe. Other tyrants have been cruel and insolent and excessively so; but, in the conduct of the Clergy, there has been a coolness and a malignity unmatched by what has apppeared in any other description of men.——"Verily I say unto you, they "have their reward!" For *them* there is every species of loss and of mortification, without one remaining ray of hope. When one sees a man fallen from a high estate; sees him tumbled from his gilded chariot, and made to trudge through the dirt, one cannot help feeling some compassion for him, however insolent he may have formerly been. But, this is a great weakness. *He* never felt, perhaps, for any human being under his power. *He* never shewed mercy towards any one; and, in the insolence of his heart, he will, perhaps, despise the forgiving public who pity him. —— As to the *measure* of selling the Church Property, in order to liquidate the paper-money, we have not here a very full account of it; but, I suppose, there was no other way of obtaining the means of making even a small provision for the unhappy creatures, whose all was in vile paper, and who had lent their money upon the faith of the government. This money they had lent to the government, which, as far as it was able, was bound to see them paid, It could not pay them any longer, except in a depreciated paper; they are now paid, I suppose, in this paper, which is reduced to *one fifth* of its value, and even that is, it would seem, not to be supported without the *sale of the Property of the Church*, which, I should suppose, would fetch a great deal of money. The Church has, I suppose, *lands* and *houses* and *manors*, as our Church has, and livings, consisting of tythes and glebes and mansions. These, except the mansions, or parsonage houses, were sold in France, and fetched an immensity of money. The lands and houses held under the Church were all made *free*, and the tythes, being bought out, were, of course, abolished; or, rather, the owner of the land became the proprietor of all its produce, and tythes ceased to exist.——This is, I suppose, what they are doing in Austria; and, if it be absolutely necessary in order to save the poor public creditors from starving, there can be no doubt of its being a just measure, though, I think, that the Clergy ought to have a decent provision made for them; for, while the Church Property is disposed of to prevent one class of persons from starving, another class ought not to be starved by the same measure.——This is a very interesting subject, and I beg leave to recommend it to the discussion of those Clergymen, who may be members of the "PITT CLUB." Persons so very zealous in support of the "public faith," as it is called, can hardly, I should suppose, disapprove of this measure adopted in Austria. When I, some years ago, ventured to express my doubts as to whether the fund-holders in England would have any reason to complain, if their interest was stopped for ever, unless their money was *forced* from them and put into the Funds against their will; when I thus ventured, I was called *every thing but a Gentleman*. "Cheat, rogue, "swindler:" nothing was too bad for me. Well, then, do you, the PITTITE CLERGY: I put it to you: do *you* approve of what has been done in Austria? Come, come! None of your faultering and stammering and equivocating: answer me at once: do *you*, I say, approve of what has been done in Austria? *Do you approve of selling the Property of the Church to make good the depreciation on the paper-money?* And, to try the thing by the scriptural test, should you, in case of a further great depreciation of the paper-money here, *approve of a sale of the property of the Church of England?* That is the question. That is home to you. If you answer in the affirmative, it is well. I am satisfied. But, if you higgle, and at last answer me in the negative, where is your justification for abusing me, because I expressed my doubts as to the claims of the fundholders?——When I saw this article about the paper-money in Austria, I could not help asking myself how the salaries of my Lords the Judges were paid there. *Now*, they receive the paper at *one fifth*, of course; but, how did they get their sala-

ries, while the paper was *going down*, and before any new rate of value was fixed upon it by law? This is an object of great interest. I should like to have been in Austria to see how the thing was managed. The placemen too, and the pensioners, all persons with fixed salaries, and even *fees*, fixed as to their amount. What a change! There is nothing that affects political society like this: nothing that so stirs it up; nothing that so searches it.——No wonder that Austria made *peace;* for, how was she to make war, after the purse of England could no longer supply her? How was she to pay *soldiers*, who have good stomachs and arms in their hands. That she would pay *them* to the last penny there can be no doubt; but, even self-preservation would not enable her to go *beyond* the last penny. If there was any specie at all afloat, that would, of course, remain in private hands, and the *taxes* would all be paid in paper; just as it always has been in all countries where there has been a degraded paper-money; for, let it be observed, the paper never depreciates till the government affords it its *kind protection;* and, it is impossible to do this, without *taking it in payment of taxes.* This is, indeed, the way, and the only effectual way, of giving it support. But, this support is not given without good reason. The government has first got hold of the paper-money. It pays the interest of its debt, or answers some other purpose, with it; and, having done this, its credit becomes inseparable in duration with that of the credit of the paper.——This view of the matter, brings me back home again, and bids me, before I conclude this article (though it is already too long), endeavour to fix the attention of my readers to this important point; and to caution them against all the delusions now afloat, which, if they have any effect, can only have the effect of making the inconvenience now felt a most serious and awful calamity. *Armies* have been called edge-tools, and so they are; but a paper-money is a far more dangerous instrument. What must they be both together?——I have heard of a project of LORD STANHOPE for collecting a large sum of specie, in order to pay the army with in case of necessity; but this, like all the other projects that I have heard of, seems not to have in view, that before the specie can be got *a fresh heap of paper must be put forth;* so that here would be a new cause of depreciation, occasioned, too, for the purpose of government hoarding. ——This was, I am sure, well meant; because his Lordship is as sincere a lover of his country as I am; but, I am fully persuaded, that the thing would be impracticable.——These are but desultory remarks; they may, however, be useful; and, I can never conclude any set of observations upon this subject, without stating, that I am of opinion, that all will end well for the country; for the liberties of the people and the stability of the throne.——I have never endeavoured to excite *despair.* Those only excite despair, who tell us, that our salvation depends upon the credit of the paper-money; and who, while they abuse me; while they revile me as a traitor, bent upon the subversion of all order, law, and property, are really making use of endeavours tending directly to that horrid catastrophe. Not many months have passed over our heads, since the MORNING POST proclaimed the country bank notes to be *vile and degraded rags;* not appearing to know, that they composed *two third parts of our paper-money.* If they really were vile and degraded rags, what is *now* our condition, when it must be evident to every man of only common understanding, that they have greatly increased since that description was given of them? This writer called those notes "*destructive* "*assignats,*" and "*vile rags,*" and "*dirty* "*rags.*" We have not less, in my opinion, than 70,000,000 of pounds in these notes now circulating in the kingdom. I mean in England, Wales, and Scotland, exclusive of Ireland. And yet this man is a "*loyal*" writer! Ah! the day will come, when those who stand in need of *real* loyalty will know their friends from their foes.

WM. COBBETT.

State Prison, Newgate, Friday, April 19, 1811.

ENGLAND.—"Copy of the Notice issued "by the Bank of England, fixing "the current price of stamped Dollars.—Laid before the House of "Commons, March 28, 1811.

"*At a Court of Directors at the Bank, on Monday the 18th March,* 1811; The Governor laid before the Court the following Minute of the Committee of Coin, transmitted by direction of their Lordships; viz.

"*March* 18, 1811.—By the right honourable the Lords of the Committee of

"Privy Council, appointed to take into "consideration the state of the Coins of "this kingdom, and the present establishment and constitution of his Majesty's "Mint.—The Governor and Deputy Governor of the Bank attended on the 8th "instant, and had conferences on that and "on several succeeding days with their "Lordships, on the effect which the present advanced price of Bullion was likely "to have on the circulation of Bank Dollar "Tokens.—They represented, that at the "time when the Bank Dollar Tokens "were first issued at Five Shillings each, "*their intrinsic value did not exceed Four "Shillings and Nine-pence*; whereas *at "present these Tokens are worth Five Shillings and Two-pence halfpenny*: that under "these circumstances, the intrinsic value "of these Tokens having thus become "higher than their nominal value, it was "to be apprehended that they would "soon be withdrawn from circulation.—"Their Lordships, fully aware of the serious embarrassments to which the public must be exposed, if this useful circulating medium should be withdrawn, "and of the necessity of adopting some "immediate measure to *counteract an evil* "which they have reason to believe has "actually commenced, and will be very "soon sensibly felt by the public, unless "its further progress be forthwith counteracted, received with great satisfaction "the assurances of the Governor and Deputy Governor of the Bank, that they "were ready to adopt any measure "which was calculated to promote the "accommodation of the public; and *after "a most attentive consideration* of all the difficulties, and of the urgency of the case, "—Their Lordships are of opinion, that "it is expedient that the Governor and "Company of the Bank of England "should notify, as speedily and as publicly as possible, that as the price of "Silver has risen so much since the first "issue of Bank Dollar Tokens at Five "Shillings each, as now to make them "worth more to be sold as Bullion, than "at the price at which they are current, "it is deemed expedient, *in order to prevent their being withdrawn from circulation*, "that an additional value, nearly proportionate to that at which they were first "issued in relation to their intrinsic value, "be now assigned to them; and that the "Governor and Company of the Bank of "England should therefore give directions "to their cashiers and other officers, from "henceforth, (until a public Notice to the "contrary, of not less than six months, "shall have been given) to receive all "Bank Dollar Tokens tendered in payment at the Bank, at the rate of Five "Shillings and Sixpence each, instead of "Five Shillings as heretofore; and to "pay and to issue all such Bank Dollar "Tokens as shall be paid or issued hereafter by them, at the same rate of Five "Shillings and Sixpence each. And their "Lordships have directed that a communication shall be made to the Governor "and Deputy Governor of the Bank to "this effect, to be by them submitted for the consideration of the Directors of the Bank.—Their Lordships are further of opinion, that on receiving the concurrence of the Directors of the Bank to this proposition, it will be expedient, for the more effectual execution of this measure, that the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury should give 'the necessary directions to all the 'officers of receipt of the different branches of public revenue, to receive 'Bank Dollar Tokens at the rate of Five 'Shillings and Sixpence each, in payment of all taxes and duties, in the same 'manner as they have hitherto received "them at the rate of Five Shillings, and "that due notification should be given of "such directions. — The Governor and "Deputy Governor waited on the Lords of the Committee of Privy Council for Coin; and acquainted them, That the Court had consented to their proposal, "and had directed the following Notice to be published in the Gazette and daily and other newspapers; viz.—*Bank of England, March* 18, 1811.—BANK DOLLAR TOKENS.—Whereas the price of Silver has risen so much since the first issue of Bank Dollar Tokens at Five Shillings each, as now to make them worth more to be sold as Bullion, than the price at which they are current: And whereas it has been deemed expedient, at the recommendation of the right honourable the Lords Committee of Privy Council for Coin, in order to prevent their being withdrawn from circulation, that an additional value, nearly proportionate to that at which they were first issued in relation to their intrinsic value, be now assigned to them; The Governor and Company of the Bank of England do therefore hereby give notice, that they have given orders to their cashiers and other officers, from

"henceforth (until a public Notice to the "contrary, of not less than six months, "shall have been given) to receive all "Bank Dollar Tokens tendered in payment at the Bank, at the rate of Five "Shillings and Sixpence each, instead of "Five Shillings as heretofore. And to "pay and to issue all such Bank Dollar "Tokens as shall be paid or issued hereafter by them, at the same rate of "Five Shillings and Sixpence each."

LIGHT GOLD.

AGAINST

HEAVY GOLD,

From the Morning Chronicle of the 17th of April, 1811.

SIR;—I am sure if that worthy man, George Fisher, Accountant, the well-known Author of the Young Man's best Companion, was alive, he would in his questions for exercise have introduced the following—"If a light guinea be worth in paper currency 1*l.* 4*s.* 3*d.* what is a heavy guinea worth in the same currency? —Answer, 1*l.* 4*s.* 6*d.*" When the little boy, after a great deal of puzzling, had made out the answer, I think I see the venerable George Fisher mildly chucking his pupil under the chin, and thus addressing this decimal fraction of a tradesman's large family—My dear Bobby, this sum is only to be worked on a slate from whence it can be readily spunged off, but you must not enter it into your sum-book, because, my dear Bobby, though right by the rule of three, it is wrong by the rule of fact; a heavy guinea is worth but 1*l.* 1*s.* in the paper currency.—But one pound one! exclaims Bobby; why I multiplied the third by the second, and divided by the first, and the answer came out 1*l.* 4*s.* 6*d.*—Ah! but my dear Bobby, replies George Fisher, the bankers have so multiplied the paper, and so divided their *bonusses*, that in this instance the common rules of arithmetic are entirely violated; yea the very intrinsic value of things is changed; for lo! a light guinea is more valuable, with reference to bank-notes, than a heavy guinea, for the light guinea you can get 1*l.* 4*s.* 3*d.* and for the heavy guinea but 1*l.* 1*s.*—this is very strange, says Bobby—I'll tell my father of it—your father knows it already—but why don't people sell their heavy guineas, and get 1*l.* 4*s.* 6*d.* for them, rejoins Bobby?—they are prevented by an Act of Parliament—but is it not very absurd that an Act of Parlia——ment he would have said, had not George Fisher ordered him to go to his seat, and leave the mysteries of the Mint to the Clerk of the Meltings.—But of guineas let us not speak—it is a tale of other times—with the Bank of England, we may well exclaim, *de mortuis nil nisi bonum*, that is, of the defunct there is no vestige but the bonus, the amount of that indeed, and the immense rise in the value of Bank Stock, are the legacies which guineas bequeathed to the Governor and Company of the Bank of England, when they expired in the year 1797. Within the space of thirteen years from that period, the marketable value of 100*l.* Bank Stock, has risen from something less than 128*l.* to very near 280*l.* the dividend has been increased from 7 to 10 per cent. and bonusses to the amount of 32 per cent. have been distributed among the Proprietors.—I see you have published my humble suggestions upon the want of change—and here, that they may have a chance of being read by all parties, let me clearly explain, that under the expression 'want of change,' there is not the slightest allusion to the removal of the Honourable Spencer Perceval from his situation of Clerk of the Meltings, or of any other, the slightest alteration in the Ministry—by change, I strictly wish to be understood to mean crowns, half-crowns, shillings, and sixpences, which have now nearly, and in the course of a few weeks, will altogether disappear. The remedy I have proposed is not like the sinking fund, founded upon theory, but has been actually carried into execution in the Sister Kingdom, and I am certain, that the Directors of the Bank of Ireland, who have been indefatigable in their endeavours to buy up all the bad shillings and recoin them, *pro bono publico*, into twopenny pieces, will readily communicate with their brethren of the Bank of England on this interesting subject, send them samples of their farrago, lend them their die, and as Mr. Davy may not have any test to ascertain it, reveal the extreme degree of baseness to which they have been obliged to descend in their endeavours to accommodate the Irish public.—At all events, let me deprecate any thing like the issuing of notes under one pound; the sufferings of the people in Ireland, particularly the poorer classes, in consequence of such an arrangement, were dreadful. Every petty shopkeeper became

a banker, issued his paper, bought bad goods, and put what price he pleased upon them, certain that his neighbours must buy them, because his paper had no currency except from his counter to his till. Oh, no! any thing except five shilling and two-and-sixpenny notes—rather than that, let the brass pots and kettles, as in the time of James II. be called in, melted, and coined—but no more paper for the sake of common humanity!—I am now called away to see a very fine ram, upon which, I am informed, Sir John Sinclair is to ride round the hall of the Bank of England, preparatory to his being crowned with a wreath of cancelled bank-notes; he is then to proceed to the Rotunda, to partake of a *dejeuné a la fourchette*, consisting chiefly of prize meats; a great deal of good singing is expected—Mr. R. Jackon is to favour the company with 'Money in both Pockets;' two mermaids have kindly come forward to offer their gratuitous assistance—they are to sit in bathing tubs, at each side of the President, and have promised to execute some appriate airs, 'Cease rude Boreas,' and 'Water parted from the Sea,' Sir John being reseated on his ram—the whole to conclude with a grand chorus in praise of Pitt and pound notes, in which all the Stock-jobbers, Contractors, Clerks, Directors, and the entire corps *papieritique* are to join. Medals of the great man now no more, struck on pasteboard, are to be distributed amongst the performers, who are to fire a *feu de joie* in honour of his memory, providing the ram be found sufficiently steady to bear the explosion, otherwise it is to be omitted.—I shall resume the subject of the scarcity of silver at a future period, which, with some other particulars, I shall be happy to communicate to you; meantime, I remain,

Your obedient Servant,

TIMOTHY TINKER.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

AMERICAN STATES.——*Mr. Pinckney to Lord Wellesley.—Great Cumberland Place, Dec.* 10, 1810.

(*Concluded from p.* 960.)

This prodigious expansion of the system was far beyond any intelligible standard of retaliation; but it soon appeared that neutrals might be permitted to traffic, under certain restrictions, with all these different nations, provided they would submit, with a dependance truly colonial, to carry on their trade through British ports, and to pay such duties as the British government should think fit to impose, and such charges as British agents and other British subjects might be content to make. The United States abstained from this traffic, in which they could no embark without dishonour: and in 1809 the system shrunk to narrower dimensions, and took the appearance of an absolute prohibition of all commercial intercourse with France, Holland, and the kingdom of Italy.—The prohibition was absolute in appearance, but not in fact. It had lost something of former exuberance, but nothing of former pliancy; and in the event was soon to yield to the demands of one trade, while it prevented every other—controuled and relaxed and mangled by licenses, it did not, after a brief exhibition of impartial sternness, affect to "distress the enemy" by the occlusion of his ports, when the commerce of England could advantageously find its way to them—at length, however, this convenience seems to be enjoyed no longer; and the orders in council may apparently be now considered (if indeed they ought not always to have been considered) as affecting England with a loss as heavy as that which they inflict on those whose rights they violated. In such circumstance, if it be too much to expect the credulity of 1807, it may yet be hoped that the evidence of the practical effect of the French repeal need not be very strong to be satisfactory. It is, however, as strong as the nature of such a case will admit; as a few observations will shew.—On such an occasion it is no paradox to say, that the want of evidence is itself evidence. That certain decrees are not in force is proved by the absence of such facts as would appear if they were in force. Every motive which can be conjectured to have led to the repeal of the Edicts, invites us to the full execution of that repeal; and no motive can be imagined for a different course—these considerations are alone conclusive.—But further, it is known that American vessels, bound confessedly to England, have, before the 1st of November, been visited by French privateers and suffered to pass, upon the foundation of the prospective repeal of the decree of Berlin, and the proximity of the day when it would become an actual one.—If there are not even stronger facts to shew that the decree of Milan is also withdrawn, your Lordship can be at no loss for the reason. It cannot be proved that an

American vessel is practically held by France not to be denationalised by British violation, because your cruizers visit only to capture, and compel the vessel visited to terminate her voyage, not in France, but in England. You will not ask for the issue of an experiment which yourselves intercept, nor complain that you have not received evidence, which is not obtained because you have rendered it impossible. The vessel which formed the subject of my note of the 8th instant, and another, more recently seized as a prize, would, if they had been suffered as they ought, to resume their voyages after having been stopped and examined by English cruizers, have furnished on that point unanswerable proof; and I have reason to know, that precise offers have been made to the British Government to put a practical test to the disposition of France in this respect, and that those offers have been refused. Your cruizers, however, have not been able to visit all American vessels bound to France; and it is understood that such as have arrived have been received with friendship.—I cannot quit this last question without entering my protest against the pretension of the British Government to postpone the justice which it owes to my Government and country, for the tardy investigation of consequences. I am not able to comprehend upon what the pretension rests, nor to what limits the investigation can be subjected. If it were even admitted that France was more emphatically bound to repeal her almost nominal decrees than Great Britain to repeal her substantial orders (which will not be admitted), what more can reasonably be required by the latter than has been done by the former? The decrees are officially declared by the Government of France to be repealed; they were ineffectual, as a material prejudice to England before the declaration, and must be ineffectual since. There is, therefore, nothing of substance for this dilatory enquiry, which if once begun may be protracted without end, or at least till the hour for just and prudent decision has passed. But, if there were room to apprehend that the repealed decrees might have some operation in case the Orders in Council were withdrawn, still, as there is no sudden and formidable peril to which Great Britain could be exposed by that operation, there can be no reason for declining to act at once upon the declaration of France, and to leave it to the future to try its sincerity, if that sincerity be suspected.—I have thus disclosed to your Lordship, with that frankness which the times demand, my views of a subject deeply interesting to our respective countries. The part which Great Britain may act on this occasion cannot fail to have important and lasting consequences, and I can only wish that they may be good. By giving up her Orders in Council, and the blockades to which my letter of the 21st of September relates, she has nothing to lose in character or strength. By adhering to them she will not only be unjust to others, but unjust to herself.—I have the honour to be, with the highest consideration, my Lord, your Lordship's most obedient humble servant.

WM. PINKNEY.

The most Noble the Marquis Wellesley, &c.

(There is another letter from Mr. Pinkney, of December 23, to Mr. Smith, but not important)

AMERICAN STATES.— *Extract of a Letter from Wm. Pinkney, Esq. to the Secretary of State, dated London, December 14, 1810.*

On the 4th inst. I received from Lord Wellesley a note, of which a copy marked No. 1 is inclosed, respecting the repeal of the French decrees. The conference to which it invited me took place on the 5th; and in the course of it, I explained to him, at considerable length, my view of that subject, and of the points immediately connected with it. Lord Wellesley heard me in his usual manner; but confined himself to such general remarks and professions as I need not repeat to you.—He introduced, of his own accord, the subjects of a Minister Plenipotentiary, and the Chesapeake.—On the first, he professed to entertain the same disposition and intention as heretofore, and declared that the delay which had taken place, arose altogether from some obstacles, of a personal nature, to obtaining the services of the person whom he particularly wished to send to America; that he hoped these obstacles would soon be removed; that he had another person in view if it should be otherwise; that he had not supposed that delay could be considered as of any moment by my Government, after the assurance contained in his note to me in July last; that these temporary inequalities were common, and, when not meant to be offensive, were never held to be so, &c.

&c.—On the second, he informed me that he had not sent me a paper which he had prepared upon it, because he thought it would be well that the new Minister should carry out the adjustment, and consequently, that it should be postponed till he was appointed. He repeated, that we should have no difficulties upon it. I give you these verbal explanations as I received them."

(No. 1)—*Foreign Office, December* 4, 1810.—Sir—After the most accurate inquiry I have not been able to obtain any authentic intelligence of the actual repeal of the French decrees, to which your Notes of 25th of August, and 3d of November, refer, or of the restoration of the commerce of neutral nations to the condition in which it stood previously to the promulgation of those decrees.—If you should be in possession of any such information I should be happy to receive it from you, and for that purpose I request to have the honour of a conference with you at this office to-morrow, at two o'clock. I have the honour to be, &c.—WELLESLEY.—*Wm. Pinkney, Esq.* &c. &c. &c.

SWEDEN.—*Temporary Resignation of the King.*

We Charles, by the grace of God, King of Sweden, &c. &c. Make known, whereas, owing to an illness that has befallen us, and from which, by the assistance of the Almighty, we hope soon to be restored, we have deemed it necessary, in order to promote this object, for the present to withdraw ourselves from the care and trouble which are so closely united with the management of public affairs, and in order, during our illness, not to retard the progress of affairs, we have thought fit to order what is to be observed respecting the Government; and having at the same time found that the states of the kingdom on drawing up the constitution, have, only from tender motives towards us not pointed out how and in what manner, as in the present case, the Government is to be managed during the illness of the King, when the successor is of age, we have therefore thought that we could in no better way fulfil our obligations towards ourselves, and the kingdom, than by entrusting the care of both to a Prince, who being intended one day to be seated on the throne of Sweden, has, by the ties of nature and friendship, become most dear to us, and who unites in his person the love of us and of the Swedish people.—And we do, therefore, hereby appoint and nominate our beloved Son, his Royal Highness Carl John, Crown Prince of Sweden, and Generalissimo of our Military Forces by land and sea, during our illness, and until we shall be restored to health, to manage the Government in our name, and with all the rights we possess, and alone to sign and issue all orders, &c. with the following motto above the signature:—"During the illness of my most gracious King and Lord, and agreeable to his appointment." —However, his Royal Highness the Crown Prince must not, during the administration of our Royal Power and Dignity, create any Nobleman, Baron, or Count, or bestow on any one the orders of Knighthood. All vacant Offices of State can only until further orders, be managed by those whom his Royal Highness shall appoint for that purpose.—We rest assured that our faithful subjects will joyfully receive the resolution thus taken by us, which gives an unexceptionable proof of our unlimited confidence in our well-beloved son, his Royal Highness the Crown Prince, and of the sentiments which we have always entertained, and which we never shall cease but with our life to entain for the people, the government of whom Providence has confided to us. This serves for the information of all and every one concerned; In further testimony whereof we have signed these presents and caused the same to be sanctioned by our Royal seal.—Palace of Stockholm, March, 17, 1811.—CHARLES (L. S.)—JAS. WETTERSTEDT.

FRANCE.—*Neutral Commerce.*

Paris, Dec. 29. On the 25th inst. the Minister of Finance addressed a letter to Count de Sussey, the Director General of the Customs, which, after alluding to the Communication made on the 5th of August to General Armstrong, the Proclamation of Mr. Maddison, and the Letter from the American Treasury to their Custom-houses, concludes thus.

His Majesty, Sir, perceiving in these two documents an announcement of the measures which the Americans intend to take on the 2d of February next, to cause their rights to be respected, has ordered

me to make known to you, that the Decrees of Berlin and Milan are not to be applied to any American vessel that has arrived in our ports since the 1st of November, or that shall, in future, arrive therein; and that such vessels as may have been sequestrated, on the ground of contravention to the said Decrees, are to form the subject of a special report. On the 2d of February I shall communicate to you the intentions of the Emperor, as to the definitive measure to be taken for distinguishing and favouring the American navigation.

Hamburgh, Dec. 17.—Special Council created by decree of the 19th October, 1810. Sitting of the 14th December.

The majority of the Special Council having met, it was represented that many merchants and traders from Holstein had for some considerable time been soliciting permission to make fresh declarations of colonial products, the entry of which had been lawful by Hamburgh. These merchants represented, that having only had the said products consigned to them, they were not able to know in time the intentions of their employers. The Council taking this circumstance into consideration, and conjecturing that it entered into the means of his Majesty the Emperor and King to facilitate the enjoyment of the favour intended by his decree of the 4th October, 1810, was of opinion, that there should be granted a longer time for the admission of their declarations, which shall expire on the 31st December, 1810.—COUNT DE COMPANS. *The General of Division, Chief of the General Staff, President of the Special Council.*

PRUSSIA—*Relative to the Confiscation of all Ships in which Colonial Produce and English Merchandise in the Ports of these Territories have been, or may be, introduced. Berlin 19th March.*

We, Frederic, William, by the Grace of God, King of Prussia, &c.—By our Edict of the 28th of October last, have ordered the attachment and confiscation of all colonial, and other merchandize, which have been considered English, under the Continental System, but it was not determined by the same Edict how the ships were to be disposed of by which such goods were introduced into our territories.—Yet it was before prohibited by our regulation of the 11th June, 1808, that every attempt, at any sort of trade, with England, or its colonies, should expose the offender to the penalty of confiscation of ship and cargo, and to further severe punishment. The same penalties have also been enacted in our later Edicts, in which we expressed our full determination to exert all our power for the completion and establishment of the said Continental System.—In pursuance of this design, we Decree and Order as follows:—Art. 1. Any ship or ships wherever built, and to whatever nation belonging, the cargo of which consists of what has been considered the produce of England, either by growth or manufacture, must in pursuance of the Continental System, be seized the moment it reaches our harbours, or in any other way becomes subject to our jurisdiction.—Art. 2. The penalty of confiscation follows such seizure without the necessity of any further legal formality, and it applies to all ships which are now in our ports, the cargoes of which have been conficated, or may be confiscated under our edict of the 28th Oct. 1810.—Art 3. Our Privy Counsellor Heydebrech is commissioned to conduct the public sales of all confiscations made under the second Article, the produce of which is to be paid into our Treasury.—Art. 4. the persons named in Article seven of our Decree of the 28th October, 1810, as our Commissioners, viz. the same Privy Counsellor Heydebrech, the Privy Counsellor K[illegible]er, and our Privy Counsellor and Chief Justice Brunswick, are to furnish, if required, to the Captains or Owners of the ships confiscated, certificates of such confiscation.—Art 5. The same Commissioners are in all future cases to determine on the confiscation of ships, by which, according to the said Continental System, prohibited merchandize may be conveyed to our dominions, as hitherto they have done, with regard to the cargoes, and no appeal is to be made from their decision.—Given at Berlin, the 8th March, 1811.

FREDERICK WILLIAM.
HARDENBURGH.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

PORTUGAL.—THE WAR.—The boastings respecting the retreat of Massena, hav been so noisy, that there was not, unti now, any hope of getting a hearing.—— The use I shall make of the apparent return of sober sense in the news-writers, is to put a few questions to them, requesting them to have the goodness to bear in mind that it is *an answer* the public will look for, and not *abuse* of him who puts the questions.——You say, then, gentlemen that the French General has *run away* that he has *fled in disgrace;* and that thi flight is indicative of the approaching total discomfiture of the French in Portugal and Spain, and of the utter ruin o their cause.——Now, if this be so, what was the retreat of Lord Talavera last year? Was *that* running away? Did he *flee in disgrace?* And was his flight indicative of the total ruin of *our* cause in Portugal and Spain?——Behind our army Almeida fell, and a detachment of considerable force were beaten out of another fortress on the Coa. The reader will bear in mind what *our* losses were. Have the French sustained any such losses in *their* retreat! Have they suffered *more* than our army suffered? Have they had *more,* or have they had *less,* men taken prisoners, during their retreat, than we had during our retreat?——I should like to have an answer to these questions; but, as I dare say I shall not get it, I shall proceed to offer such observations upon the new aspect of affairs in Portugal as the occasion seems to call for.——Massena appears to have moved out of his quarters; or, in plain English, to have retreated, or "*run away,*" if we will have it so, not because he was *compelled* by LORD TALAVERA or any body else; but, because he *chose* it, from whatever motive his choice was made. He was not *attacked,* observe. He was not even annoyed by us. Though our general had been receiving reinforcements and supplies for nearly five months, and though, as it is said, *all* the country was with us; still the French army kept its post within a few miles of our impenetrable lines, during the whole of that time.——What did Massena retreat *for,* then, at last? *Want of the means of feeding his army.*——And, is it not a shame to hear people talk of *other* motives after the nation has been told, for the hundredth time, that the French were starving, and that, four months before they began their retreat, they were eating soup made of their horses? Is it not a scandal to hear people now pretend, that the retreat arose from other causes than those of a want of subsistence?——And, what, then, had our commander to do in producing this retreat? He did, and, I believe he could do, just nothing at all towards the effecting of this object. The country was eaten up; and Massena had no fleet to bring him supplies; he had no harbour for American merchantmen to enter, and, if he had, he would have had no Exchequer o pay five or six dollars for a bushel of grain; he had no thousands of tons of shipping employed in carrying to him across the seas, oats, and hay, and even itter for his horses; in short, so far from having any of these things, so far from having a maritime retinue *equal in number to his army,* if we include the hands employed in shipping the supplies; so far from this, he had no supplies at all, and, be it borne in mind, the country, *when he entered it,* was, as these newspapers told us, laid completely waste, by he good will and wishes of the people hemselves, so much did they hate him. n a country thus wasted and thus hostile o him did Massena live upon mere *forage,* nd lie in front of our army, for about five months, and, at the end of that time, not aving another meal left, and not being ble to get another, did he march off *unmolested.*——Is this a thing for *us* to boast f? Is this a thing that we ought to be roud of? He staid till the roads were assable; he staid till he could drag his aggons and cannons along. And, why as he suffered to stay so long? Why as he not attacked before the roads beame good enough for him to go upon hem?——There might be *good reason* for his; it might have been dangerous to attack him; but, then, it must be confessed, hat, with means so scanty, he must have

performed wonders to be able to make it unsafe for us to advance, until he had made so much progress in his retreat.—— But, let us revert a little to the statements in justification, or rather, in praise, of the conduct of Lord Talavera, during the last campaign.——About the time that I came to Newgate, he had our army and that of the Portuguese *sixty thousand* strong, ready to face the French *upon the frontiers of Portugal*, his main object being to defend this country against the French.——Upon the borders of Portugal he lay, while the French, after a siege of some weeks, took the Spanish city of Rodrigo, our army being at a very small distance from the spot. He did not march against the French (who were commanded by Massena) while they were besieging Rodrigo; nor did he begin his retreat while they were engaged in that work. He remained quiet until the siege was over, and then, when the French were ready to follow him, he began his retreat, proceeding farther back than Almeida, a strong fortress on the frontiers of Portugal, into which he put a garrison. Here again the French besieged the place, and he remained in his position while they were about it, setting off again upon his retreat *the moment they secured their rear and were quite prepared to follow him.*——The fight then became a chace, as we must all well remember, and as was too flagrant to be denied, even by the venal prints themselves. How *this* retreat was conducted, what *new positions* were taken up, how our commander *flung back his flank* here, and *advanced upon his rear* there; how many successful battles he had with the enemy besides the grand one, ending in my favourite victory, I mean that of *Busaço*; these we will not and need not refer to in detail. But, this the reader will, I am sure, remember, that, when the Viscount arrived at Torres Vedras, we were told, that the foregone movements were not to be called a *running away*, a *flight*, nor even *a retreat*. That neither of these terms were applicable to his operations; but, that he had *succeeded* in .... *what?* Why, in *drawing Massena after him*.—— It was stoutly denied, that he had gone before the French from *fear*, or from *necessity* of any sort. The venal gentlemen all asserted, that he had done *precisely what he wished to do*; that he had, from the beginning of the campaign, *laid a plan* for drawing the French to Torres Vedras; that that was the very *spot he had fixed* whereon to fight Massena; that Massena, in having followed him, had fallen into *a trap*; and that Talavera *laughed* at him. ——The reader will correct me, if this be not true. But, I am persuaded, that he will allow, that I have not exaggerated, or misrepresented, in the smallest degree. ——Now, either this was true, or it was not; either Lord Talavera did *run away*, or he *drew Massena after* him. Let us, then, first take the venal tribe at their word, and admit that the latter was the case.——He drew Massena after him; he intended to bring the French, or rather, to *fetch* them, to Torres Vedras, across the whole of that kingdom which he wished to defend against them and to protect from their ravages. Curious enough; but, this he *intended* to do; from the out-set of the campaign, he laid a plan for doing it: he *accomplished* his plan; he *succeeded* in drawing the French to the very spot, on which he was resolved to fight them.—— Well! and what then? This is what all the venal told us. But, *what then?* Did he *fight* the French there? No.——Well; but, having got them into *a trap* he kept them there, to be sure? No; not that either? What then? He surely did not let them get out of the trap without doing any thing to them? He kept them, to be sure, like a Badger or a Bag-Fox to have some fun with them; and when he did let them out, he took care to overtake them in time, and to be in at the death? No. They lay in the trap for a whole winter, without being molested, without having an ear cropped or a tail burnt; and, at last, out they went without any one's knowing of it for some time.—— This was an odd way of catching people in *a trap*.——Now, if the French were *drawn* to Torres Vedras; if that was the spot destined for the defeat, why were they not *defeated* there; or, at any rate, why were they not there *attacked?* Talavera had every thing about him. Provisions, the City of Lisbon, the fleet; every thing. Lines three deep, a thousand pieces of cannon. Why, then, did he not attack the French, after having drawn them after him, for the express purpose of fighting them there? Why did he suffer them to go out of *the trap* alive, or, at the very least, without setting his mark upon them, and making sure of their final destruction? Why did he let them go away again to the frontiers of Portugal; why did he let them go back to their fastnesses; why did he let them go to the very spot where he

first found them, whence he *drew* them all across Portugal after him, and which drawing cost such horrible devastations to the country that it was his business, and, doubtless, his wish to protect? In July last both armies were nearly upon the spot that they are now upon; but, how is *Portugal* changed? What is *now* the lot of the People of that miserable country? Am I told, that this *drawing after* was a mere invention of our venal news-writers, in order to make their court to the family of the Commander; am I told, that *he* himself never said, that he went away before the French from *choice;* am I told, that his retreat was from necessity? My answer is, that *he* never has, as far as I know, talked about this drawing of the French after him. I find, in none of his dispatches, words of that meaning. But, to our point at issue that signifies nothing at all. His literary eulogists asserted this. They held this forth to the country. It was sucked down by the credulous part of the people, and affected to be believed by the full-blooded Anti-jacobins, who were not deceived but who wished to aid in propagating the deception.——And, it is worth observing here, what a plight silly lying eulogists sometimes put a man in. Nothing can be more disadvantageous to Talavera than the idea of *the trap*, and the *drawing plan;* for, what has he, then, done? why, he has succeeded in a plan of getting the French into a trap, and then he lets them out without hurting them; and, this he does, too, observe, at the expence of all the horrid devastations that are said to have taken place in Portugal, that is, in the country which he was sent to *protect.*——To believe this of him is to believe the worst of him that a man can believe. If we believe this, we must believe, that his wish was to be a scourge to Portugal, or that he really is no more fit to plan and conduct a campaign than a baby two months old. This is what we must believe of him, if we believe what was said by his eulogists about the *drawing after* and *the trap.*——This, however, is what neither I nor any man of sense does, or can, believe. But, then, we must, on the other hand, believe, that his retreat was *not* a matter of *choice;* that, from some cause, to us (or to me, at least, unknown) he did not think proper *to attack* or to *wait the attack of,* the French upon the frontiers of Portugal last year; and that his retreat, like other retreats, was, of course, to be regarded, as a proof of conscious inability to contend with the enemy; or, in other words, as a proof of *fear of being beaten in a battle with that enemy.*——Put it thus, and all that has followed is natural enough; all that has followed might have been expected, except the sudden retreat of the French, which, in the case here supposed, really reflects honour upon Talavera, who, has, by some means or other, gained strength and confidence, while the enemy has lost both. Suppose him, as I do, to have been *obliged* to retreat before the French last year; suppose this, and then the recent change is a thing to praise him for; but, if you maintain the notion of *a trap*, you then make the recent change in the situation of the armies, or matter of blame to our commander.——Aye, but, then, these literary parasites see several great inconveniences in giving up the *drawing after* and *the trap* idea. For, in the first place, *how came it to pass* that Talavera, whose business it was to *defend* Portugal against the French, was unable to face them upon the frontiers of that country? Either he wanted men or supplies, or his army was not such an one as he could place confidence in, or, he did not choose to run any risk in battle himself. Now, either of these would not have suited the purpose of the venal men; and, therefore, they resorted to the assertion, that his retreat before the French was a *premeditated* thing; that it made part of the plan of the campaign; that it was a thing, not only to be expected but applauded; a thing not to regret, but to *rejoice* at: and, accordingly, rejoice we did most boisterously.——But, on the other hand, these venal personages did not seem to perceive that a difficulty might arise out of the notion, which they had so successfully propagated. They did not perceive, that it was possible for the French to be *in retreat before us;* and, that, whenever this should happen it would be very difficult to make out a clear distinction, and to persuade people of any sense at all, that it was not *drawing after* in one case as well as in the other.——We now hear nothing said about *drawing after* into *a trap;* yet, the trap work is, to say the least, now as likely to be in the view of Massena as it was in the view of Talavera last year. Why should the French be supposed to flee from motives of fear any more than us? The French are going away, or have gone away before Talavera; well, and he went away before them. It is only turn and turn about.

He drew the French after him; well, and the French are now drawing him after them. He got the French into a trap; well, and the French have now got him into a trap. He can come away, perhaps, when he will, without being hurt by the French; well, and have not the French gone away without being hurt by him? The trap that he is in, is in fact, we shall be told, no trap at all, and that those who have got him in cannot touch a hair of him; well, and is not this just such a trap as he got the French into? he *laughed*, laughed heartily at Massena for having followed him; well, and will not Massena now laugh at Talavera in his turn?——It is impossible to get out of this. If we change the meaning of words, the new meaning will be applied on the one side as well as on the other. If Talavera's was not a *retreat*, neither is Massena's. "What is "sauce for the goose," says the proverb, "is "sauce for the gander.' And thus, if we insist upon the interpretation and construction of the venal men, relative to the movements of Talavera, last year, we must now deny, that the retreat of Massena indicates any dismay, or any ill-boding, or, indeed, any thing but what is of the most prosperous nature; and, in short, we ought to look upon the news of his retreat as being *bad* instead of good; a subject of lamentation, instead of a subject of joy.——The principal point, however, connected with this question of a *retreat* or a *drawing after*, is, the miseries, to which these movements, on both sides, have exposed the people of Portugal, whom to *protect* against the French was the business of Talavera, and whom to *deliver* from the English was the professed object of Massena. Of these miseries during the last year's campaign we heard enough; and, I am sure that the reader will bear in mind, that our venal men informed us, that *the whole of the country*, through which the French had to follow our army, they found *laid waste*; that they found all the means of comfort and subsistence and even of shelter, annihilated; that the barns and mills and cornfields were burnt, that the cattle were slaughtered, that the olive plantations were cut down, that the household goods were burnt or thrown into rivers, and that, in short, all that could not be carried away was destroyed *before the French came up*, in order that the country might be left desolate and that they might be unable to exist in it.——Stop, reader! Does it not occur to you, that this was an odd sort of way of going to work to *draw the French after us*? I think I see you smile, and hear you observe, that when we want to entice any person or any animal to a certain place, we invariably *remove*, as far as we can, all the obstacles that nature, or art, has put in the way. When sharpers and harlots wish to inveigle a cull into their garrets or cellars, they do not lock the door in his face. When, to come nearer the favourite idea, we wish to catch birds in *a trap*, so far are we from erecting obstacles and presenting starvation to their view, that we take care to make the course clear, and actually carry to the spot, and scatter along the way, an abundance of that food which they are known to like best. This is what we do when we wish to draw things after us. We draw foxes to a *pit-fall*, or *a trap*, by the means of a *trail*, composed of some article of the food of that brave and sagacious animal; and certainly never dream of attracting them by a destruction or removal of every thing that is likely to entice them.——So that, if what the venal men told us was true; if it was the design of Lord Talavera to draw the French after him, he went to work in a way against which both nature and reason set their faces.——To return now to the miseries brought upon the Portuguese, we have seen what they were last year, when the French were coming after us; and now let us take a look at what they have experienced while we are going after the French——It was from our own venal prints that we got the description then, and, from the same source will we take it now. ——I am about to quote from the COURIER news-paper of the 16th instant, which gives the following extracts from letters, written, it is said, by officers in our army. ——"LISBON, 30th March 1811.—To revert back to the sudden movement of the "French. I had been for weeks in view "of Santarem, and saw at last with pleasure, some indications of their abandoning it. The first was, setting fire to one "of the principal convents in the upper "town, and part of the lower town; the "volume of smoke was immense for three "days. On the fourth morning some information to depend on, reached us, and "the bugle of attack roused us from our "pillows. The haze of the morning clearing up, we could easily perceive the out-"centinels were men of straw, and proved "quite passive. In fact, a better managed "retreat was never executed.—Not a ves-

" tige of a dollar's worth remained. Being " at the outposts with the 14th Dragoons " and 1st Royals, I entered with them; " and three miserable deserters, who had " hid themselves, were, with one too ill to " move, the only enemy to be found " Such a scene of horror, misery, and de- " solation, scarce ever saluted the eye of " man. Smoking ruins—the accumulated " filth of months—horses and human bodies " putrid, to suffocation nearly, caused to " many a vomiting. The houses unburnt, " with scarcely a vestige of wood, doors, " windows, ceilings, roofs burnt—and " where the sick had expired, there left to " decay. The number left was great. " Every church demolished—the tombs " opened for searching after hidden plate " —every altar-piece universally destroy- " ed—and the effluvia so offensive, as to " defy describing! In some gardens, the " miserable heads undecayed, stuck up " like scarecrows—in some wells, a body " floating.—Down a precipice, to which " we were invited by prospect to look, the " human and the animal carcases, mingled " in decay, repulsed our senses, and shud- " deringly vibrated the soul at the savage, " horrible, diabolical acts of a French " army. I must here notice one grand " precaution. The hospital was guarded " immediately from entrance; and I be- " lieve no serious illness proceeded from " the abominable situation in which the " French left it. From this place, a short " rest obtained, we rode, pressing hard " upon them, by the goodness of our cat- " tle, and the animation of our men, who " were delighted to chace the RUN- " AWAYS. Greater spirits, better disci- " pline, and more order, never attended an " army than this. The French, to con- " fuse our plans, had marched in three " columns from Santarem. Two were " immediately followed. But no mode or " means were sufficient to bring them to " battle. Skirmishing was continued, and " prisoners continually sent to the rear; " until we reached Pombal, where Mas- " sena seeing himself so CLOSELY RUN, " halted; and *by position* kept us *in check*, " until his baggage *had advanced further in* " *security*. We were here all ready for " attack, and waited for the morning; but " the French politely withdrew in the " night, and we complimented them with " our attendance on the following day. On " the Ceira river, we had another facing, " but after some hard firing, our dragoons " got to their rear, and they surrendered; " nearly the whole regiment.—These I " had to forward, and saw little more of " fighting.—But to see the country, is to " weep for the horrors of war. Such " horrid excesses I never saw before. " Every town, village, or cottage, de- " stroyed. The growing nursery and the " wild grove, each havocked for destruc- " tion sake. The pot that refined the oil, " broken—the wine-press burnt, for burn- ing's sake—the grape-vines destroyed, as noxious weeds—the furniture unburnt, thrown from the windows, and with car- riage, &c. made a bonfire of; the huge libraries strewed over the land in rem- " nants of paper; the noble convent in " ashes, and the poor, unhappy, aged in- " habitants, unable to flee, hung around as " ornamenting the walls,—ten, twelve, in " a place. To bear the semblance of a " female, was to be tortured—to be an " infant, to be a sacrifice. One cir- " cumstance, almost beyond credibility " to be committed by human beings " in the heart of Europe, and the nine- " teenth century: A convent of eleven " nuns, and two priests, were escaping " in a boat;—unhappily they were too " late; and overtaken near Villa Franca, " the priests were one shot and one drown- " ed. One only of the nuns was young; " —she was instantly violated, as well as " the rest; and the great age of 65, was " no defence against these savages. These " very nuns were thus treated successive- " ly by numbers, and confined until dis- " ease made them loathsome to the hell- " hounds themselves. When a flag of truce introduced them to us, the sight " was most shocking. Every one tried to " comfort them. And to the immortal " credit of Commissary Aylmer, they " were conducted from Valada, by water, " with all the comfort and consolation " that war and situation could possibly " give.—A thousand more like these I " could recount.—No age—no rank—no asylum—met respect. In one convent, I found three unfortunate females, 70 to " 80 years old. They were literally naked, " as on entering the world, striving to " conceal themselves under some rushes " and straw.—O glorious happy England! " how blest to be free of this!—Adieu, " for the present, &c. &c.—Thousands " have famished from hunger and disease, " while we are daily discovering wretched " objects at the last gasp from the same " causes. A physician of great activity " and humanity, with the Military Com-

"mandant of Obidos, merit the gratitude "of their countrymen. 150 people died "in two days at Caldas, and that the "deaths proceeded chiefly from want, is "proved by the collecting the unfortunate "people the next day—The deaths were "reduced to 20, and yesterday the 21st, "of 500, the deaths did not exceed 8.—"One example will speak more than a "page—from one hovel was withdrawn "the father, mother, son, and daughter, "dead,—an *infant child* had yet survived "this scene of horror—*though with worms "of three or four inches in length, crawling "in its flesh*—the child *will be saved*—infant children who have lost their parents, and wretched parents who have "lost their children—wives their husbands, and husbands their wives; and "now expiring themselves, if not saved "by the late providence of Government, "fill the hospitals; but when recovered "—how are they to reach their homes and "subsist, till the lands produce again!"——This infant child living, and likely to live, though with *worms, three or four inches long, in its flesh*, is a little too much for even the *fool part* of the Anti-Jacobins to swallow. The *knave part* will laugh in their sleeve at it; but it is, I think, a little too gross even for the fool part.—However, not to occupy our time with disputes about premises that never can be satisfactorily adjusted, let us admit all that is here asserted to be true. I dare say, that much of it is literally true; and, that, though there are, without doubt, some exaggerations, there are, on the other hand, many acts and scenes, which, I dare say, would beggar all description, and would set at defiance the most eloquent pen or tongue that ever moved.——At any rate, let us suppose, that all that is here said is *true*; and then, let us endeavour to make a *just estimate* of it, in order to ascertain, if we can, what effect the committing of these horrible cruelties will have upon the Portuguese, and how far the cause of our arms is thereby likely to be aided. For, as to *an estimate* of these acts, in any other way, it would be perfectly useless to any man who does, or any one who does not, hold them in horror. The former could not think worse of the cause of them than he already does, and the latter can have no feeling at all.——In order to form an opinion as to what is likely to be the effects of these devastations upon the minds of men in Portugal, we must consider how far devastation became necessary to self-preservation with the French. When Lord Talavera went away before the French, the latter, as we have said above, *found the country completely laid waste before them;* and it will be borne in mind, that Massena, in a proclamation to the Portuguese, spoke of this *in terms of the greatest horror*, and that our venal prints laughed at him, and not only justified most fully, but loudly *applauded* the devastations and destructions that *then* took place.——Now, what is to prevent the French from justifying and applauding what they have done? Are the cases *different?* How do they differ? "Why, the "devastations of last year were for the "*good* of the Portuguese, and those of "this year are for their *harm*." If the French were asked the question of difference, *their* answer would be precisely the contrary.——But the devastations of last year were committed by the *friends* of the Portuguese, this year they are committed by their *enemies*.—Unhappy people! Both friends and enemies find it necessary to lay waste your country; or, at least, lay it waste they do; and, whether the thing is pleasanter for coming from the hands of a *friend* I must leave the reader to judge.——We are told in the above extracts, and, indeed, in all the publications upon the subject, that the French *ran away* upon this last occasion. We are not told about *drawing after*. They have *run away* in *disgrace?* Their retreat has been called a *disgraceful flight*. The whole account places them in a state of constant and imminent peril. In this state it is that they have devastated the country, destroyed every thing they could regard as likely to be useful to their pursuers, laid all waste, made their route a scene of havock.——This is very terrible; but, must not the Portuguese have naturally expected it, when they saw the country, last year, laid waste before the French? And, observe, too, that, if what our venal men told us was true, the devastations were then *not necessary to self-preservation;* for, we were not *running away;* we were not engaged in a *disgraceful flight*. Nay, if what these venal men told us was true, the retreat, or *drawing*, of Lord Talavera was *a plan*, maturely laid from the outset of the campaign; and, as the devastations accompanied the drawing, *they also*, upon the supposition of its being a plan, made part of that plan; the devastations were contrived beforehand as well as the trap at Torres Vedras.——At

any rate, if we did not *run away*, if we were not *compelled* to retreat, if we were in *no fear* of the pursuers, as the venal have always asserted; if this was so, the devastations which then took place had not self-preservation to plead for them; and, if what we are now told by the same persons be true, if the French be so closely pressed, if they be in fear of their lives of us, self-preservation will certainly put in a word for them, as far as the devastations were calculated to retard the progress of their dreaded pursuers.——We were told, indeed, that the devastations of last year were committed with the entire *consent* and *approbation* of the Portuguese, and, indeed, with the *assistance* of the owners and inhabitants, who were, we were told, more eager than our army to lay waste their country. Now, if this was true, the French must have been fully convinced of one of two things: either that the laying waste of the country was a matter not very painful to the people; or, that the people bore them so mortal a hatred as to prefer death by starvation to the possibility of affording them any aid or comfort; either of which conclusions was not very well calculated to make the French extremely sparing when it became their turn to devastate and lay waste.——We are told, that the French have committed great cruelties and excesses, such as our army never committed. It is very likely they have; and, I trust, that our army never will, in this respect, become their imitators. Nothing can justify, or palliate, cruelty, at any time, or in any case, or by any body; and, the cutting off of ears and the splitting of noses by the French in Portugal are not to be justified any more than the same cruelties by the Judges of the Court of Star-Chamber in England, who used to cut and hack and burn, as if they had been the agents of the infernal regions, and who would not want for men to supply their place, if the enemies of public freedom could have their will.——These acts of cruelty should be left to such men, and should not be practised by *soldiers*. They are suitable to the character of Star-Chamber Judges; but are disgraceful to the name of soldier.——Still, however, we must bear in mind, that, as we have all along been assured, the Portuguese do mortally hate the French; that all the people in the country are hostile to them; that they are in an *enemy's* country; and, the reader will not forget, that, during the last campaign, our venal men told us, that, such was the hatred of the Portuguese to the French, the farmer, when they caught one of the latter *unarmed*, INSTANTLY CUT HIS THROAT, and that Lord Talavera was obliged to issue a preclamation to threaten with death those who should continue in such practices. This the reader will not fail to remember; and, if it was true, the alledged cruelties of the French are less to be wondered at, though, even in that case, not less to be abhorred.——Now, from a review of all that has passed, with regard to devastations and cruelties, I am of opinion, that those alledged to have been committed by the French will not produce the effect that is expected from them. They are calculated to excite horror; but Portugal has supped of horrors. The *minds* of the people have little to do with the matter. *Force*, sheer compulsion will, in the end, prevail. There are two armies contending for the possession of the country; and, I am much disposed to believe, that, any further than the parties can *pay* them, the people will remain indifferent spectators.——As to the *future* operations of the two hostile armies, I shall give no opinion. I hope that, wherever Englishmen are engaged with the enemies of England, they will be victorious; and I hope, of course, that the war in Portugal will end without any disgrace to the English character. But, I am not to be made believe, that it is, as yet, nearly at an end. I am not to be persuaded, that Napoleon will, without further and greater efforts, give up a contest, on which so much may ultimately depend; nor do I believe, that the French army has suffered in any such degree as has been stated in our parasitical prints. There has not appeared to me any proofs or marks of *discomfiture*. The retreat of Massena, though a severe mortification to him and his master, does not seem to have been attended with any considerable losses, and, I should not be at all surprized, to see him turn about and make a stand where he will not be assailed.——If this should be the case, another, and, perhaps, another campaign, will be the consequence. The *cost* of these will be enormous to us, while, in all likelihood, they will leave Portugal a perfect desert. The longer the war lasts the worse for us and for Portugal, whether we finally succeed or not. If we are not to succeed in the end, the sooner that end comes the better; for, we shall be so exhausted and crippled, if the war continue

long, and shall be so wearied out, so disappointed and disgusted, that it would be impossible to rouze us to any new exertion, if the occasion required it.——It is said, in defence of this Portuguese and Spanish war, that we are *there fighting the battles of England;* that it is there where we are, by anticipation, *repelling an invasion of Ireland or England.* This idea is clearly expressed in the following passage of the Times news-paper, where the writer speaks of the ravages committed by the French in Portugal. "These," says he, "are the blessings, which the *ruthless tyrant* has diffused over the Continent. "Spain is suffering in like manner; and "France, too, we may add, in the person "of that part of her population which has "been sent into the Peninsula. And sent "thither with what view? To uphold national honour, or avenge public wrong? "—to paralyze the faculty of aggression, "OR ANTICIPATE THE INTENTION TO ATTACK? No: for none of the objects that "have usually, as it were, hallowed war "by the plea of justice, or rendered victory glorious by the utility of its consequences, is Buonaparte now contending: "his aim is to bend an independent race "of men to a foreign yoke by violence— "to propagate tyranny by devastation and "murder: that is, to accomplish the most "detestable of purposes by the most "dreadful of means."——Now, if this be so; if we are, as we have often been told, *defending England* in Portugal; if we choose that country wherein to anticipate the intention to attack, the French, I am afraid, might put in their word upon the occasion; for, if we are fighting *for* England on the land of Portugal, the French, of course, are fighting *against* England upon that same land. People ought to look well at assertions before they put them forth, especially when they are intended to maintain what it is so difficult to maintain.——This writer was in a hobble. He had gone on condemning Napoleon for sending French troops into Portugal, 'till it occurred to him, that *we* had troops there too; and that it was necessary to disarm his censure of all application to us. Therefore, he talks of the thing being justifiable, where required to "uphold *national honour;*" to "*avenge public wrong;*" to "paralyze the *faculty of aggression,*" or to "*anticipate the intention to attack;*" and these objects he, of course, leaves the reader to regard as those by which we are animated.——As to upholding [illegible] *lic* wrong, I do not see, that either of them required us to send troops to Portugal; and, as to the notion of defending England in Portugal, it is, in my opinion, a most wild and dangerous one indeed; for, then, if you should be beaten in Portugal, what must be the opinion of the state of England? No. Give me something *in England itself* that I can safely rely upon. Give me something that shall unite *the people* of England in defence of their country. What! the safety, the independence of England rest upon what is done, or to be done, in Portugal, or in Spain! Never was so dangerous a notion, and, at the same time, so degrading.——The real object of the war ought, with us, to be, the freeing of the Portuguese people; the making of them, or, rather, assisting them to make themselves, a *free and independent nation.* Any other object is not only unworthy, but it is foolish; and, it is the grossest of all follies to suppose, that we can defend Portugal or Spain, or rescue them from the power of Napoleon, unless *they* are the *principals* in the war, unless they carry on the war with *our assistance,* and not *we with theirs*——For my part I am of opinion, that it would, in a mere warlike point of view, be better for us to quit Spain and Portugal at once, than to hold our ground there for any length of time, and be obliged to quit them at last; for, I ask how it is *possible,* that an occupation of those countries by Napoleon should do us half so much harm as the addition of 20 millions a-year to the National Debt? And, what must be the effect of *failure* after another year or two of such a war. If, therefore, we are not *sure* of our ground; if we have not made *final* success certain; if there are any doubts hanging about the result, to quit those countries at once, is, I am firmly persuaded, the wisest course; and, on the other hand, if Napoleon looks upon *final* success on his side to be certain, *his* wisest course is to *trail out the war,* by which he is sure to add ten fold to the mischief which the failure would occasion to us. For, the longer this war continues, the more of *men* as well as of our *taxes* will have been expended upon it. In proportion to its cost we shall rely upon it for our defence at home; and, if it, at last, fail, in the hour of our being exhausted, we shall be like the people of a town, who, when they come almost to their last barrel of powder and last bag of biscuit,

'see the enemy driving in the defenders of their out-works.

Jubilee Dollars.——What effect the proclamation of the Bank, by which this precious commodity was raised to *5s. 6d.* have had upon the conduct of men, in regard to the circulation of coin, the following facts will serve to prove.—— The first is copied from the Morning Chronicle of the 19th instant, and is in the shape of a letter to the Editor:—— "An acceptance of mine became due yes-"terday, for *42l. 18s. 3d.* and I sent *43l.* "in Bank-notes to the Banker's where it "lay, to pay it; but because I did not send "*18s. 3d.* in Cash, and they would not "give the odd *1s. 9d.* in change, they sent the notes back—and when I came to town this morning, I found the bill had been noted. This is a circumstance, I think, should be made public, as a caution to those who are in the habit of giving their acceptances, not to accept 'for other than even sums, lest they suffer 'the disgrace of their bills being noted, 'from the want of small change."—— This, there is no doubt, was put in by some one who had an interest in preventing the Silver from being forced away *from the Banker's.* No Banker would have *noted* an acceptance under such circumstances; and, therefore, we must regard this as an indirect mode of persuading people not to draw bills for uneven sums, in order that the Bankers might be saved the *expence* of change silver.——The following is taken from the same news-paper; but, it is manifestly a *circular,* it having appeared in all the daily London papers:—"For some "days past a number of persons, who have "been *hoarding dollars,* have *called on* "*Bankers,* Merchants, and others, offering "to *provide them with change* on giving them "a certain profit. This the Bankers have "*very wisely rejected,* and it is *with pleasure* "*we can announce,* that in the course of a "few days, *the Bank will make a fresh issue of dollars,* and *we trust* at *five shillings each,* ample and sufficient to supply the present scarcity of change. Bankers, merchants, and shopkeepers, have only to determine to *resist, for the present week,* the speculations which have aggravated "the present artificial scarcity of silver, "and in A VERY FEW DAYS THE EVIL WILL "BE REMOVED."——Bravo! This beats the Scotch Reviewers, who, in their eager hunger for place, cannot endure the idea of an end to jobbing and corruption, and who, therefore, are coming up upon us, or, rather, against us, with a *pack* of *remedies,* wishing at the same time to evade the tax upon Hawkers, and Pedlars.—— In this little paragraph we have a complete view of the minds (if minds they have) of the men whose interest it is to support the paper system. And, do they believe, that the people are to be made believe this? Let them believe it. It is well. The time will come when if they have not a just estimate of their own capacity and worth, other people will.—— The next paragraph I take from the same news-paper of the 23rd instant, and a very curious one it is:——"A prisoner con-"fined for debt in the Marshalsea prison, "applied to the Court for his discharge on Friday last, on the ground of his creditor having failed to pay him his sixpences in a legal manner. It appeared that the creditor had tendered him three shillings and a piece of silver resembling what now passes for *sixpence;* the latter, however, upon closer inspection, appeared to be a foreign coin. The Learned Judge being of opinion this was *not a legal tender,* according to the act which directs that allowance to debtors should be paid in the *lawful coin of the realm,* ordered *the debtor to be discharged.*"——Sharp's the word! How many trials; how much litigation; what uncertainty, will this state of the currency give rise to! We have seen the *beginning* of it; but, who is wise enough to *guess* at the end?——The two following passages, the first from the Morning Chronicle and the other from the Times,* both of the same date as the last, should go together; they should stand side by side; but, I shall place them directly after one another, and beg the reader's attention to them. ——The first treats of *buying silver coin,* and the second of *buying gold coin.*—— "We recommended some time ago to the "public-offices to set the necessary example of transacting business with as little silver as possible; and very little "indeed would suffice, if the four great "revenue departments of *Customs, Excise,* "*Stamps* and *Post-office* would accommodate "those who have to pay parts of a pound. But *we lament* to hear, that it is the cus-'tom in some of the offices, not only *to* '*refuse to give change,* however small the 'fraction may be, but that certain clerks 'are DEALERS IN THE ARTICLE, AND 'SUPPLY THE BANKERS WITH SIL-'VER AT *3l.* PER CENT."——Now,

reader, when you have well considered this, look at the next paragraph. "Yesterday a person, who lately acted as "guard to one of the mail-coaches, was "*apprehended*, and *carried before the Lord* "*Mayor*, on a charge of being a *common* "*buyer of guineas*, at a price above the *legal* "*value*. He acknowledged in the course "of his examination, that he had pur- "chased several guineas, which were "found on his person, at the price of *one* "*pound five shillings and sixpence each*."—— We are not told what was *done* with this Gentleman. We are not told how the Lord Mayor *decided* upon his case, which is second De Yonge's case, except that De Yonge *bought paper*, and this man *sold paper*; for, it was the paper and not the *coin* that *was*, or that *could be*, the object of purchase or sale.——In my Number of the 27th of March (see page 737), I shewed, that, if gold was worth what it was then said to be, namely, 5£. an ounce, the guinea of full weight was worth 27*s.* I explained this very clearly in that page. ——This dealer, it seems, gave only 25*s.* 6*d.* but, then, he had his *profit* to make. If the dollar be worth only 5*s.* 6*d.* then the guinea is worth no more than 25*s.* 6*d.*—— The real sterling value of the Spanish Dollar is 4*s.* 6*d.* and, at that rate, the real value of the English Guinea is 21*s.* but, if you put the Dollar at 5*s.* 6*d.* you must, of course, raise the guinea in the same proportion.——It is a plain question in the Rule of Three, or *Golden* Rule, and is stated thus:

If 4*s.* 6*d.* give 5*s.* 6*d.* what will 21*s.* ?

Or, reduced to *Pence*, it is stated and worked thus:

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If 54d. give 66d. what will  252d. ?
                               66
                             ----
                             1512
                            1512
                           ------
                        54)16632(308
                           162..
                           -----
      12)308                 432
      ------                 432
Answer, 25s. 8d.             ---
                               0
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But, the Dollar is worth *more* than 5*s.* 6*d.* therefore the guinea is worth more than 25*s.* 8*d.* And, that it sells for more in the end is very clear from the fact above stated, that the dealer, or *middle man*, gives 25*s.* 6*d.* His profit cannot be supposed to be less than 1*s.* 6*d.* and this brings the guinea to 27*s.* Indeed, the Dollar passes, in some places, for 6*s.* and, in that case, the guinea is worth 28*s.* all but a trifling fraction. —— As to this Dealer, his case is exactly the same as that of *De Yonge*, who, though found guilty, has not yet been brought up for judgment. Indeed he demanded a *new trial*, which was only deferred, because the question was to be *argued before the Judges*. So that, what the venal man of the Morning Post has been publishing against this gentleman only serves to show, that stupidity and venality are still, in the case of that paper, inseparable companions.——For a long time I was answered by muddy-headed pamphleteers, who, like Sir John Sinclair, said, that a *pound note and a shilling* would *buy as much bread as a guinea*. Will they do it *now*, Sir John? No: for you may get 25*s.* 6*d.* in paper for a guinea from this dealer; and surely that will buy you more bread than *a pound note and a shilling*? The day for hoodwinking is over. It is gone by; and *never to return*!——Below I insert MR. HORNER'S RESOLUTIONS, which are now before the House of Commons, and upon which the *discussion* is to take place.—— I beg the reader to look at them; but I have, at present, no room for any remarks.

Wm. COBBETT.

State Prison, Newgate, Tuesday,
April 23, 1811.

22 April 1811.

RESOLUTIONS

PROPOSED.

1.—THAT the only Money which can be legally tendered in Great Britain, for any sum above twelve pence in the whole, is made either of Gold or Silver; and that the weight, standard, and denomination, at which any such Money is authorized to pass current, is fixed, under his Majesty's prerogative, according to law.

2.—THAT since the 43d year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the Indentures of his Majesty's Mint have uniformly directed that all Silver used for Coin should consist of 11 oz. 2 dwts. of fine Silver, and 18 dwts. of Alloy in each pound Troy, and that the said pound Troy should be divided

into 62 Shillings, or into other Coins in that proportion.

3.—THAT since the 15th year of the reign of King Charles the Second, the Indentures of his Majesty's Mint have uniformly directed, that all Gold used for Coin, should consist of 11 oz. of pure Gold, and 1 oz. of Alloy in each pound Troy; and that the said pound Troy should be divided and coined into 44 Guineas and one Half-Guinea, or into other Coins in that proportion.

4.—THAT by a Proclamation of the 4th year of the reign of King George the first, it was ordered and directed, that Guineas and the several other Gold Coins therein named, should be current at the Rates and Values then set upon them; viz. The Guinea at the rate of 21 Shillings, and other Gold Coins in the same proportion: thereby establishing, that the Gold and Silver Coins of the Realm should be a legal tender in all Money Payments, and a Standard Measure for ascertaining the value of all contracts for the payment of Money, in the relative proportion of 15 $\frac{2859}{13640}$ Pounds weight of Sterling Silver to one Pound of Sterling Gold.

5.—THAT by a Statute of the 14th year of the reign of his present Majesty, subsequently revived and made perpetual by a Statute of the 39th year of his reign, it is enacted, That no tender in payment of Money made in the Silver Coin of this Realm, of any sum exceeding the sum of £. 25. at any one time, shall be reputed in law, or allowed to be legal tender, within Great Britain or Ireland, for more than according to its value by weight, after the rate of *5s. 2d.* for each Ounce of Silver.

6.—THAT by a Proclamation of the 16th year of the reign of his present Majesty, confirmed by several subsequent Proclamations, it was ordered and directed, that if the weight of any Guinea shall be less than 5 dwts. 8 grs., such Guinea shall cease to be a legal tender for the payment of any Money within Great Britain or Ireland; and so in the same proportion for any other Gold Coin.

7.—THAT under these laws (which constitute the established policy of this Realm, in regard to Money), no contract or undertaking for the payment of Money, stipulated to be paid in Pounds Sterling, or in good and lawful Money of Great Britain, can be legally satisfied and discharged, in Gold Coin, unless the Coin tendered shall weigh in the proportion of $\frac{20}{21}$ parts of 5 dwts. 8 grs. of Standard Gold for each Pound Sterling, specified in the said contract; nor in Silver Coin, for a sum exceeding £. 25. unless such Coin shall weigh in the proportion of $\frac{20}{62}$ of a Pound Troy of Standard Silver for each Pound Sterling specified in the contract.

8.—THAT the Promissory Notes of the Bank of England are stipulations to pay, on demand, the Sum in Pounds Sterling, respectively specified in each of the said Notes.

9.—THAT when it was enacted by the authority of Parliament, that the Payment of the Promissory Notes of the Bank of England in Cash should for a time be suspended, it was not the intention of Parliament that any alteration whatsoever should take place in the Value of such Promissory Notes.

10.—THAT it appears, that the actual Value of the Promissory Notes of the Bank of England, (measuring such value by weight of Standard Gold and Silver as aforesaid,) has been, for a considerable period of time, and still is, considerably less than what is established by the laws of the Realm to be the legal Tender in payment of any Money contract or stipulation.

11.—THAT the Fall which has thus taken place in the Value of the Promissory Notes of the Bank of England, and in that of the Country Bank Paper which is exchangeable for it, has been occasioned by too abundant Issue of Paper Currency both by the Bank of England, and by the Country Banks; and that this Excess has originated, from the want of that Check and Controul on the Issues of the Bank of England, which existed before the Suspension of Cash Payments.

12.—THAT it appears, that the Exchanges with Foreign Parts have, for a considerable period of time, been unfavourable to this Country, in an extraordinary Degree.

13.—THAT, although the adverse circumstances of our Trade, together with the large amount of our Military Expenditure Abroad, may have contributed to render our Exchanges with the Continent of Europe unfavourable; yet the extraordinary degree, in which the Exchanges have been depressed for so long a period, has been, in a great measure, occasioned by the depreciation, which has taken place, in the relative Value of the Currency of this Country as compared with the Money of Foreign Countries.

14.—THAT during the continuance of the suspension of Cash Payments, it is the duty of the Directors of the Bank of England to advert to the state of the Foreign Exchanges, as well as to the price of Bullion, with a view to regulate the amount of their issues.

15.—THAT the only certain and adequate security to be provided, against an Excess of Paper Currency, and for maintaining the relative Value of the Circulating Medium of the Realm, is the legal Convertibility, upon demand, of all Paper Currency into lawful Coin of the Realm.

16.—THAT in order to revert gradually to this Security, and to enforce meanwhile a due Limitation of the Paper of the Bank of England as well as of all the other Bank Paper of the Country, it is expedient to amend the Act, which suspends the Cash Payments of the Bank, by altering the time, till which the Suspension shall continue, from Six Months after the Ratification of a Definitive Treaty of Peace, to that of Two Years from the present Time.

MR. HOARE'S LETTER.

To the Governor, Deputy Governor and Court of Directors of the Bank of England.

GENTLEMEN.—The interest which I have always taken in the general good conduct and management of the Bank, renders it impossible for me to view, without considerable anxiety, the numerous and encreasing difficulties which now assail the establishment. There never was a period which demanded the exercise of more talent, *firmness*, and discretion, in order to avert the impending dangers of our situation. It does not require much sagacity or foresight to perceive, that a severe and alarming blow is aimed at the independence of the corporation, by those who are neither competent to appreciate its value to ourselves, or justly estimate its importance to the general interests and welfare of the community at large.—To persons intimately acquainted with the true principles of finance, it is unnecessary to explain, that the confidence of the public cannot be maintained, in the solidity of the present circulating medium, without a total exclusion of every act of power and authority from the direction and management of the Bank, and that whenever the period arrives, that the Corporation becomes identified with the government of the country, and they exercise the power of limiting or extending the issue of paper according to their discretion; I say if that epoch should ever arrive, it may be considered as the signature to the death-warrant of the Bank of England.—The generality of writers upon the subject of finance, may be classed under two distinct heads.—The one contending that the paper constituting the existing circulating medium of the country has no influence, nor in any manner operates upon the foreign exchanges, the price, plenty, or scarcity of bullion.—The other that the extension of our paper circulation is the sole occasion of the unfavourable state of the exchange, encreased price, and scarcity of gold and silver, and that a reduction of the paper alone will remedy the evil.—Upon an accurate investigation of the subject, I suspect that both these opinions are erroneous, and that the truth will be found (as is generally the case) to lay between the two extremes, each of them having some operation in producing the evils complained of, though by no means equal in their relative importance.—The enormous encrease which has taken place in our foreign expenditure, the immense sums which have been paid for neutral freights, combined with a large importation of goods from abroad, have in my estimate exceeded by many millions the amount, profits, and advantages of our exports; and as I know of no means which can be devised to discharge this balance, but by the exportation of bullion, to this cause may fairly be attributed the general scarcity of money; when a large profit attends the exportation of a commodity which may be confined within so small a bulk, there are no restrictive laws, however severe, that will secure its continuance in the country.—Although there is great difficulty in ascertaining the manner in which paper operates upon the exchanges, and the most able writers do not give a satisfactory explanation of the subject, there appears strong presumptive evidence in favour of the fact, and one circumstance seems perfectly plain and indisputable, that if bullion is an article of commerce and merchandize, a considerable encrease in the circulating medium, which is acknowledged to have the effect of enhancing the price of all purchasable commodities, must have some influence upon this: admitting the statement to be correct, a decrease of paper will diminish the price of bullion.—The new principle adopted by the Court of

Directors, that no other limits should be presribed to the issue of their paper, but demand, and that all good bills which are presented to them may be discounted, without creating excess, appears to me not only liable to material exception, but if acted upon to the extreme, would be attended with very serious evils; the Bank paper in that case, instead of being confined within about twenty millions, would soon double the amount; and the idea which the Court of Directors have adopted, that the paper will return to them, if extended beyond proper limits, appears to me very theoretical—there are so many speculators, adventurers, and projectors, both in commerce, canals, and the public funds, &c. who can probably furnish the Bank with very unexceptionable security, and would employ any sums of money they could borrow at 5 per cent. with the expectation of realizing a profit of 10 per cent. Under such circumstances, there is too much reason to fear that an excess, which even the Directors themselves would deem improper, must unavoidably take place, before the paper reverted to them. The natural consequences resulting from the measure would be an important depreciation in the value of money, and an encreased price in all the necessaries of life. Although I know it to be impracticable for the Bank to resume their payments at the time proposed by the Report of the Bullion Committee, unless a total stop is put to our imports and foreign expenditure, yet it is extremely desirable that the Court of Directors should be guided themselves by those limitations, and that discretion in the issue of their paper, which are absolutely necessary as a preliminary measure, and will not only have the effect of giving additional confidence to the public in its solidity, and decrease the prevalent spirit of hoarding, but approximate the value of their paper to the current coin of the realm; until this event takes place, the country cannot be considered in a state of perfect health and security. I remain, with all due respect, your sincere friend, SAMUEL HOARE.—*Lombard-street, April* 22, 1811.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

PORTUGAL.—*Proclamation against the French, 30th March,* 1811.

Portuguese!—The day of our glory is at last arrived: the troops of the enemy, in disgraceful flight, and routed on all points, rapidly disappear from the Portuguese territory, which they have infected with their presence. The Governors of Portugal rejoice with you on this happy event; and after humbling themselves in the presence of the Almighty, the first and sovereign Author of all good, they render due thanks to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent our Lord, whose wisdom established the bases of our defence; to his British Majesty, to his enlightened Ministry, and to the whole British nation, in whom we have found powerful and liberal allies, the most constant co-operation in repelling the common enemy, and that honour, probity, and steadiness of principle which particularly characterise that great nation; to the illustrious Wellington, whose sagacity and consummate military knowledge enabled him to penetrate the plans of the enemy, to take the most effectual precautions for frustrating them, and compelled them at last to fly with the remains of their numerous army, diminished by famine, by the most severe privations, and by the incessant pursuit of the allied forces; to the zealous and indefatigable Beresford, the restorer of discipline and organization to the Portuguese troops; to the brave and skilful Generals and Officers of both nations; to their brave comrades in arms, who, with generous emulation, never fought that they did not triumph; and, in fine, to the whole Portuguese people, whose loyalty, patriotism, constancy, and humanity, have been so gloriously distinguished amidst the tribulations which have afflicted us.—A nation possessed of such qualities can never be subdued; and the calamities of war, instead of disheartening, serve only to augment its enthusiasm, and to make it feel all the horror of the slavery with which it was threatened.—But, Portuguese, the lamentable effects of the invasion of those barbarians; the yet smoking remains of the humble cottage of the poor, of the palace of the man of opulence, of the cell of the religious, of the hospital which afforded shelter and relief to the poor and infirm, of the temples dedicated to the worship of the Most High; the innocent blood of so many peaceful citizens of both sexes, and of all ages, with which those heaps of ruins are still tinged; the insults of every kind heaped upon those whom the Vandals did not deprive of life—insults many times more cruel than death itself; the universal devastation of the

fields, of plantations, of cattle, and of the instruments of agriculture; the robbery and destruction of every thing that the unhappy inhabitants of the invaded districts possessed:—this atrocious scene, which makes humanity shudder, affords a terrible lesson, which you ought deeply to engrave in your memory, in order fully to know that degenerate nation, who retain only the figure of men, and who in every respect are worse than wild beasts, and more blood-thirsty than tygers or lions. Wretched are they who trust in their deceitful promises! Victims of a foolish credulity a thousand times will they repent, but without avail, of the levity with which they have trusted to the promises of a nation without faith and without law; of men who acknowledge neither the rights of humanity, nor respect the sacred tie of an oath. Opposed to such an enemy, the only alternatives which remained to us were resistance, or retreat; the former depended on a competent armed force, the latter is a law which the duty of preserving life and property imposes on all peaceful citizens. These, evacuating the towns where they dwell, transporting the effects which they can carry off, destroying those which they are obliged to abandon, and which might serve for the subsistence of the enemy, escape the horrors of the most infamous slavery, throw themselves into the arms of their fellow countrymen, who receive them as brothers, assist the military operations, depriving the invaders of the means of maintaining themselves in the territory which they occupied; and in this way they are so far useful to themselves, because the enemy, not being able to support himself for a long time in positions where he is in want of subsistence, will soon be obliged to evacuate them; and the inhabitants returning immediately to their homes, neither suffer the inconveniencies of a lengthened absence, nor find their houses and fields in that state of total devastation, in which the enemy's army would have left them, had he remained for a longer period.—Such, Portuguese, are the lessons of experience which we ought never to forget.—But amidst such great disasters, Providence is pleased to give us sources of consolation which will make them less sensibly felt.—The unfortunate people who fled from the fury of their cruel oppressors have experienced the greatest kindness in the humanity of their fellow citizens. In all the districts to which they have fled they were received with open arms; the inhabitants eagerly pressed to afford them all that succour which they could individually bestow; they filled their houses with emigrants; and many times have we perceived with tears of joy the generous emulation of those who disputed with one another who should afford the rights of hospitality to those unknown families who arrived in this capital without shelter or the means of subsistence.—It is the duty of the Government to take immediate measures for the relief of these necessitous persons; but the want of public funds, which are not even sufficient to provide for our defence, must make these measures less effectual, unless individuals liberally concur in a proceeding as much recommended by humanity as by patriotism.—Under the inspection of an illustrious tribunal which has advanced part of these succours, by the wise and economical measures of a member of that tribunal, executed by zealous and intelligent officers, the wretched fugitives have been fed, and numberless unfortunate persons have been rescued from the jaws of death. This great expence has been supported, not only by the resources which were at the disposal of Government, but, still more, by voluntary donations presented by natives, and foreigners; among whom we ought to mention with particular distinction the subjects of his Britannic Majesty, both those who are employed in the army, those who are attached to the legation, and those who are comprehended in the class of merchants. Those acts of patriotism and of Christian charity were not confined to the capital and its vicinity. In all the districts of the kingdom, whither the fugitives resorted, they met the same reception, and experienced the same kindness and liberal aid, as far as the ability of the inhabitants enabled them to extend it.—The Governors of the Kingdom, in the name of the Prince Regent, return thanks to all for such distinguished services, by which the lives of so many of his subjects have been saved, and those calamities softened which were caused by the scourge of a destructive war. His Royal Highness will rejoice in being the sovereign of a people so loyal, patriotic, generous, and Christian.—It now only remains to complete the work, to promote the restoration of the fugitives to their homes, to render habitable the towns which the barbarism of these spoilers has

left covered with filth, and unburied carcasses; to relieve with medicine and food the sick who are perishing for want of such assistance; to give life to agriculture, by supplying the husbandman with seed-corn, as well as a little bread for his consumption for some time, and facilitating his means of purchasing cattle, and acquiring the instruments of agriculture. —Such have been and are the constant cares of the Governors of the Kingdom.—Portuguese! tribulations are the crucible in which the merit of men is purified. You have passed through this ordeal, and the result has been glorious. You are become a great nation,—a nation worthy of those heroic progenitors who illustrated the cradle of the Monarchy. Preserve unalterable these sentiments; confide in your Government, as your Government confides in you; draw every day more closely the bonds of union among yourselves, with other nations and with our generous Allies, who are our true brothers. Let one soul, one will, direct our common efforts; and if any one attempt to sow discord, let us tear from our bosom the venomous viper, and let us seal with his blood the ratification of our indissoluble alliance.—Practise these maxims with the same constancy with which you have hitherto followed them, and you will be invincible. — Palac of the Government, March 30, 1811. The Bishop Cardinal Elect; P. Souza; Charles Stuart; Marquis Monteiro Mor; Conde de Redondo; Ric. Raimundo Noguena.

SPAIN.—BATTLE OF BARROSA.—*Disputes at Cadiz, relative to the conduct of the Spaniards in that Battle.—Cadiz, 29 March 1811.*

On the evening of the 27th it began to blow a strong gale from the east, which encreased every moment, and in the course of the night and next morning rose to a pitch of violence greater than any within our recollection. The consequences have been most destructive and deplorable. The inhabitants, filled with a well founded apprehension of the damage which such a terrible night was likely to cause in the bay, crowded in the morning to the sea-wall, where they witnessed the dreadful spectacle of a considerable number of ships wrecked, and others in danger of the same fate making signals for assistance. During the whole day the gale continued equally violent, and caused new disasters. Words are unequal to convey an idea of the humanity, zeal, and intrepidity with which many boats and feluccas (particularly the English) put out and saved a number of unfortunate people, who must otherwise have perished, as did many who could not be relieved.—The inhabitants of Cadiz averted their eyes from these objects, to turn them, full of indignation, on the cause of such evils. "It is not," they exclaimed, the east wind which has sacrificed so many victims, which has ruined so many families whose property is buried in the sea;—it is they who, from unpardonable ignorance, criminal indolence, or, to speak at once (since there are Tortosas and Badajos), from infamous wickedness, did not reap the fruits of the memorable battle of Chiclana. The whole coast cleared of the enemy, (as it ought to have been), many ships would have been anchored between Puntales and the Trocadero; and consequently sheltered from the violence of the storm. They would have had more sea-room, and would not have run foul of each other; and even if driven on shore, the exertions for saving their crews might have been more effectual.—The nation demands vengeance, and demands it justly. August Congress! if ignorance or treason are the causes of our not having reaped the fruits of that glorious day, arm yourselves with the avenging sword of justice, and let the guilty perish.—From the Conciso it appears, that very warm discussions have taken place in Cadiz, with respect to the conduct of the Spanish General Lapena in the battle of Barrosa, and it does not seem to have given more satisfaction there than it has done in this country.—*The Conciso of the 22d of March* contains a letter from an English officer, on the subject, to which there is afterwards a reply from a Spanish officer. We shall give some extracts from each.—The ENGLISH OFFICER begins thus:—Having heard nothing but false accounts touching the battle of Barrosa, and being persuaded that the public cannot obtain a proper knowledge of it from the dispatch of General Lapena alone, I should be wanting to my duty as an English officer, if I failed to lay before the Spanish public certain facts which fixed my attention.—I shall not detail any of the circumstances which occurred before our arrival at Vejar, suffice it to say, that the allied troops underwent much labour and fatigue; but as the ut-

most harmony prevailed, it was cheerfully borne by the soldiers of both nations.—On the night of the 3d we halted in a wood near Vejar; and at six in the evening of the 4th we all marched, with the understanding that we were to halt and take refreshment at Conil, for the purpose of being prepared to fight the enemy next day. The Spanish General, however, changed the plan, and on the morning of the 5th, after a march of sixteen hours, we found ourselves on the heights of Barrosa. —The van-guard, under the command of Brigadier Lardizabal, received orders to enter the pine-wood, and make every effort to keep open the communication with Santi Petri; and this operation was very respectably executed by his division.—At this moment General Lapena ordered General Graham to march towards the wood with the British troops, in the direction of Santi Petri, which he did; but he had not advanced far into the wood, when he received advices, that the enemy was marching rapidly by the plain towards the position which we occupied three quarters of an hour before.—He immediately countermarched his division; and upon issuing from the wood, observed a strong column of the enemy advancing on our left; and we were surprised to see another considerable corps in possession of the heights, where we had left part of the Spanish army.—I know not what happened on the heights after our troops left them. I have heard that the Spanish and German cavalry charged the enemy; I have heard that two Spanish regiments of the division of Begines opened a brisk fire on the enemy; I have heard, in short, that they all received positive orders from the General in Chief to retire; but as I was not with them, I do not take upon me to decide upon any of these circumstances: what I shall say is, that when we cleared the pine-wood, no Spanish troops were in sight.—Retreat would have been most hazardous; and to attack a height occupied by fresh and superior forces, wanted little of being an enterprise of equal difficulty.—I understand that General Graham was aware of the importance of the position of Barrosa; and confident of the valour of his troops, determined on risking an attack. The heights on our right were taken after an obstinate resistance, and the enemy's column on our left was put to the rout.—The enemy being already forced on all points, a squadron of German cavalry charged him, and the line made a halt, the General thinking that his troops had worked hard enough.—Four thousand men, so exhausted by the want of refreshment and a painful march, and who, notwithstanding, drove back a very superior force possessing the advantages of position and circumstances, require no eulogy.—During the time when the combatants were hotly engaged, two battalions (Walloons and Ciudad Real) incorporated with our division during the march, and which were directed towards another point when he ordered us to enter the pine-wood, were seen making all possible exertions to join and succour their friends; but they could not reach our line till the whole was concluded: I believe, however, that Brigadier Cruz and these battalions are sharers in the glories of that day, from the zeal and anxiety which they displayed to join our troops.—The enthusiasm which animated these battalions does not suffer me to doubt that the same spirit prevailed in the whole Spanish army; but these good dispositions, and all the firmness and noble sentiments of the Spanish nation, were sacrificed to the want of activity of General Lapena, of his advisers, and the officers of his staff.—Had the smallest movement been executed; had the Spanish General himself, or any individual of his staff, been present to give him an account of the state of the action, he would, by consequence, have been able to co-operate ***; and the result would doubtless have been attended with as favourable consequences to the Spanish cause as any other event which has occurred since the commencement of the oppression and tyranny exercised upon Spain; and I believe it is not too much to say, that it would have accomplished the deliverance of Andalusia. —I declare on my word of honour, that all that I have related took place under my own eye; and I am persuaded that there is not an officer in the British army, nor in the Spanish battalions above-mentioned, who will fail to confirm every word of it.

C. P. AN OFFICER IN THE BRITISH ARMY.

Isla, March 10, 1811.

(To be continued.)

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// COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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"It can never rain, but it pours."——OLD PROVERB.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

HOLLAND.—INSURRECTION.——The present tide, spring tide, of happy intelligence naturally puts into one's mouth the Old Proverb that I have taken for my motto. ——The Anti-Jacobins, who were set all alive by the "*running away*" (not *drawing after*) of Massena; who were raised to a very high and rather dangerous pitch, by the return of Lord Talavera to the relative position in which he was twelve months ago; these gentlemen, friends of "social order" and "regular government," have been thrown almost into a delirium of joy at the news of an *insurrection* in Holland; they, who, for many years, seemed desirous of hanging every man who should lift up his hand against *any government*, whatever it might be, are now fallen in love with insurgents, and are become the most zealous preachers of Insurrection; and this, too, observe, at a moment when they are branding with every term of infamy those whom they falsely accuse of a wish to excite insurrection in this kingdom.——"Aye," say they, "but it is the *place* that makes all "the difference." How? England, or Ireland, is, to be sure, different from Holland, in many respects; but, *insurrection* is still *insurrection*; and, if you preach it up as a *good thing*, is there not danger that people will misjudge the occasions for using it?—— The Dutch, we are, however, assured, have actually broken out into insurrection; and the TIMES news-paper says, that *oppression* will, in time, make *any* people rebel. I wish history did not contradict this assertion; I wish that oppression *never* failed to produce what is called rebellion; I wish that, not only the Dutch and the Brabanters, but that *all* those amongst the people of Europe, or any where else, who are *oppressed* and *robbed* and *insulted* and *vilified*, by those who have the powers of government in their hands, would, not *rebel*, but certainly that they would cease to be the passive, the degraded slaves that they now are; I wish they would, and with as little delay as possible, take vengeance on their plunderers, not by knocking their brains out, but by sending them adrift to work for their bread, or to starve.—— Thus far, then, I cordially agree with our news-papers. But, whether the good work of insurrection be actually begun is more than I can pretend to say——The facts are related thus by the MORNING POST and the COURIER.——"DESERTION "FROM THE ANTWERP FLEET. INSURREC- "TION IN HOLLAND!—Accounts from "Hull, received this morning, state, that "a vessel had arrived there from Norway, "and brought the intelligence of the desertion of the Dutch, Norwegian, and "Danish sailors from the fleet at Antwerp, and likewise that the greatest disorder prevails in the towns of Flushing "and Antwerp. Several lives were lost "in the night of the 20th; and it was "expected that *a general insurrection was* "*about to take place in all parts of French* "*Flanders*.—There is no further arrival "from Holland. The communication by "post between Amsterdam, Rotterdam, "and Walcheren, is understood *to be cut* "*off*. We have *no doubt* of the correctness of the accounts brought yesterday, "to which we have to add the following "letter, which mentions disturbances to "have broken out in East Friesland:— "HELIGOLAND, APRIL 17.—In Aurich, in "East Friesland, *a revolution has taken* "*place*, in consequence of the great severities practised by the French there. "The people have pulled down the French "arms, and broken them to pieces: they "also SEIZED THE JUDGES; and *tore* "*their chains from their bosoms*: they disarmed the militia, and broke their swords "to pieces; after which they went to the "Castle, and plundered it; and from "thence proceeded to the church and "rang the alarm bells, to give the signal "of revolt. In Nordern the inhabitants "rose and obliged several privateers laying in the harbour to sail, in order to prevent the shipping from coming in, and "direct their course elsewhere."—— What, seize the JUDGES! Gad so! these people are *up* with a vengeance. But, what should make them lay on upon *the*

Judges first? What should make them begin *there?* Why, I suppose, that they found them to be the most corrupt and base and cowardly scoundrels of all; the most completely devoted of all the tools of despotism, and by far the most hateful; because the tyranny they exercised was covered with the garb of *law* and *justice.* If they were, as I dare say they were, a set of old hacknied knaves of this description, whose flabby carcases were fit for little else than to manure the land, and whose souls were all pollution, well might the people seize upon them, the first moment they were *freed from the terrors of the bayonet.* Oh! they "tore the chains "from their bosoms," did they? These hypocrites, then, tricked themselves out, it seems, in a bauble dress to amuse some of the people and strike others of them with awe? When the people came to strip them, I dare say the rabble were indignant at themselves, that they had so long been the dupes of a set of such contemptible animals.——In this case, however, as in the whole of their progress, I hope the people will not imitate the cruelties of the miscreants whom they have to put down. There are, doubtless, many of their oppressors, who deserve the severest punishments that can be inflicted upon them; but, when once men step into blood, there is no knowing when they will stop.——Degrade the fallen tyrants; expose them to shame, and even to a little pelting. Take these base hypocrites of Judges, for instance, and stick them into a pillory, opposite the scene of their former power and tyranny, and decked out in their chains and garbs and surrounded with all the solemn buffoonery, by the means of which they used to cheat the people out of their freedom and their money; hoist them up thus, and let them be regaled with a suitable supply of addled eggs, dead dogs and cats, butchers' offal, and mud from beneath the feet of a justly incensed people; but, let their rascal lives be spared. Make them *work,* or *starve*: but I hope the cause of freedom in Holland, or any where else, will never again be marked in its progress with blood.——I am aware, that the full-blooded Anti-Jacobins will fall upon me here for this tenderness towards these tools of French despotism; but, though I hate the tools of despotism, come from what country they will, and certainly not the less for being French, I shall always disapprove of a *bloody* course, which, in the end, never failed to ruin any cause whatever.——No: imprison them; pillory them (if there be any pillories in those countries;) give them a little *flogging* if they be great offenders; or, perhaps, transport them; though, I think, that *pillory* and *hard labour* may do; but, take not their worthless lives. Let them live in infamy, and, above all things, make them *work* for what they eat, and *take a great part of what they earn from them,* as they have done from you.——This is my advice to the Dutch.——I know the venal tribe will accuse me of being too lenient towards these corrupt Judges, and will remind me, that, formerly, corrupt Judges, whether they took their bribes in mere money in hand, or in some other indirect way, *had their skins stuffed with straw.* I care little about what becomes of their skins; but, I am against all bloody courses; which, as I said before, are sure to ruin a cause in the end.——Take their *property,* or, rather, their *stolen goods,* by all means. Leave them nothing but what they could prove to have possessed before they began to touch the public money; or, in properer phrase, *before they began to rob the people.*——Seize all this. Sell every sixpenny-worth of it for the public benefit; and, with the proceeds, you may, if you choose, make something like remuneration to the ruined public creditors, of whose hard case we heard so much some time ago.——I would advise the Dutch to take from every public robber, by whatever name known. When men detect a thief and *get him in their power,* their first operation is to make him *refund*: to *search* him; to *turn his pockets* for him; and, why should not a robber of the whole nation be treated in the same way, as nearly as circumstances will permit?——Yes, take every *stiver* from these vile tools of despotism, in Holland; leave them nothing but their lives; but, leave them those; let not the friends of freedom condescend to imitate the miscreants by whom they have been persecuted.——The Dutch have made a good beginning. Their seizing hold of those tools of despotism, whom their tyrants choose to call *judges,* proves the soundness of their judgment as well as the justice of their views. They are very right in looking upon these base instruments as being more criminal than the bayonet-men, who hardly know what they do. The old arch knaves, with the baubles of chains and the like about them, know very well what they are at; and, I dare say, that, for a double salary, they would

make crow's meat of half Holland. Picked out from amongst their fellows, distinguished, even amongst lawyers, for their sycophancy, their turpitude, their cold-blooded cruelty, as I dare say these Judges were, they are fit objects of most severe punishment, if severe punishment were fitting for the occasion. But, let the venal say of me what they will; let them accuse me as long as they please of lenity and tenderness for these Judges, I must still recommend to the people of Holland to let the old hardened scoundrels drag out their lives to a natural close; for, certain I am, that nothing could be so severe a punishment to them as to see the people *free* and happy.——Far be it from me, however, to wish to see the Dutch confine their resumption of property to these men. I should be glad to see them make all their robbers of every description *disgorge*; and, if they were to do this, I dare say, that there would want no other means of compensating the poor widows and orphans, who have lost their all, or who are in a fair way of losing their all, in the obliteration of the National Debt——The Dutch, I see, *disarmed the soldiers* at the out-set. That was the way to come at the robbers *au nom de la loi*, or, as we would call them in English, *legal robbers*, or, rather, literally, *robbers in the name of the law*. These gentry were, I'll be sworn, nothing without the soldiers at their back. They could not have perpetrated their villainies without the *aid of the bayonet*, and that they knew well; for, though the soldiers might not, perhaps, have actually assisted at their sittings, still they were *at hand*, they were *hard by*; and this was well known to all the parties concerned; so that the obedience that the poor devils of Dutchmen have apparently been yielding *to the law*, they have, in fact, been yielding *to the bayonet*.——This was a state of things that could not endure long; and, is there, upon earth, any man, except a public robber, who could wish any people to live in such a state?——The MORNING CHRONICLE, who had at first, entertained *doubts* as to the authenticity of this intelligence, has had these doubts removed by subsequent advices, and is now happy to find that an insurrection amongst the Dutch has really taken place. The words are these, and I insert them because they serve to show the *unanimity* that prevails upon this subject.——"We hesitated in giving belief "to the rumour of disturbances in Hol- "land. Knowing that all the youth of "the United Provinces had been drawn "off from its population; and that no "known animal is so phlegmatic as an "aged Dutchman, we thought it impro- "bable that any movement against op- "pression should take place there; but "we understand that *authentic information* "has been received by Ministers of the "important fact; and that it amounts to "*a serious insurrection.*' Yesterday after- "noon, we hear, intelligence upon which "they can rely, came to hand. *The sea- "men on board the fleet at Antwerp had mu- "tinied*, and that it was by their demon- "stration that *the flame spread*. We have "heard no particulars; and indeed the "Merchants connected with Holland very "generally disbelieved the reports, or at "least distrusted the rumour that the dis- "content had assumed any formidable "shape of hostility to the French. They "consider them *as totally subdued and "broken in heart*; but at the same time if "the Norwegian and Danish seamen have "deserted, so as to arouse the dormant "spirit of the Dutch, they say, that they "are *as stubborn when up as they are difficult "to stir.* WE TRUST, therefore, that the "accounts received from Harwich yes- "terday afternoon, WILL TURN OUT "TO BE TRUE."——That is to say, Mr. Perry *trusts*; not only *hopes*, but *trusts*, that *a serious insurrection* has taken place in Holland and in Flanders. This is very well; but, as I before observed, great care should be taken, upon these occasions, so to express ourselves as not to be understood as regarding *insurrection in general* as a good thing; because, unless this be done, we may chance *to stab our own government through the sides of the enemy*. To *exult at an insurrection* and *a mutiny in a fleet*; to express our pleasure at such things, without fully stating *the grounds* of our exultation, and showing that it is not the *thing itself* that we like, but the *use of it in a particular application*; without doing this, we do, in fact, inculcate insurrection and mutiny in every part of the world, which, I take it, is more than either the COURIER or the CHRONICLE wishes to do. ——It is not enough to say, that Napoleon *is our enemy*. That alone is not sufficient to justify us in applauding those of his subjects who revolt and those of his sailors who mutiny; for, if it were, then are insurrection and mutiny matters of mere *expediency*; and, as it is so desirable that they should take place in one country, why should it not be equally desira-

ble for them to take place in another country?——I trust, therefore, that Mr. Perry, when he again expresses his *delight* at these *insurrections* and *mutinies* in Holland, Flanders, and France (for to the latter country they are, it seems, already extended), he will fully state *the grounds* of his joy, as I have endeavoured to do in the foregoing pages of this article.——The intelligence being now derived from this *authentic* source, there can be *no doubt of its truth;* and, therefore, I shall, contrary to my usual practice, indulge in a few conjectures as to the probable consequences.——The sailors having mutinied at Antwerp, the inhabitants will, doubtless, follow their example; because the complete success, with which the mutiny has been attended, implies the want either of power or of will in the soldiers to put a stop to it. The inhabitants of Antwerp will, then, we must suppose, join with the sailors; and, one of the first steps will be, of course, to carry the ships down the Scheldt and surrender them to our Admiral, who will take them and the seamen into our service, and employ both in the deliverance of Europe. The people of Flushing having caught the "*flame,*" as the Morning Chronicle calls it, Walcheren, dear Walcheren! will, of course, be put into our hands without firing a gun. All Holland will follow the example. The French will be *chassé'd* out, as the correspondents in Portugal call it; the friends of the old government will assume power, and, in a few months, the Stadtholder will be reinstated. Travelling northward, the insurrection will oust the French from the Hans Towns; will eject them from Denmark; will kick Bernadotte out of Sweden, where the king, whose departure from England is now accounted for, will remount the throne. Taking next a sweep athwart Germany, the insurrection will drive Jerome Buonaparté from his territories, and especially from dear Hanover. The Confederation of the Rhine will be dissolved; the Emperor and Electors of the Holy Roman Empire will resume their ranks, offices, functions, privileges and emoluments; Rome will once more be the seat of St. Peter's Successor; Naples will again see its amiable king and queen; the Dukes will resume their sway in Tuscany and Modena, the Doge at Genoa; Piedmont will receive back her legitimate sovereign; all Italy will be delivered, and the SWISS CANTONS will once more be restored to that happy state, which, for want of wars of their own, enable their several governments to hire out the youth of the country to fight for other nations, and in some cases, to fight against each other for foreign hire.——In the mean while, France herself, duly prepared by the oppressions exercised on the people, will, in all human probability, be ready to receive Lord Viscount Talavera, who, having first delivered Spain and Portugal, will next become the deliverer of France, and, having restored to her that regular government, of which she has been so long deprived, will, of course, return to England by the way of Calais and Dover, and will enter London crowned with laurels, and march to melodious music along roads strewed with branches and with flowers.——The gun-firing, the illuminations, the bell-ringing, the turtle eating, the toasting and singing, the paragraph and poetry grinding that will follow I shall not attempt to describe. I shall leave these to the imagination of the reader; and, I shall also leave him to guess, if he can, at the end of Buonaparté.——These events having taken place, commerce, of course, will be restored to its usual channels; all the blessings of regular government will be insured to us for our natural lives; or, at least, there will be nothing wanting but to *lower the price of the Dollar.*——It is quite surprizing to see how Napoleon employs, or, rather, amuses himself amidst all this.——The COURIER tells us, that his time is divided between the *cradle* and the *nursery.*——"Paris papers," says the COURIER of the 25th instant, "arrived "last night to the 20th instant. Whilst "his Marshals are flying before the British legions, defeated in every encounter. "Whilst his armies are suffering every "privation, ill fed, ill clothed, and worse "paid, what occupies the attention of "Buonaparté? *The cradle and the nursery!* "Couriers are passing from Paris to "Vienna, on the important errand of "carrying Bulletins of the boy's health, "and invitations to the Emperor of Austria to stand Godfather to him. Buonaparté and his MISTRESS are to go to "Notre Dame on the 2d of June, the day "of Pentecost, when the fruit of their "ADULTERY is to be christened. And "these are the chief contents of the Paris "Papers! There is as little intelligence "from the armies in the Peninsula, as if "no war existed there to drain the *blood* "and the *resources* of the French nation." ——How angry this man seems at the "*French nation*" for not seeming to care

about the drain upon its *blood* and *resources!* Base dogs! What, will they not stir? Will they suffer their blood and resources to be drained away for the purposes of entailing accursed slavery upon the people in the South of Europe? Degenerate wretches! Will they thus submit to work like horses and asses and to have their earnings taken from them by tame cheaters, for the purpose, *in reality*, of *preventing* the people of Spain and Portugal *from becoming free*; aye, for the purpose of preventing these oppressed people from recovering their natural rights; and thereby *setting a dangerous example*. They must be base dogs indeed to suffer this; but, at any rate, they are not base enough to applaud *the wisdom* of those measures, of that train of iniquitous schemes, by which they are thus robbed and made to work for the means of insuring their own slavery. They are not base enough for this. They hold their tongues about it, at any rate. They sing and dance and fiddle. They seem to endeavour to forget their disgrace. They are not so heinously base as to affect to be happy under it. They know that they are, in fact, under the sway of the *bayonet*, and they are not so shamelessly base as to brag about their freedom. They know, that, in fact, they dare not speak explicitly upon public matters, except they speak *in praise* of those who oppress them. This they know well; but, I must say this much for them, that they are not so far lost to all sense of truth and decency as to pretend to look upon themselves as enjoying political liberty. They are base enough as it is; but, they would be much more base if they used this hypocrisy as an excuse, or rather a disguise, for their cowardice.

PORTUGAL. THE WAR.—The war in Portugal is become of more interest than ever now that there is a prospect of a *revolution in France*, and of the speedy deliverance of all Europe.——Lord Talavera will, I suppose, pursue Massena into France, unless, indeed, the French army under that general should disperse, or come over to us in a body.——Lord Talavera's last Dispatch will be found in another part of this Number. It appears, that Massena had crossed the Portuguese frontier, and had merely left a garrison in Almeida, which was expected soon to fall. In short, the two armies appear from this Dispatch, to *be precisely where they were just about a twelve month ago*. But, the Portuguese people are not where *they* were a twelve month ago. Their *olive groves* have been cut down. *They* are beggared. They are delivered of their eatables and their clothes and their lodgings. It is stated in our news-papers, by some of the writers from the army, that Portugal has been thrown back for *thirty years*. It has, then, been a prosperous campaign for Portugal! One of these writers, as quoted in my last Number, exclaims, "Oh! "*happy England!* You are safe from such "scenes!"——This is pretty comfort for the people of Portugal.——But, we are *subscribing* for their relief. Yes, 11,135*l.* 15*s.* was subscribed for them the other day, at a Grand Meeting in the city, composed of Merchants and Bankers; and, it must be a great consolation to that beggared and half-murdered people to hear, that there is subscribed for their relief, a sum amounting to more than *five farthings*, and, indeed, to almost *three half-pence*, a head!——Let me hear of 20 millions of pounds being subscribed, and then I shall begin to think, that the poor creatures will get something like relief. That sum would make them 10*l.* each (in paper-money), and surely that is no great matter. What, then, are *five farthings?* ——To return to the Dispatch of Lord Talavera, I do not see any details of *prisoners* and *cannon* taken, and hardly any waggons do I see in the account of captures. There are *killings* and *woundings* in abundance, but very few *prisoners*. This is a pretty strong proof that we have not gained much in this pursuit; and that the retreat has been very ably conducted.—— At any rate, the two armies are only where they were a year ago; except that the French have Rodrigo open to them now, which they had not then; and, all that the Portuguese have suffered is the *fruit* of the campaign. The *protection* of Portugal against the French was the object *then*, and so it is *now*.——It will be said, indeed, that things are totally changed; that *now* there is *an insurrection in France*; and that Massena will be obliged to hasten home to assist his master. *Very true;* but, who have we to thank for that? Not my Lord Talavera. He has had nothing to do with the insurrections in Flanders and Holland and France. It may, indeed, be said, that *our ministers* have had something to do in causing these insurrections, which have arisen, in all human probability, out of the galling taxation which their *vigorous* war has rendered necessary to Napo-

leon. This is possible; but Lord Talavera has had no hand in the glorious work, and I, therefore, should certainly not be disposed to thank him for it.——He is, as was said before, *just where he was last year;* but *then* the country behind him was untouched; *now* it is devastated, ravaged, ruined, the very germe of its wants being, to a great extent, destroyed. For *what*, then, is he to be *thanked?*

JUBILEE DOLLARS.——Since my last Number, two *fresh puffs* have appeared, in order to persuade the public, that *Silver* will shortly become more abundant, and that, of course, it is *not worth their while to hoard.* On the 25th the following paragraph was circulated:—"The Bullion "Brokers to the Bank have, it is said, for-"mally declared, that Silver has within a "few days *fallen in value* in such propor-"tion, as to reduce the intrinsic value of "a dollar to *five shillings one penny and a* "*fraction.*"——Whence this puff comes is very evident; but, will the Bank *let out their dollars at this price?* They know better; and I must actually *see* the thing, before I will believe, that they will let out any dollars at *5s. 0d.* If they do, these dollars will not remain long in circulation, in spite of all the prosecutions that may be commenced against the dealers in coin, ——In my last I mentioned the case of the dealer, taken up for *selling* Bank Notes. Since that, it has been published more circumstantially, as follows. —"Mansion-House, Tuesday, April 23.— "JAMES KING, Guard of the Yarmouth "Mail Coach, was brought up for exami-"nation, upon a charge of *purchasing eight* "*guineas,* the coin of this realm, at a price "considerably beyond their current value. "The charge was brought by Mr. Nalder, "the Under-Marshal of the city of Lon-"don; who, in consequence of informa-"tion received *from the Treasury,* that "there were persons about town employed "as agents to *purchase guineas for exporta-*"*tion,* made different enquiry, and having "found out the defendant, he marked eight "guineas, *and went with Sayer, the Bow-*"*street officer, who sold those guineas to the* "*prisoner,* and received for each 1*l.* 5*s.* 6*d.* "Mr. Nalder shortly afterwards took the "prisoner into custody, found the marked "guineas upon him, and brought him be-"fore the Lord Mayor; the transaction "*being against the Statute of the third of* "*Edward III.* which subjects offenders to "the penalty of twelve months imprison-"ment, and fine at the discretion of the "Court. The defendant was *admitted to* "*bail.*"——This is precisely such another case as that of DE YONGE. But, what enables this news-writer to say, that this act was against the Statute of the 3d of Ed. III. There is not a word of truth in it. The statement is wholly false. It is an attempt to *frighten* people; and, is, in fact, like the tricks that they had recourse to in France to deter people from giving gold and silver a preference to paper. ——But, that which is most to be dwelt upon is the *folly* of all this, while, at the same time, it can, I dare say, be proved, that coin is bought with paper at a premium, or, in other words, that paper is bought with coin at a discount, in every street in London, and in every town in the country.——However, such things will be. There never yet has been a depreciated paper-money unattended with such symptoms. They belong to it. They make part of its appurtenances; and, as the paper goes down, they will increase in number as well as in force.——There is one *puff,* which, out of many, I shall select for insertion on account of its great curiosity. It will make the sensible reader laugh; but, he will also perceive, that it may serve to dupe some few of those who are enabled to hoard. The object of it is to persuade the public, that great masses of gold and silver may *shortly* be expected from *China* and *India.*—— "A SINGULAR CHANGE is about to "take place in our commercial relations "with the East, and especially with "China. For AGES, the *precious metals* "exported to the latter have been in a "state of *accumulation;* a large portion of "them will probably, *in a short time,* re-"turn to *this quarter of the globe.* An ab-"solute want of raw materials of various "descriptions has at length opened the "eyes of the Chinese to the folly of re-"taining within their own empire, through "motives of jealousy, a commodity which "derives *its chief value* from its being con-"sidered as *the only general instrument of* "*commerce.* The countries contiguous to "China begin now to experience the *be-*"*neficial consequences of the change.* Con-"siderable supplies of specie have already "reached various parts of India from "China; and in Bengal, silver has recent-"ly been most abundant. Indeed, it is "*so plentiful at Calcutta,* that the rate of "interest, which in India has usually been "extremely high, has fallen almost as low

"as in Europe. *In some of the ships about "to arrive from India, large supplies of dol- "lars, and specie in general, are expected;* "and it is calculated, that, before any "very long period elapses, *we shall in this "country receive from that quarter further "supplies to the amount of 7 millions of dol- "lars.*"——This is as nice a thing as I have cast my eyes upon for a long time. It is worth being put upon record; and will, I am certain, not be deemed unworthy of particular notice by him who shall write the history of our paper-money, which will long be remembered in the world as the most complete instance of the effects of human credulity.——This paragraph, were there nothing else; this paragraph itself, is, I think, a clear proof of cullibility of this nation. What! tell us, that the Chinese, who have, for *ages*, been accumulating gold and silver, have now, all of a sudden, resolved to let them go out of their country; and that part of them are, at this moment, about *to arrive in England!* Tell us this, and hope that it will induce us not to hoard?——But, I shall be told, perhaps, that, because this paragraph is written and an insertion bought for it in a news-paper, it does not hence follow, that the people are fools enough to believe it. Yes, it does. The people who insert such paragraphs, know very well whom they are addressing. They are cunning enough to know that; and, besides, if there were people to believe, if there *are* people to believe, and strenuously to contend, that the paper is *not depreciated*, though the guinea will fetch 25*s*. 6*d*. worth of it from the hands of the middle man, who has yet to take a *profit* upon the transaction; if there are people, who, in the face of such facts notorious as the sun at noon day, will contend, and sincerely contend, that the paper is not depreciated; why, then, I say, that man must be very incredulous, who thinks them incapable of believing this story about the Chinese. Why should they not believe it? Why should they not believe, that the Emperor of China is going to send a parcel of gold in exchange for some of our Bank notes? What is there that they may not believe? Why should they not believe that paper *is* gold? Why should they not believe that Bank Directors have the power of working miracles? Talk of *Transubstantiation* indeed! Pretend to laugh at Catholic nations! Our faith in pecuniary matters (to say nothing of our religious faith which is *quite equal* to theirs) surpasses this, or any other, part of their creed.——This quality in us was well known to the author of the above paragraph, who did not put pen to paper 'till he had well considered the character of those whom he wanted to dupe. I do not know why we should not believe, that the Emperor of China is going to send over ship loads of gold and silver to our Bank; and, I dare say, I verily believe, that the story will be swallowed by thousands amongst us. Not that these tricks will answer any purpose in the *end*; but, the object of those who play them off is just to postpone the evil hour from day to day, as they sometimes, I am told, borrow money in the city, for *half a day* at a time! ——There is one little point, in which the fabricator of this paragraph forgot himself. He says, that the Chinese have discovered, that Gold and Silver derive their *chief value* from being considered as the *only general instrument of commerce*.——Indeed! I thought you told us, but the other day, that *paper* was better? There are not less than half a dozen of dunces pestering the public with pamphlets about the superiority of paper over gold. Mr. BOASE tells them that *guineas are an incumbrance*, and the BARONET, whom the public have, as it were by intuition, surnamed *the wise*, calls Bank notes a *mine* of national prosperity. In the face of all this, it is a little too bad to tell us, that the Chinese have discovered, that gold and silver are so essentially useful in commerce, and are, indeed, "the *only* general instrument "of commerce."——But, as I said before, there is nothing too absurd for us to swallow. We are, in this way, the most gross feeders that the world ever saw. The truth is, that, as the old *regular trader*, Mr. CHALMERS, says, almost every man depends upon paper for his daily bread. Nine out of every ten think they have an *interest* in supporting the thing. There are, comparatively, few who look deeply into such matters. There is an old saying, "If I buy the Devil, I'll sell the Devil." And it is thus with the paper. Even those who view it in its proper light, take and pass it as other people do. Indeed they cannot help themselves. But, all this will not prevent the natural end of the paper-money, nor any of the consequences that the paper-money is destined to bring forth.——MR. MARRYATT opened a scene somewhat new, on Thursday evening, in the House of Commons. He explained a species of traffic carried on by the Bank

in *Exchequer Bills*, these latter being a species *of promissory* note *bearing interest;* and these the Bank buys and keeps by them, and, of course, receives the interest for them; and, observe, they pay for them *in their own notes*, which bear *no interest.*——This is a curious operation, and worth illustrating a little.——The government issues notes called Exchequer Bills, in payment of debts that it owes, or in order to get money for the purpose of paying debts.——Now, to speak in round numbers, suppose the government wants *a thousand pounds*, and has not so much in the Exchequer. "Why," say you, "as "paper is easily printed, and as people "are willing to take paper for labour and "goods, the best way is for the govern-"ment to make a hundred ten pound "notes at once; and thus pay in its own "home-made coin. Why not do this?" ——Indeed, it does seem absurd, that the government should go to the Bank to get paper to pay with, when it could make it as well at home. But, there is something in *appearances;* there is something in *settled opinion;* and I have heard a man in the country say, that he thought the National Debt, or Funds, would fall; but, that the Bank *of England* would stand. Aye, it is that *of England* put to the end of it; and long *habit*, which is second nature.——Besides, it would not look well for the government to issue its own money; to *print it off* and *publish* it from Whitehall; for, it would easily occur then, to every one, that there could not possibly be any want of *money* so long as there were paper and ink.——Hence it is that the other way is chosen; and this brings us back to our supposition of the thousand pounds wanted by the government.—It issues, *not bank notes.* Oh, no! not for the world! It does not grind its own money. It issues an Exchequer Bill for a thousand pounds. That is to say, it makes a promissory note, *bearing interest;* the Bank takes the said note, and gives the government a hundred of its notes for it at ten pounds each, or ten notes at a hundred pounds each, no matter which; and these the government pays away for goods or services, or no matter what.——So, you see, the government gives promissory notes that *bear an interest* in exchange for promissory notes that *bear no interest.*——After this, the reader will enter with due preparation upon Mr. MARRYATT's Speech, which I shall insert immediately after this Summary. The Speech, as will be seen, received *no answer;* and indeed, none could it receive.——I beg the reader to remark the expressions about the "PAPER-"MILL." Seven years, seven long years, have I been abused like a thief for making use of such like expressions.——I must, once more, beg the reader to go through Mr. MARRYATT's Speech. It is not long; and it opens a new and very interesting scene.

WM COBBETT.

State Prison, Newgate, Friday, April 26, 1811.

MR. MARRYATT'S SPEECH

In the House of Commons, 25th April, 1811, on the subject of Exchequer Bills bought by the Bank.

MR. MARRYATT requested the attention of the House for a few minutes, on a subject which to him appeared of considerable importance; it was the excessive purchase of Exchequer Bills by the Bank of England. From official communications, it had appeared, that the quantity of Bank paper in circulation before the Bank restriction, was on the average fourteen millions; that at the time of the restriction, eleven milions; and that at the present about twenty-four millions. The excessive nature of this latter issue was found in the increased price of provisions, and every article of common use. Some of the evils which were imputed to this circulation, were, it was true, referred to the unguarded system of granting licences, which had been lately pursued; and if Parliament could pass an act for closing up the doors of the room where the Lords of Trade sat to grant those extravagant licences, and another to close up that where the Bank Directors met to manufacture their notes, parliament could not pass two Acts more highly beneficial to the community. The fact of the excessive issue of Bank-notes was not to be denied; it was plain and palpable; but then there came an answer promptly on the other side. The Bank, it would be said, made no attempt at forcing their paper into circulation, and the people only got it as they asked for it. But the matter of mischief lay in another direction. The Bank formerly drove a most flourishing Discount trade. It was notorious that the trade was cut short at once; and it was equally notorious that it was cut short merely by their most regular and best customers having found their way into

the Gazette. When this prosperous traffic was at an end, the Bank looked about for another. They came into the market, bought up Exchequer Bills, and paid with their own paper. They thus pushed out an immense quantity of paper which cost them nothing; but which the public neither wished for, nor wanted. Let the House consider the effects of this principle once established. The whole transaction went against the original objects of a National Bank. The Bank was established for the assistance of commerce, to discount bills, to buy up bullion, and other purposes of the same kind. There was present to the minds of the founders of the Bank, all the danger which might arise from too close a connection between the Bank and the Government, and they adopted every precaution in their power against the evil. But in 1793, a Bill was brought in by Mr. Pitt, to allow the Bank to issue money upon Treasury acceptances. Even then the principle was so far respected, that the issue was limited to 600,000*l.* Some modifications of the law had since taken place, and it was possible the Bank might be sheltered by the letter, but they had certainly violated the spirit of the law, even as it stood at this moment. The House should look at the hardships sustained by individuals in this trade. What was to be the chance of private men, in a competition with the Bank of England? In the first instance, this mighty purchaser swelled the price of the article by his perpetual presence in the market. In the second place, he swelled the price, without suffering any thing by his own extravagancies. The individual brought actual property; the price of his land, his inheritance, his goods, and must lay those down for the Exchequer Bill. The Bank was not pressed by this inconvenience. It parted with nothing. It was liberal of nothing that was worth keeping. *It simply went to its paper-mill. The mill was set in motion*, the purchase was made without difficulty, and the price of every thing we eat, or drink, or wear, was instantly increased. But why did it not strike the Minister that the Exchequer Bills might be subservient to more useful purposes than the profits of the Bank, and the increase of a paper circulation already enormous? The country would be better inclined to receive Exchequer Bills paying interest, than Bank-notes paying none. If the Exchequer Bills were put into a form fit for circulation, and were made to pay even a lower interest than now, they might pass as Bank-notes do; they would be received more willingly than Bank-notes, and would naturally help to check their exorbitant issue. A profit would be derived from them, and divided between the public and the directors; not buried in the exclusive coffers of the Bank. It was true, that those issues and purchases furnished the Chancellor of the Exchequer with an occasional opportunity of display on the rising wealth of the country. But the ground was false and hollow. The whole statement arose from misconception. The whole system was fallacious; and the nation, like children looking through a magnifying glass in a raree-show, were only more deceived as they were more delighted. A Right Hon. Baronet (Sir J. Sinclair), in a late publication, had actually ventured to state, that a Minister wanting to borrow, should endeavour to increase the circulating medium of the country. To mention this singular opinion was enough for it. But there was a circumstance springing from this unjustifiable intercourse of the Bank with Government, which ought to awake the House. It was recorded in the report of the Lords' Secret Committee on the Bank Restriction, that in 1797, the Governor and Deputy Governor of the Bank, on the occasion of some transaction with the Government, actually demanded of Mr. Pitt an obligation, that he would not subsidise, or enter into any money negociation with any foreign Government, Power, or Potentate, without acquainting the Governor and Deputy Governor of the Bank forthwith. The promise was extorted from Mr. Pitt; and thus were the most important secrets of the State, and the whole course of our foreign policy, put at the mercy of those two men. Let this be not forgotten by the House. Mr. Pitt was forced to submit to the demand; and did the House ever expect to see a firmer Minister than Mr. Pitt? But the Bank had still more power at this moment. Then, they had but their share in the circulation of the country; now, they had the whole circulation by their *paper-mill.* The Bank were now purchasers of Exchequer Bills to the amount of seventeen millions. This might be shewn to be highly injurious to the general interests of the Empire. But where was the purchase to stop? Was it to be said that an enquiry into these things was an enquiry

into the circumstances of private property? Certainly not. From the moment of the Bank restriction, the Bank ceased to be a private undertaking. It became a public instrument, strongly affecting public interests; and it was as justifiable to call such an agent to account, as any of his Majesty's Ministers. The charge now brought against the Bank was plain and intelligible. It was that of converting the means which were confided to it for public profits, into its own aggrandisement, and that charge was only to be met by a fair, open, and candid refutation. The papers might be refused; but if the Bank was guiltless, they would not be refused. It would be impossible to attribute refusal to any other motive than the consciousness of guilt, and the fear of exposure. Mr. Marryatt then moved, "That there be laid before the House, an account of the Exchequer Bills held by the Bank of England on the first day of January, April, June, and October, in each year, from 1797, up to the latest period to which the account could be completed."

Mr. MANNING observed, that the charge against the Bank rested merely on the authority of the Hon. Member who had just spoken. There was no document on the subject before the House, and the House was certainly not bound to take notice of a mere unauthenticated statement. Some Acts of Parliament had been stated as limiting the purchase of Exchequer Bills to 600,000*l.* It was true that there had been a regulation for that purpose, but it was merely temporary, and died with the time. (The Hon. Member then quoted a variety of acts, in which purchases to the amount of millions were authorised by Parliament.) There had been, in the passing of those various Acts, opportunity enough to resist the extension of the purchase, if it were really illegal. When the Bank was charged with the extravagant traffic in Exchequer Bills, it ought to be known, that it never purchased at a premium. It was only when money was greatly wanting in the market and the most serious inconveniencies might result from withholding their purchase, that the Directors of the Bank appeared in the market. The Bank had been charged with raising the price of the government securities. This was a curious charge, and he (Mr. Manning) must go to school again, if he was to learn, that keeping up the value of government securities was an injury to the country. The Bank made no profit by these transactions. It had only complied with the regulations adopted by the wisdom of Parliament, without travelling into the vague statements, of its having raised the price of the necessaries of life by its issue of paper; all which he (Mr. Manning) must most positively deny, (hear! hear! from the Chancellor of the Exchequer): he must inform the Hon. Member, (Mr. Marryatt) that every paper which could be required for his satisfaction was already on the table, in the Appendix to the Bullion Report, and in the accounts which the cashier of the Bank had lately presented to the House. As to other transactions, not connected with matters of a public nature, it was not to be expected that any gratification would be given to mere curiosity.

MR. MARRYATT complained that the only account which was material should be still refused. He desired to know, not the amount of the Bank dealing with Government, but the actual amount of the purchase of Exchequer Bills by the Bank, on its private account in the market. But the Bank was now putting itself forward as the supporter of the public securities. Why was it to stop at seventeen millions? Why not buy up the whole thirty millions of Exchequer Bills that were out? Why not buy up all other securities? It would cost the Bank nothing but another application to the paper-mill. The Bank might then, with the whole mass of public securities in its hands, proceed to model its proceedings as might best suit its convenience. One of its operations might be the reduction of the interest; and the five per Cents. might become four, and four three, and so on. These might be the first fruits of the new power which the Bank had now taken to itself, and only a beginning of what might be effected by collusion with the Minister of the day. The papers necessary for demonstrating those charges might be refused; but as a public man, he could not give confidence to those who demanded that he should give it blindly, with a precipice at his feet. He could not give his entire acquiescence to those who told him to shut his eyes, and walk on.

After a few words from Sir J. Newport, the question was put, and negatived without a division.

DEPRECIATION OF MONEY.

Sir;—The information you lately gave to your readers respecting the state of the coinage in France, is conclusive evidence, if indeed any proof be wanting beyond what we daily experience, that it is not bullion which has advanced in price, but our paper currency, which is alarmingly depreciated below its nominal value. I am the better pleased with your statement because it clearly exposes the fallacious pretence that has been so idly urged, of the competition being merely between the gold and silver currency and not between the real money generally and paper. It appears that the six-livres-piece, being about of the same intrinsic value as our crown, is, in reality passing in France at the rate of only 4*s.* 10*d.* while Spanish Dollars worth 4*s.* 6*d.* are passing with us at 5*s.* 0*d.* and, as you, in common with every other person of any discernment, foresee, cannot be kept in circulation even at that price. Can any thing be more obvious, when even our wretched silver currency of counterfeit shillings and sixpences, which perhaps contain scarcely half the standard quantity of silver, has absolutely almost entirely disappeared? If this will not convince the "*thinking nation*" that Bank notes are at a discount, I am afraid that a complete vacuum in our pockets can alone cure the defect in another quarter.——Perhaps there never was a question that resolved itself into a more narrow compass than the subject we have now under discussion. If John Locke were alive at this day, how would he laugh, or rather how indignant would he feel, at his degenerate countrymen for their wretched credulity and ignorance? What would be his surprise at finding the press teem with a parcel of elaborate pamphlets; part to prove, and part to controvert a plain matter of fact: a truism as palpable as that two and two make four?——For my own part, Mr. Cobbett, I shall despair of the success of your arguments, however forcible, unless you can bestow common understanding enough upon the "thinking people" to make them perceive *that an ounce of gold or of silver in bullion, cannot be of more value than an equal weight thereof in coin.* They must, according to the very nature of things, be alike, allowing for that additional part of the value of coin which is constituted by the price of labour.——When the foregoing elementary proposition is clearly understood, it will easily explain the mischievous consequences of a paper circulating medium, which can never possess the determinate value of the precious metals; and also teach us to justly appreciate the system of the "Great man now no more," and the character of the greedy knaves and Impostors who build their fortunes on the ruin of their country. CIVIS.

21st April, 1811.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

SPAIN.—BATTLE OF BARROSA.—*Disputes at Cadiz, relative to the conduct of the Spaniards in that Battle.—Cadiz*, 29 *March* 1811.—*(Concluded from page* 1024.)

Letter of D. JUAN DE LA CRUZ MONTGEON, *to* D. JUAN JACINTO LOPEZ, *in consequence of the Letter of the English Officer, inserted in the Conciso, No.* 41.

This letter, which is of very considerable length, begins with complaining of the want of precision in the details of the English Officer, either with regard to dates or the positions of the sections, corps, or divisions of the army. To remedy this defect the writer sends to his friend a ground-plan of the whole, to illustrate the contents of his letter. He then proceeds to analyse the letter of the English Officer in the following manner:—"He says in his letter, 'I know not what took place on the heights, after our troops left them,' &c. To this I reply, that Brigadier Begines and myself remained upon them with the division under his command, which consisted of the company of musketeers of Getares, a battalion of the Queen, the regiments of Seguenza, Cantabria, Ciudad Real, a battalion of the Walloons, another English battalion, 4 pieces of artillery, and all the baggage with the ammunition of the first and second division, with orders from the General in Chief to begin our retreat towards the bridge, as soon as we saw the troops repassing by it. We were in position at this place when the enemy were descried manœuvring to seize upon it, without knowing whether the English or Spaniards would come to our assistance: if not secure of victory, we were at least in a situation to perish in our ranks, in order to secure the retreat of our dear allies, which also was carried into effect; it being seen also how much our position threatened the enemy, the latter marched the whole of his columns to attack the troops upon

it, and not the English, whom they could by no means see; a proof of this truth being, that when General Graham with his troops issued from the pine-wood, he encountered those of the enemy, who had changed the direction of their columns on account of our retreat, which D. Santiago Whittingham conducted. — Having now entered the pine-wood, I observed that the English light infantry had begun the action with those of the enemy who followed us, and that the British army had returned by means of a countermarch, and was beginning to form in line by wheeling on its left, at the foot of a small height which the enemy already occupied, with whom a terrible fire had commenced then the English battalion, which marched in front of the column which I commanded (consisting of the Walloon battalion, and the regiment of Ciudad Real, and two pieces of artillery), marched towards th line of battle which the other troops of their nation were forming, which battalion I followed; but at that moment General Whittingham ordered me to march my column to support the right flank, which gave him most anxiety; because the enemy had already penetrated towards the beach. At that moment I countermarched by the left, in order not to obstruct the line of battle which the English were forming, and marched upon Casa-Blanca, making this movement in close battalion, supporting the fire of artillery without returning a shot, overawing the enemy's cavalry, who durst not attack, and never forming in line, because we wanted a point of support.—On attending to the above, it is necessary to observe, that if Senor C. P. when he came out of the pine-wood did not see any Spanish troops, it must have been because of his being fully occupied, or because for a time they were on the left flank of the line, where it was very difficult for him to see them, on account of the wood and the broken ground over which my column had to march. Doubtless C. P. confounds Torre-Barrosa with Casa-Blanca, since the latter is the most elevated point in the ridge of Puerco; and being close to the sea, it was not so important for General Graham to preserve Barrosa as Casa-Blanca, which is the point that commands all the ground.—He says, 'That the two battalions made every effort to come up, but did not join till all was over, &c.' To this I reply as follows: —As the orders which I had were to guard the right flank, it became my duty, on no account to join the English line of battle, thus leaving open to the enemy the pass which was in my rear. Had that been done, so far from being victorious, we should have been routed; for all the English troops were in one line, and there were no others to manœuvre but those which I commanded, and those which supported me on my right flank, and which were commanded by Senor Begines. For this reason I marched still in close column of formation against the force of the cavalry and infantry which was posted in front of Casa-Blanca, accompanied by a squadron of English hussars. I ordered the remains of the first of Valencia, and the companies of light infantry of Siguenza and Cantabria, to attack in divisions those of the enemy who had hastened to the beach to get possession of our baggage. This was executed, and, together with the closeness of the column under my command, so alarmed the enemy, that their cavalry abandoned their light troops, and retired in all haste towards the termination of the Lagoon.—Observing that the enemy were now neither on my rear nor on my right, I marched my column towards the right flank of the English line of battle, whose left was still engaged. In this situation, and always advancing, the squadron of English hussars advanced and charged the enemy's cavalry, who waited for them with firmness, but the valour and intrepidity of the British hussars routed them in less than a minute. In the pursuit the hussars fell in with a small square of enemy's infantry, who opened their fire upon them, and the hussars prudently retired to their line of formation. I took advantage of this interval, and opened a fire from my two pieces of artillery, the balls of which reached this square body, which formed in column and began to retire. This being seen by the right flank of the enemy's line, which still kept up the firing with much briskness, they also began their retreat in the greatest disorder, at which moment I received orders from General Graham to suspend the march of my column, and give the troops some relaxation, as the English also did.—The whole of the above being an incontestable fact, Senor C. P. ought to confess, that the column under my command, consisting of the battalion of Walloons, the regiment of Ciudad Real, and two pieces of artillery, not only reached the English line before the close of the action,

but that they had an essential part in the victory; on which account they are sharers in the glories of that day, and not for the wishes only which C. P. justly ascribes to them; for if he considers the latter as the only reason for their deserving praise, then he ought to advert, that as much might be said of those troops which were at Cadiz and the Isla.

PORTUGAL. THE WAR.——*Downing-Street, April* 19, 1811.—*A Dispatch, of which the following is a Copy, was on the evening of the* 17*th instant received at Lord Liverpool's Office, addressed to his Lordship by Lieutenant-General Viscount Wellington, dated Marmoleiro, 2d April,* 1811.

MY LORD—The Allied Army were collected in the neighbourhood and in front of Celorico on the 28th March, with a view to dislodge the enemy from the position which they had taken upon Guarda, which they still occupied in force, and of which they apparently intended to retain possession. On that day a patrole of light infantry from Major Gen. Alex. Campbell's division, commanded by the Honourable Colonel Ramsay, had some success against a detachment of the enemy at Avelans; and a patrole of the light cavalry, with a detachment of the 95th, with which was Major-General Slade, obliged the enemy to retire from Fravedas; both took many prisoners; and I am concerned to add that Brigade-Major Stewart of the 95th was killed with the last.—On the morning of the 29th, the 3d, 6th, and light divisions and the 10th light dragoons and hussars, under the command of Major-General Picton, Major-General Alexander Campbell, and Major-General Sir William Erskine, moved upon Guarda in five columns, which were supported by the 5th division in the valley of the Mondego, and by the 1st and 7th from Celorico. And the militia, under General Trant and Colonel Wilson, covered the movement at Alverca against any attempt that might ave been made on that side to disturb it.—Th my abandoned the position of Guarda without firing a shot, and retired upon Sabugal, on the Coa. They were followed by our cavalry, who took some prisoners from them.—On the 30th Sir William Erskine, with the cavalry and horse artillery, fell upon the rear guard of the 2d corps, which had been near Belmonte, and had marched for the Coa during the night, and he killed and wounded several and took some prisoners. The enemy have since taken a position upon the Coa, having an advanced guard on this side; and the allied troops have this day been collected on the left of that river.—I have the honour to enclose the copy of a letter which I have received from Marshal Sir William Beresford, containing the terms of the capitulation of Campo Mayor; and I have likewise the honour of enclosing his report of his first operations against the enemy, from which your lordship will observe that he has got possession of that place again, and has had considerable success against the enemy's cavalry.—This success would have been more complete, and would have been attended with less loss, if the ardour of the 13th Light Dragoons and 7th Portuguese regiment of cavalry in the pursuit of the enemy could have been kept within reasonable bounds. Some of the men missing of both these regiments were made prisoners on the bridge of Badajoz.—The enemy have likewise abandoned Albuquerque.—I have received no accounts from Cadiz or from the North since I addressed your Lordship on the 27th March. I have, &c. WELLINGTON.

Mar l report of Campo Mayor, 26th March, that he had moved on the preceding morning from Arronches, and upon approaching Campo Mayor had found the enemy's corps (consisting of four regiments of cavalry, three batalions of infantry, and some horse artillery), drawn up on the outside of the town.—Brigadier General Long being sent with the Allied cavalry to turn the enemy's right, found an opportunity of a charge to be made by two squadrons of the 13th Light Dragoons under Lieutenant-Colonel Head, and two squadrons of Portuguese dragoons under Colonel Otway, supported by the remainder of the cavalry. By this charge the enemy's horse were completely routed and chased by the four squadrons above mentioned into the town of Badajoz. A great number of the French were sabred, as were the gunners belonging to sixteen pieces of cannon that were taken upon the road, but afterwards abandoned.—The pursuit of the enemy's cavalry having led a great proportion of the Allied dragoons to a distance of several miles before the infantry of Marshal Beresford's Army could come up, the French infantry availed themselves of the opportunity to retreat in solid column, and thus effected their escape.—The enemy's loss

is estimated at not less than five or six hundred men killed, wounded or prisoners, great numbers of horses and mules were taken, together with one howitzer and some ammunition waggons.—Marshal Beresford speaks highly of the steadiness of Colonel De Grey's brigade of heavy cavalry, and of the gallantry displayed by all the troops that were engaged.

The enemy abandoned the town of Campo Mayor without resistance, leaving there a considerable supply of corn and provisions, and 8000 rations of biscuit.

Return of the Killed, Wounded, and Missing, in the Corps of the Allied Army, under the orders of Marshal Sir W. C. Beresford, K. B on the 25th of March, 1811.

3d Dragoon Guards—2 horses killed; 3 rank and file wounded.

13th Light Dragoons—10 rank and file, 6 horses, killed; 2 Lieutenants, 1 Staff, 1 Quarter-master, 1 serjeant, 22 rank and file, 10 horses, wounded; 1 serjeant, 21 rank and file, 35 horses, missing.

1st Regiment of Portuguese Cavalry—1 Cornet, 10 rank and file, 11 horses, killed; 32 rank and file, 25 horses, wounded; 27 rank and file, 32 horses, missing.

7th Ditto—3 rank and file, 1 horse, killed; 8 rank and file wounded; 28 rank and file, 41 horses, missing.

Total—1 Cornet, 23 rank and file, 20 horses, killed; 2 Lieutenants, 1 Staff, 1 Quarter-master, 1 Serjeant, 65 rank and file, 35 horses, wounded: 1 Serj. 70 rank and file, 108 horses, missing.

Names of Officers Wounded.

13th Light Dragoons—Lieutenant Smith, badly; Lieutenant Gale, Adjutant Holmes, and Quarter-master Greenham, slightly.

Return of Ordnance and Stores taken from the Enemy on the 25th March, 1811, *by the Allied Army under the orders of Marshal Sir W. C. Beresford, K. B.*

One French six-inch howitzer, 6 French caissons with ammunition, 1 French forge cart.—Since destroyed.

(Signed) E. Pakenham, D. A. G.

Portugal. The War.—*London Gazette Extraordinary, of April* 25, 1811.—*A Dispatch, of which the following is a Copy, has been received at Lord Liverpool's Office, addressed to his Lordship by Lieutenant-General Viscount Wellington, dated Villa Fermosa, 9th April,* 1811.

My Lord,—When I last addressed your Lordship the enemy occupied the Upper Coa, having his right at Rovina and guarding the Ford of Rapoilla de Coa, with a detachment at the bridge of Ferrerias, and his left at Sabugal, and the 8th corps was at Alfayates. The right of the British army was opposite Sabugal, and the left at the bridge of Ferrerias.—The Militia under General Trant and Colonel Wilson crossed the Coa below Almeida, in order to threaten the communication of that place with Ciudad Rodrigo and the enemy's army.—The river Coa is difficult of access throughout its course, and the position which the enemy had taken was very strong, and could be approached only by its left.—The troops were therefore put in motion on the morning of the 3d, to turn the enemy's left above Sabugal, and to force the passage of the bridge of that town; with the exception of the 6th division, which remained opposite the 6th corps, which was at Rovina; and one battalion of the 7th division, which observed the enemy's detachment at the brigade of Ferrerias.—The 2d corps were in a strong position, with their right upon a height immediately above the bridge and town of Sabugal, and their left extending along the road to Alfayates, to a height which commanded all the approaches to Sabugal from the Fords of the Coa above the town. The 2d corps communicated by Rendo with the 6th corps at Rovina.—It was intended to turn the left of this corps, and with this view the light division and the cavalry, under Major-General Sir W. Erskine and Major-General Slade, were to cross the Coa by two separate fords upon the right, the cavalry upon the right of the light division; the 3d division, under Major-General Picton, at a ford on their left, about a mile from Sabugal; and the 5th division, under Major-General Dunlop, and the artillery, at the bridge of Sabugal.—Colonel Beckwith's brigade of the light division were the first that crossed the Coa, with two squadrons of cavalry upon their right. Four companies of the 95th, and three companies of Colonel Elder's Caçadores, drove in the enemy's piquets, and were supported by the 43d regiment. At this moment a rain-storm came on, which rendered it impossible to see any thing; and these troops having pushed on in pursuit of the enemy's piquets, came upon the left of their main body, which it had

been intended they should turn.—The light troops were driven back upon the 43d regiment, and as soon as the atmosphere became clear, the enemy having perceived that the body, which had advanced, were not strong, attacked them in a solid column, supported by cavalry and artillery. These troops repulsed this attack, and advanced in pursuit upon the enemy's position, where they were attacked by a fresh column on their left, and were charged by the 1st Hussars on their right. They retired and took post behind a wall, from which post they again repulsed the enemy, and advanced a second time in pursuit of them; and took from them a howitzer. They were however, again attacked by a fresh column with cavalry, and retired again to their post, where they were joined by the other brigade of the Light Division, consisting of the two battalions of the 52d regiment, and the first Caçadores. These troops repulsed the enemy, and Col. Beckwith's brigade and the 1st battalion of the 52d regiment again advanced upon them. They were attacked again by a fresh column supported by cavalry, which charged their right, and they took post in an inclosure upon the top of the height, from whence they could protect the howitzer which the 43d had taken; and they drove back the enemy.—The enemy were making arrangements to attack them again in this post, and had moved a column on their left, when the Light Infantry of Major General Picton's division, under Lieutenant-Colonel Williams, supported by the Honourable Major-General Colville's brigade, opened their fire upon them. At the same moment the head of Major-General Dunlop's column crossed the bridge of the Coa, and ascended the heights on the right flank of the enemy; and the cavalry appeared on the high ground in rear of the enemy's left, and the enemy retired across the hills towards Rendo, leaving the howitzer in the possession of those who had so gallantly gained, and preserved it, and about 200 killed on the ground, and six Officers and 300 prisoners in our hands. Although the operations of this day were, by unavoidable accidents, not performed in the manner in which I intended they should be, I consider the action that was fought by the Light Division, by Colonel Beckwith's brigade principally, with the whole of the 2d Corps, to be one of the most glorious that British troops were ever engaged in.—The 43d regiment, under Major Patrickson, particularly distinguished themselves; as did that part of the 95th regiment in Colonel Beckwith's brigade, under the command of Major Gilmour, and Colonel Elder's Caçadores; the first battalion fifty second regiment, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Ross, likewise shewed great steadiness and gallantry, when they joined Colonel Beckwith's brigade. Throughout the action the troops derived great advantage from the assistance of two guns of Captain Bull's troop of Horse Artillery, which crossed at the ford with the light division, and came up to their support.—It was impossible for any officer to conduct himself with more ability and gallantry than Colonel Beckwith. The action was commenced by an unavoidable accident to which all operations are liable; but having been commenced, it would have been impossible to withdraw from the ground without risking the loss of the object of our movements; and it was desirable to obtain possession, if possible, of the top of the hill, from which the enemy had made so many attacks with advantage, on the first position taken by the 43d regiment. This was gained before the 3d division came up.—I had also great reason to be satisfied with the conduct of Colonel Drummond, who commands the other brigade in the light division.—When the firing commenced, the 6th corps broke up from their position at Rovina, and marched towards Rendo. The two corps joined at that place, and continued their retreat to Alfayates, followed by our cavalry, part of which was that night at Soito.—The enemy continued their retreat that night and the next morning; and entered the Spanish frontier on the 4th. They have since continued their retreat, and yesterday the last of them crossed the Agueda. I have the honour to inclose the return of killed and wounded from the 18th of March. I am concerned to have to report that Lieutenant-Colonel Waters was taken prisoner on the 3d, before the action commenced. He had crossed the Coa to reconnoitre the enemy's position, and he was surrounded with some hussars and taken. He had rendered very important services upon many occasions in the last two years; and his loss is sensibly felt.—I sent six squadrons of cavalry, under Major-General Sir W. Erskine, on the 7th, towards Almeida, to reconnoitre that place, and drive in any parties which might be in that neighbourhood, and to cut off the communication be-

tween the garrison and the army. He found a division of the 9th corps at Junça, which he drove before him across the Turou and Duas Casas; and he took from them many prisoners. Captain Bull's troop of horse artillery did great execution upon this occasion. The enemy withdrew in the night across the Agueda.—The Allied army have taken up the position upon the Duas Casas, which Brigadier-General Craufurd occupied with his advanced guard in the latter part of the siege of Ciudad Rodrigo; having one advanced post upon Gallegos and upon the Agueda. The Militia are at Ciuco Villas and Malpartida. The enemy have no communication with the garrison of Almeida, from whence they have lately withdrawn the heavy artillery employed in the summer in the siege of that place. My last report from Cadiz is dated the 13th of March. —I have not heard from Sir Wm. Beresford since the 1st instant. At the time he hoped to be able to blockade Badajoz on the 3d.—I learn by letters of the 30th March received this day from the South of Portugal, that after General Zayas had landed his corps at Huelva and Morguer, the Duke d'Aremberg moved upon Morguer from Seville with 3,000 infantry and 800 cavalry, upon which the Spanish troops embarked again. It is stated that the cavalry had lost some of their equipments. I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) WELLINGTON.

Return of Killed, Wounded, and Missing of the British and Portuguese Forces in the several Affairs with the French Army, from the 18th of March to the 7th of April 1811.

TOTAL BRITISH LOSS—1 General Staff, 2 Lieutenants, 1 Serjeant, 15 rank and file, 8 horses, killed; 1 General Staff, 1 Major, 2 Captains, 5 Lieutenants, 2 Ensigns, 8 Serjeants, 2 Drummers, 117 rank and file, 11 horses, wounded; 4 rank and file and 1 horse missing.

TOTAL PORTUGUESE LOSS—1 rank and file killed; 9 rank and file wounded; 1 Lieutenant-Colonel missing.

Officers Killed, Wounded and Missing.

KILLED.

95th Foot—Brigade-Major Stewart (Lieutenant.)

1st Batt. 43d Foot—Lieutenant J. M'Dearmid.

1st Batt. 95th Foot—Hon. Duncan Arbuthnot.

WOUNDED.

2d Batt. 5th Foot—Lieutenant St. Clair, Ensign Williams, severely.

1st Batt. 43rd Foot—Major Patrickson, slightly; Captain Dalzel and Lieutenant Rylance, severely; Lieutenant W. Frier, slightly; Lieutenant J. Creighton, severely.

1st Batt. 52d Foot—Captain P. Campbell and Lieutenant J. Gurwood, severely, not dangerously.

95th Foot—Lieutenant-Colonel Beckwith and Second Lieutenant W. Haggup, slightly.

MISSING.

1st Portuguese Foot—Lieut-Col. Waters (late 1st Foot.)

SPAIN.—BATTLE OF BARROSA.—*Notes of the Moniteur on Lord Liverpool's Letter to the Lord Mayor of London.—April* 4, 1811.

The *Moniteur* contains the following Notes upon the account of the Battle of Barrosa, sent by Lord Liverpool to the Lord Mayor of London :—

Letter.—"The army of Marshal Victor, composed of the two divisions of Ruffin and Laval."

Moniteur—"There was only one brigade of each division, and each consisted of less than 2,500 men. Four battalions had been detached to reinforce the garrison of Medina Sidonia."

Letter—"The enemy was completely repulsed, with the loss of an eagle and six pieces of cannon."

Moniteur—"You mean two pieces of cannon, and four caissoons, and you say nothing of your having lost four pieces of cannon, and three stand of colours."

Letter—"The General of Division, Ruffin, &c. and 480 rank and file were made prisoners."

Moniteur—"You took, at the most, 150 wounded men, and you lost 720."

Letter—"It appears that the enemy had about 8,000 men engaged."

Moniteur—"That is to say, less than 5,000."

(To be continued.)

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

HOLLAND.——INSURRECTIONS.——Alas! all the "*fond* hopes" of the Morning Post and of the "Fashionable World," seem to have been dissipated since my last Number went to the press. Nothing short of a complete *deliverance* of Europe was then expected, and that, too, right speedily. We were taught to believe, that the Antwerp Fleet was hourly to be looked for coming down the Scheldt with the gallant crews in high mutiny, and intent upon the good work, the praiseworthy act of delivering the said fleet into our hands. To judge from the public news-papers, the Anti-Jacobins seemed to have pricked up their ears and to have been wholly recovered from the fit of apprehension, into which they had been thrown by the dear Dollar.——It was a *sham*, or a *hum*, or a *hoax;* and here we are, with all the "fond hopes," all the sweet hopes, of hearing confirmed the accounts of a general insurrection in Holland and Flanders, though the Morning Chronicle assured us, that the *government* had received *authentic* accounts of the matter, and that it (the Chronicle) *trusted* that what it had before reported was *true*. ——All the story, therefore, about the *Judges* being seized by the people and having their bauble, their humbug, their cheating dress, their rabble-blinding gear, stripped off from their flabby carcases; all this story is false, and I dare say, that these base miscreants, these very worst of all the instruments of tyranny, are going on cheating and oppressing and insulting and laughing at the poor Dutch as much as ever. It is not, however, the fault of these men, or their employers, half so much as it is of the Dutch themselves. Base dogs! why do they submit? Why do they not down with these tricked out instruments, these vile hypocrites, these robbers and murderers *au nom de la loi* (that is to say, in the name of the law); why do they not pull them down and drag them along the kennel?—— Why, I shall be told, that they are, in fact, guarded by troops; for, though the troops may not be *always present* with them, that there are thousands upon thousands *within call;* that they are *stationed at convenient distances all over the country;* and that if the people were to hesitate one moment to let the Judges and others rob them *au nom de la loi*, the soldiers would be called in, and the work would be consummated at the point of the bayonet. ——Oh, oh! these are their tricks, are they? This is the way they do things in Holland, and in Flanders! The soldiers do not actually take people's goods and money from them and put them in jail and otherwise ill-treat them; but, they are within call, in great abundance, if the tame cheaters meet with resistance.——Poor Dutch! Poor Flemings!——This is despotism with a vengeance! It must be ten thousand times more provoking than if it was carried on without any of the *forms of law*. These legal forms must make the most galling part of the system; and, therefore, I did not at all wonder to hear that the people had begun by seizing upon the *judges*. But, alas! it was all false. It was all a fabrication, on the part of our stupid and time-serving news-papers, who are now bringing themselves off with the most pitiful excuses.—On Friday last, the COURIER and MORNING POST told us that; "A Dutch Gentleman, just arrived from "Holland, brings a letter dated the 21st "inst. from one of the *first houses there*, "which confirms the news of *a complete* "*insurrection* having taken place from one "end of Holland to the other; *that* 9000 "*French have already been made to bite the* "*dust;* and that *both the fleets* in Amster-"dam and Antwerp are *in a state of mu-*"*tiny*."—On the next day, they came down to the following account, which the reader will do well to compare with the one just given. "The chief cause of the "late disturbances in Holland was, as we "stated, that HORRIBLE LAW of cru-"elty and blood, the CONSCRIPTION "LAW. A vessel arrived yesterday, "which sailed from the Dutch coast on "Monday night, with several passengers "who got on board by stealth. The mas-"ter states, that he was at Amsterdam on

"the preceding Saturday, when the commotion took place. Some Conscripts of "the Jewish persuasion *having revolted;* "they were, after a considerable struggle, "*overpowered by the troops* that escorted "them, and four of them shot by way of "example to the others. This act of "severity *occasioned a numerous mob* to as-"semble, chiefly consisting of women, "who *pelted the French officers and soldiers* "with stones and other missiles. One "officer was severely wounded on the "head in the affray. The only act of "outrage committed besides, was the "cutting adrift some boats in which Con-"scripts were put for the security of con-"veyance. A strong French force *con-"tinued to parade the streets* from Saturday, "until the time our informant left Am-"sterdam. What a HORRIBLE PIC-"TURE OF TYRANNY does the fore-"going account exhibit; and is it to be "believed (no, it cannot be believed) "that SUCH *a system can long exist,* or "that it does not carry within itself *the "seeds and elements of its speedy dissolution?*" —Look at this well, reader. So, then; there being some *Conscripts,* that is to say, men who had been *compelled to become soldiers;* there being some persons of this description, who *revolted* or *mutinied,* they were, after some struggle, subdued by the *foreign troops* that the tyrant Napoleon had sent into Holland. Four of them having been shot, this act of severity occasioned the people to assemble and pelt the *foreign troops;* and, that a STRONG PARTY OF THESE TROOPS CONTINUED, FOR SOME TIME TO PARADE THE STREETS.—Well, venal man, and what then? What next? Look me in the face, thou venal man, and tell *what of all this?* —Why; was it not a "*horrible picture of* "tyranny?"—YES; yes, it was; it was a horrible picture of tyranny; and for submitting to such tyranny a nation ought to be exterminated. Base dogs! What! let these French foreigner troops beat them about in this manner? But, come; they did make a feeble *attempt* at resistance at any rate. The Dutch did not take it quite in silence, and seem to bless those who had brought their oppressors amongst them. They did, or, at least, some of the women did, raise their voices and their hands too, in behalf of the poor young fellows who had been forced to become soldiers, and who had been goaded on to revolt, or mutiny. The people of Amsterdam were not base enough to look on with seeming approbation, while their countrymen, the young fellows forced into the service, were so ill treated. Yet, we cannot justify the nation. They are *base dogs* for submitting to such treatment; and they deserve, richly deserve, all they get, and more too.——The COURIER then asks, "is it to be be-"lieved that SUCH a system can long "exist." And, he answers himself, and says, that "*it cannot be believed.*"——Why should it not? How long have the world seen tyranny quite equal to this existing in many countries? It has in itself the *seeds of destruction,* we are told. Aye, but such seeds are often of very slow growth; and the plant, unfortunately, too long in ripening.——The fact is, that this system will last just as long as the government has a sufficiency of *troops* on its side. Men without arms cannot face men with arms. Troops are placed at convenient distances all over the country. Any rising is quelled in a moment. The revolters, who might call themselves *patriots,* the government would call *rebels;* the Judges would hang, or transport to Cayenne, all those who escaped the bayonet or musket; and, what is the most odious and detestable thing of all, the great mass of the people would stand by and utter not a word against any of the government's proceedings; nay, rather than be suspected of disaffection, they would applaud its most infamous and cruel acts.——So long as the government has a sufficient number of troops at its command, the tyranny will go on; and, the time when the government will cease to have such a number of troops, is, *when it ceases to have money to pay them,* and not one moment before.——Therefore, it is all nonsense; it is all beastly absurdity to talk about a revolt of the people in Holland, as long as the government is enabled to pay soldiers to shoot or stab the people. As long as it has money for this purpose, it will find no difficulty in keeping the people down. As long as it can pay a numerous army, it has nothing to fear from the people; and, the only wonder with me is, that the despotism makes use of *Judges,* or of any of the *forms of law;* unless, indeed, these are supposed to be the most efficacious of its tools. The soldiers, perhaps, would have less *method* in managing the affairs of taxes and the like; and so one set of tools is put to assist the other; and thus is tyranny aggravated by its complexity.——From this view of the matter it is evident, that no rational hope

of a subversion of this tyranny can be entertained, so long as the government has the means of keeping in its pay a sufficiency of bayonets. The whole thing is military. The government depends wholly upon the army; all the powers of oppression, in whatever way they may come at the people, depend upon the army; but the army depends wholly upon its PAY. Take from the despotism the means of keeping the bayonets, and the nation is free. To talk of any *other mode* of the poor Dutch or Flemings being able to obtain redress is worse than absurdity, because it tends to excite false hopes and to produce disappointment; nay, it might possibly induce some persons to expose themselves to useless destruction in a contest with the despotism.——Such is my view of the state of Holland and Flanders; and, my last word of advice to the people of these countries would be: remain quiet, 'till the day comes, when your despotism is left *without the means of hiring bayonets*, and then you will be free if you choose it. ——I know, that, for this advice, I shall be exposed to the calumnies of our venal writers, who will accuse me of a wish to prevent the people of Holland from rising at all. No, you fools, I do not entertain any such wish! I only wish the people not to afford the despotism an excuse for murdering them in detail. I wish them not to stir, till they are likely to succeed, knowing that, against a bayonet, an unarmed man is nothing; and knowing that, by one means or another, all the people are disarmed.

JUBILEE DOLLARS. —— In the newspapers of this day, I see no less than *forty-two pamphlets* advertised, the whole of which relate to the subject of Bank Notes and Bullion. ——To-morrow the grand discussion takes place in the Honourable House. The RESOLUTIONS proposed, or to be proposed, by Mr. HORNER, were inserted in my Number of the 24th of April, at page 1012. Those of the other side, which, it seems, come from MR. NICHOLAS VANSITTART, will be found in the present Number.——Here is fire against fire, you see. *Bang* for *bang*, except that Mr. Vansittart returns one more shot than he receives.——In this Number I have also inserted a set of *Aphorisms* by SIR RICHARD PHILLIPS, which do certainly contain, in my opinion, ten thousand times as much sense as both the sets of Resolutions put together. ——In one respect, however, I do not agree with SIR RICHARD: I mean as to his *remedy*. He does not, indeed, seriously says, that the thing *can* be done which he say would be efficacious, if it *were done*. But, he talks *as if* it could be done; and, I am fully persuaded, that he knows it cannot. It is, therefore, wrong for him to sport with the feelings of the Old Lady; especially at a time like this.——In the meanwhile curious work is going on out of doors. I will here insert a string of paragraphs that have appeared in the news-papers of London, since the publication of my last Number; that the world may see, that we may have upon record, and that our children and other countries may take warning from what is now passing here.—I. "*Nefarious Traffic in Gold.* A seizure of "10,000*l.* was yesterday made at the "Custom-house, of gold, in bars, regu- "larly entered and sworn to at Guildhall "as foreign gold. The boxes had passed "the Custom-house, and were on board "ship when the discovery was made. It "is supposed that some person employed "in the melting of it into bars, gave in- "formation that guineas were melted with "the foreign gold. The Custom-house "Officers are still searching the vessel, it "being suspected that much has been se- "cretly put amongst the other goods." ——II.—"*Alarming Riot at Sampford Pe- "verell.* On Monday last a disturbance, "of a very serious nature, occurred at "Sampford Peverell. The annual fair, for the sale of cattle, &c. was held there on that day. On the Saturday preceding, a number of the workmen, employed in excavating the bed of the Grand Western Canal, assembled at Wellington for the purpose of obtaining change for the payment of their wages, which there has been lately considerable diffi- "culty in procuring. Many of them in- "dulged in inordinate drinking, and com- "mitted various excesses at Tiverton, and "other places to which they had gone for "the purpose above stated. On Monday "the fair at Sampford seemed to afford a "welcome opportunity for the gratifica- "tion of their tumultuary disposition. "Much rioting took place in the course "of the day, and towards evening a body "of these men, consisting of not less than "300, had assembled in the village. Mr. "Chave (whose name we had occasion to "mention in unravelling the imposture "respecting the Sampford Ghost) was "met on the road, and recognized by

"some of the party. Opprobrious lan-
"guage was applied to him, but whether
"on that subject, or not, we have not
"been informed. The rioters followed
"him to the House, the windows of which
"they broke; and, apprehensive of fur-
"ther violence, Mr. Chave considered it
"necessary to his defence to discharge a
"loaded pistol at the assailants. This un-
"fortunately took effect, and one man fell
"dead on the spot. A pistol was also fired
"by a person within the house, which so
"severely wounded another man that his life
"is despaired of. A carter, employed by
"Mr. Chave, was most dreadfully beaten
"by the mob. Additional numbers were
"accumulating when our accounts were
"sent off, and we understand their deter-
"mination was to pull down the house."
III.——"*Hoarding.* A respectable corres-
"pondent observes, that the hoarding of
"cash by farmers, servants, and country
"people, is of a magnitude beyond what
"writers on the subject of specie are
"aware of; a robbery or death now and
"then throws some light on the facts. In
"the West of England, most of the
"farmers keep by them from thirty to a
"hundred guineas in gold, and some con-
"siderably more. A few days ago, a
"wealthy yeoman declared he had three
"thousand guineas in his house, the pos-
"session of which was more pleasure to
"him than an accumulating interest. The
"writer knows numerous servants, who
"have from twenty to eighty guineas in
"gold by them, and believes this hoard-
"ing to be general among the middling
"and common class of the people. The
"amount of gold thus concealed must be
"immense; perhaps the withholding this
"coin from circulation may have pre-
"vented some from being clandestinely
"sent out of the kingdom; yet that evil
"will bear no comparison to the detriment
"society experiences, by the entire dis-
"appearance and want of the intended
"use *designed by the Legislature.*"——IV.
—"*New Silver Coinage.*—We are assured,
"from undoubted authority, that the new
"Silver Coinage is in great forwardness,
"particularly dollars, which will be issued
"speedily; in consequence of which, the
"holders of the old silver suffer greatly,
"as many of the shillings and sixpences
"will fall very short of their present value."
——V. "*Gold Exported.* The following
"entries of Bullion were made at the
"Custom-house in the course of last week:
"For Dunkirk, 1514 oz. of gold in bars;
"1170 oz. gold coin; 2517 oz. silver coin.
"For Ostend, 477 oz. gold coin; 6467 oz.
"silver coin."——VI "*Mock Bank Notes.*
"A number of mock notes, for a penny,
"fabricated obviously in imitation of the
"one pound notes of the Bank of Eng-
"land, are at present in circulation. After
"the words, "for the Governor and Com-
""pany of the," the words "*King's*
""*Bench and Fleet*" are inserted in an
"upper line, in very small characters;
"and the remainder of the sentence con-
"cludes "Bank *in* (instead of *of*) Eng-
""land." The hackney-coachmen are
the principal *putters off* of these notes.
A person who asks change of a two
pound note from one of these gentry,
particularly at night, rarely escapes
being cheated."——VII.—"*New Dollars.* On Friday the Bank issued *new
stamped dollars* to the several bankers,
to the amount of 300*l.* *each house.* A
further issue is expected in the course of
this week."——Here it is in all ways:
Alarms and *threatnings* and *coaxings* and
puffings. Aye! but all will not do. If
this venal man (all the paragraphs are
from the COURIER of the 27, 29, and 30th
of April); if this venal man lie the cur-
rent of the Thames back to Oxfordshire,
then, indeed, I should begin to suppose it
possible for him to turn the current of the
paper money; but, until he can do the
former, he may be well assured that all
his attempts at the latter will fail.——I
am, however, pleased to see him at work
in this way; for, as he writes for the in-
struction of the full-blooded Anti-Jacobins
in the country; as it is to them he looks for
customers, they may, perhaps, believe what
he says, and be thereby induced to go on
confiding in the Old Lady to the last. I hope
they will. This will be the proper, the just
and appropriate, punishment for them.
They will then be caught in their own
trap; choaked in their own halter.——
They would, at this moment be in won-
derous high spirits, were it not for *the
Dollar*, the dear Dollar! This hangs about
them, and damps their joy. Were it not
for this, they would be so insolent, that it
would be impossible to walk in the same
street with them. They would actually
trample people under their feet. This
hangs about them. This haunts them.
This weighs upon their mind. It comes
athwart them in the midst of their plea-
sant reveries. Even while they are ex-
ulting in the hope of being able to put
their feet on the necks of the Jacobins, it

shoots into their minds and mars all their felicity. It has its influence with them at moments when they have forgotten it. They are not *thinking* of it; but, still there is, they feel, *a something* at the bottom of their hearts that makes them afraid. They ask themselves what it is; they say, "why are we not happy? What is it "that makes us apprehensive?"——And, then, the Dollar, the infallible proof of depreciation, presents itself.——Now, in whatever degree these alarms are removed from their mind by the puffs in the COURIER, that paper does good; because the tendency of its effects is to make any of the Anti-Jacobins, who now confide in the Old Lady, continue to confide in her, the effect of which will inevitably procure for them their just reward. Let all the Anti-Jacobins confide in her to the end! And, indeed, they ought to be *made* to confide in her. She, I am sure, has been a support to them. She has been their nursing-mother. If it had not been for her their cause would have been ruined fifteen if not eighteen years ago. She and they have indeed been the prop of each other. The support has been mutual. Aye, and they feel to the very bottom of their souls, that their fate is wound up in hers; that she and they must stand, or fall, together; and this feeling it is that haunts them night and day.——The discussion, which is to take place to-morrow, will be a memorable one. Hitherto we have seen nothing but *reports* and *pamphlets.* We shall now have the *speeches* of the honourable House upon the subject. When we have them; when we have before us not only the *schemes* but the *arguments* also, both of the INS and the OUTS, *we* will then take up the matter; we Jacobins will let the world see, whether we do not know as much about the thing as those do, who call us a "*low degraded crew.*"——Every one of the pamphleteers, who acknowledge a depreciation in the Notes, has his *remedy;* amongst the others DAVIS GIDDY, the steady defender of the *borough*-system, has his remedy.— But, poor DAVIS, whose head, as an *author* at least (for as such, I may speak freely of him) is none of the clearest, does not seem to perceive how dreadfully this remedy of his would operate upon the *borough* system, which, he contends, is necessary to the *preservation of the constitution.*——This is a *very shallow* man. I thought that SIR JOHN SINCLAIR, MR. BOASE, and the five or six "LEARNED FRIENDS," who have upon this occasion, added to the raw material of the Trunk-Maker, were unparalleled in point of coxcomical stupidity; but, really, "DAVIS GIDDY, Esq." as he calls himself, seems to have fair pretensions to a preference before them all, the *wise* Baronet only excepted. But, it has just shot into my head, that DAVIS himself is a "*learned friend.*" The wonder ceases! It is under the hands of "Learned friends" that the Nation has been for the last 28 years. *Every* minister since that time has been a *lawyer.* A greater bulk of laws have been passed since that time than was passed before from the time that England was called England. All has been law, and all power has been in the hands of lawyers.——The Old Lady has, amongst the rest, been under their care; and much good may it do her!——DAVIS GIDDY, Esq. discovers, I think, a greater degree of stupidity than SIR JOHN SINCLAIR, though I say this somewhat doubtingly; for Sir JOHN's pamphlet really is a wonder in its way. But DAVIS has an air of *profundity;* and a sort of metaphysical manner, which is so outrageously disgusting, that one can scarcely contain oneself under the lecture.——This man, too, this consummate booby of an author, has his *scheme;* his *remedy;* and he makes no doubt, not he, that, if his scheme were adopted, all would be well again.——When I come, in my closing letters, to speak of the different schemes of these pamphleteers, I shall, perhaps, notice DAVIS GIDDY's amongst the rest; but, I cannot help noticing, here, one *falshood,* a downright *falshood,* which he has asserted, and, I think there is but too much reason to suppose, that it is also a *wilful* falshood.——He says, that the Bank Notes are, *in effect,* a legal tender; and that, "*not a single* 'individual has been found, in fourteen 'years, amidst the infinite variety of opi'nions and circumstances existing in that 'time, who has VENTURED to *decline* 'these notes, and to *demand cash.*"——What does he mean by *declining* notes? The *demand of cash* is clear, and the assertion is a clear falshood; for, as has been shown, in the last volume of the Register, page 1285, notes of the Bank of England were refused and cash demanded, in 1801; that the Plaintiff obtained a verdict; and that, upon argument before the judges, the verdict was confirmed.—— DAVIS GIDDY, ESQ. may say, that he *never reads the Political Register.* So much the worse

for him; for, if he had, he could not have been ignorant of this fact. He, however, who is a "*learned* friend," ought to read law books. It is his trade to do that as much as it is that of a chimney-sweeper to carry a soot-bag. Indeed, it is not to be believed, that he had not read this case. At any rate, either he had read it, and has, of course, published a wilful falshood; or, he is grossly ignorant of what he ought to have been well informed of, before he attempted to put pen to paper upon this subject.——The fact is, that any man may demand payment of any legal debt in the coin of the realm, except debts due from the Bank of England itself. I do not say that any of the miscreants, who bargain for their borough votes, could demand the payment in coin; I do not say, that any of these possessors of the precious privilege of voting; I do not say that they could demand, and obtain, the wages of their corruption in coin; but, I know, that any man may demand and obtain payment, in coin, of any legal debt.——It seemed to me necessary to say these few words upon Mr. DAVIS GIDDY'S pamphlet; and having so done, I shall now dismiss this subject, till we have the debate of to-morrow before us.

PORTUGAL. THE WAR.——Since my last, the THANKS of the two Houses of Parliament have been voted to Lord Talavera and his army.——I am always glad of occasions to praise the army, or any part of it, and to defend, or any part of it, when need is.——I dare, that the army has behaved very well upon this occasion; or, at least, I see nothing to make me suspect the contrary; but, at the same time, I do not see sufficient reason, or any reason at all, for *particular* thanks to it at this time.——If, indeed, the commander of an army is to be thanked when *no victory* is obtained; if victory be not essential in the grounds of thanks; then there may be room for *dispute* upon this point; but, if victory be essential, then I would not have thanked this commander, for I have seen no official account of any victory that he has obtained since the time that he was last thanked and titled and pensioned for three generations.——What, then, are the grounds of this new *Thanking?* What has he *achieved?* He has *cleared Portugal of the French.* The French have, indeed, marched to the frontiers of Portugal; they have, perhaps, entered Spain; they have fallen back; they have retreated; nay, they have, perhaps, run away. What then? They did not do this in consequence of any victory gained over them by him. He did not *beat* them; he did not *drive* them back; he did not even *attack* them. This, at least, is what we are told in all the intelligence upon the subject.——That they would not have retreated, if there had been no army opposed to them is certain; but, how long were they suffered to lie unmolested in the face of that army? Besides, to clear Portugal of the French; the French must have first been in Portugal; and, how came he to let the French enter Portugal? "They "were too strong for him. He could not "help it." Why, then did he go to the Frontier to meet them? Or, if there before he knew their strength, why did he not retreat *sooner* towards Lisbon, and not remain till the pursuit of him became so injurious to his army and to the country?—This question of, *why did he go to the frontier,* was, I perceive, attempted to be answered by MR. PERCEVAL, when he moved for the thanks, on the 26th of April.—I will quote his words, as I find them in the MORNING CHRONICLE.—"*Why "then, it may be asked, did he go to the "frontiers?* It is to be considered, how"ever, that one of the objects which he "had in view, was to acquire *time for the "discipline of the Portuguese army;* that "another of these objects was *to gain time, "for the arrival of reinforcements from this "Country,* to be procured from all the "quarters from which they could be "spared; that he had always in contem"plation the difficulty which an enemy "should find in the *subsistence of a numer"ous army,* while Portugal continued the "seat of war; and that if he moved to the "frontiers, it was impossible for the "enemy to operate but in great numbers. "It was for those reasons he thought "proper to carry the war, *to keep the war "at a distance;* but it is but justice to "state, that while he was defending Por"tugal on the banks of the Coa, he was "carrying on the fortifications at Lisbon; "and that while he was giving security to "the frontiers, he was adding strength to "the heart. When the enemy *appeared in "numbers, he then retired to a stronger situa"tion.*"—Now, this appears to me the strangest statement of reasons that ever was heard of in the world.—He *wanted time to discipline the Portuguese army.* Well, now, if he had remained at Lisbon, behind his lines, would he not have had *more*

time for this purpose, than he could possibly have while he was going to the frontier and coming back again?—Behind his lines at Lisbon, he would have had the whole summer for the work of forming the Portuguese army; but, what time had he while advancing to, and retreating from, the frontier?—He wanted time, too, it seems to get re-inforcements from England. Well, and did his going to the frontier *hasten* these re-inforcements? Did he get them the *sooner* for going to the frontier?—To *keep the war at a distance*, it was, we are told, necessary to *carry the war to a distance*. But, *did* he *keep the* war at a *distance?* or did he let it work its destructive way to within a few miles of the capital? It might be out of his power to prevent this; but then, wl did he go to the frontier? or, being there, why did he not retreat sooner?—He *foresaw*, we are told, that these operations of his would reduce the enemy to great difficulty in supporting their army; and, in a future part of the speech, we are told, how completely this has been verified.——Why, really, there seems to have been no great scope for foresight here. If the French invaded Portugal and devoured all the produce of the country, it was pretty clear that they must go elsewhere to get more; and, it was also pretty clear, that what was devoured or destroyed by our army could not be devoured or destroyed by theirs. But, all this while; all the time this cool calculation about bringing the French into and letting them eat themselves out is going on, we seem to forget what was the professed object of the army under Lord Talavera, namely, the *defence* of Portugal; the *protection* of Portugal against the French.——*Starved out!* Well the French might be starved out, indeed, when they had been suffered to be in Portugal as long as there was any thing to be found to eat.——What was the progress?——The French came up to the Portuguese Frontiers, where Lord Talavera and his army lay. They took Almeida from a garrison that he had placed in it; they then marched against him; and he retreated before them to within a few miles of Lisbon. He there gets behind his lines; he receives reinforcement upon reinforcement, and supplies upon supplies. The French, he himself tells us, are destitute of all necessaries from the first moment of their arrival. Still there they lie for about five or six months facing him; and, when they have eaten up the country, they go off of their *own accord*, without being defeated, and even without being attacked.——What *victory* is there thus far? What is there here to boast of? What is there here to which the epithet *glorious* can be applied?——And, what has happened since the retreat of the French began? What *victory* has been gained by the person thanked? I have often looked for the return of *prisoners*; but, I have yet seen none. If thousands were taken during such a retreat, what would that be? It would be hardly worth naming; yet, I repeat that I have not seen any return of prisoners.——I have observed, that, in the volumes of eulogies, written upon this occasion; that in all the boastings about driving the French out of Portugal, not a word has been said about *numbers*. Yet, this is a most important point. It was said, in the debate of the 26th of April, in the House of Commons, that we have now 60,000 of our troops and 40,000 Portuguese troops in Portugal. Here are *a hundred thousand men!* We are not told how many Massena has; but, it never was pretended, that he had more than 70 or 80 thousand when he *entered* Portugal; and the reader knows well what *dysenteries* and *fevers* and *starvations* and *desertions* the French army has experienced. Is there, then, any *glory* in having seen such an army retreat before 60,000 English troops and 40,000 Portuguese "*as good as any* "*troops in the world?*"——Why was not this point of *numbers* touched upon? In such a case it is every thing. Without it who is to be able to estimate the merit even of a decisive victory? The first question always asked, in such cases, is, what was the *force?* What was the *strength* of the two armies? Was the *victor* weakest, or was he the *strongest?* And, in cases of *retreat*, surely there can be no glory to the pursuer, if he be in point of numbers greatly superior to the party pursued?——If to be the pursuing party in a case like this, be so greatly meritorious, was Massena entitled to no merit when he pursued Talavera? Aye, but he was *drawn after* into *a trap*. Where is the proof of that? He is in no trap now, and he has not been *hurt*. And, who yet knows, what is to be the *end* of all these marchings and countermarchings?——The two armies are *just where they were a year ago;* except, that the French *still possess one fortress in Portugal, which they did not then possess.* And, what has the *cost* been? The destruction of a considerable portion of the country, which

we professed it to be our object to *protect*, many millions in taxes upon the people of England, and many more millions added to the National Debt.——What, then, are these *Thanks* for? There is no *victory;* and as to the *political consequences*, even if it were proper to thank a military commander for them, they have been, and are, I am fully convinced, such as we ought to lament rather than rejoice at, and such as we must lament, if we see the thing in its proper light; for, it is the *lingering* of this war that we have to dread. What good has been done, if the French remain facing our army now? Can we maintain an army *constantly* upon the Portuguese frontier? Can we carry on the war as *principals* in Spain and Portugal for any length of time? As well might it be asserted, that we could hold those kingdoms as colonies.——For these reasons, and some others which I shall state another time, I would never have given my assent to this vote of thanks; and, we shall see, in the end, whose opinions are correct.—— The two are where they were *a twelvemonth ago*, and half Portugal, which we *wished to defend*, has, since that time, been *laid waste and ravaged*. That alone is enough for me. I can, under such circumstances (to say nothing about the *cost*), give no thanks either to the planners or the executers of the war.

W[M]. COBBETT.

State Prison, Newgate, Tuesday, April 30, 1811.

JUBILEE DOLLARS.

SIR;—In perusing Mr. Hoare's Letter to the Bank, I was struck with the discordant opinions which prevail in respect of the circulating medium; one party, as he observes, contending that paper has no influence upon exchange price, plenty, or scarcity of Bullion, and the other upholding an opinion decidedly the reverse. It is clear that men at all familiar with the principles of finance could not differ so essentially upon a point of such considerable moment, if it were not for the obscurity and difficulty with which it is involved; for if it admitted of any thing like a short mathematical demonstration, the confused and various opinions afloat must long since have yielded to a clear intelligence upon the subject. That Bank Paper carries with it very much the appearance of depreciation, must be admitted when a guinea will exchange for so much more than a pound note and a shilling, as it did in the recent case of the Mail Coach Guard who was examined before the Lord Mayor. It may be said however, that this is by no means irresistible evidence of a depreciation, as it is possible that the Coin may have increased in value while Bank Paper has remained stationary. Because my companion has grown taller than myself, my height is not in consequence diminished.—But I confess this is a mere verbal quibble; for if I had preserved by me one hundred pounds in Gold Coin which I unfortunately exchanged for the same nominal amount in Bank notes, I should at this moment have been richer by the difference between the present relative value of the guinea and the note. In this case therefore, having improvidently exchanged my Coin for Paper, I should be an absolute loser to the extent I have noticed; and when we speak of the depreciation of currency, we have loss in view; and therefore, whether we make use of the term "depreciation," or not, the fact is unaltered, and consequently all discussion upon the word itself is mere idling; having however the mischief of removing us from a fair consideration of the utility or disadvantage of the present Issue of Paper, instead of assisting us in the solution of that important question. Now Mr. Cobbett, as I am of opinion that you have as clear a view of the principles of finance as most men, not excepting that Polar Star, Sir John Sinclair, I wish to trouble you with a few remarks as they occur to me, and shall feel thankful to be corrected by your pen wherever I have entertained any idea that is erroneous. The mischief of a paper currency is not immediate, and therefore not directly discoverable, but it arises from that laxity of public and private economy which a profusion or redundancy of wealth must invariably produce. A large circulation of currency has the necessary effect of suddenly increasing the demand for the necessaries of life, as well as all other articles of consumption; and an increased demand, unless accompanied with a concurrent and contemporaneous supply, will unavoidably occasion a considerable rise in the prices. If the effect of an extended circulating medium were to afford the means of purchasing the necessaries of life to him who otherwise could have no such opportunity, it might be hailed as a blessing; but this is a very fallacious view of the subject:

the circulating coin of every commercial country must be adequate (if not dissipated by forced Issues of Paper) to the fair demand of necessaries; but the redundancy of a paper currency, converts economy into extravagance, and the demand that was before only equal to the comforts of life is now enlarged to meet the calls of profusion and dissipation. In some manufactures, this forced consumption may meet a supply, and here the price of the article will not be materially increased; but with the necessaries of life in which the efforts of man are less successful and less productive, a very serious increase in price must eventually be the consequence. The facility which paper currency affords to public and individual extravagance is evident: suppose, for example, that I called upon my neighbour for the loan of 100*l.* if coin were the only circulating medium, it is not improbable that his circumstances might be of a nature not to admit of such a floating sum in his hands beyond a sufficiency to answer his own demands; and in this case I should be refused; but, at present, if he have no such sum in notes, I have only to ask him to put his name to a Bill of Exchange for that amount, and I convert it with all imaginable ease into the paper currency of the Bank, which will answer all the purpose of coin. Can a greater, or more mischievous incentive to dissipation be imagined? But is the evil limited to public and individual profusion? does it not poison the very root of commerce, and provoke that reprehensible speculation which has tended so long to disgrace our Gazettes with bankruptcies, and fill the columns of our daily prints with the accounts of failures all over the kingdom? —With regard to the price of Bullion, and the exchange against this country, that depends clearly (I should imagine) upon the extent of the exportation of coin for the maintenance of our armies abroad, and for the importation of the commodities of a foreign country which will not receive any commodities of ours in exchange. It is evident that all importations under such circumstances, should be as much as possible checked; but paper currency is the strongest and most powerful of all engines for the continuance of such a disadvantageous trade, because it enables the merchant to drain the country of coin to the last shilling, to pay foreigners for their merchandize. In this latter point of view, nothing more baneful or injurious to the welfare of this country can be contemplated; and Bank paper is at this moment a species of bonus to those who will exert themselves most in draining the country of its coin. This unnatural foreign trade, which the Bank paper tends so much to encourage, is of the greatest mischief in the present exigency of silver coin, as it causes that traffic in bullion which leads to those competitions in the purchase of coin, of which the mail-coach guard is recently a proof; and so long as that traffic remains, all the Dollars that the Bank can issue will be but as a drop in the occan in the supply of silver coin, as they must necessarily, as it appears to me, vanish as soon as issued. Another alarming consequence that this purchasing of bullion will create, is the public feeling as to the relative value of coin and paper; for what an extraordinary predilection for the former must be occasioned by the knowledge, that in exchanging some months since one hundred pounds in coin for so much of paper of the same nominal value, the difference of five shillings in the pound has been lost to the owner of the coin. Let a man possess what depths of reasoning he may; let him be as true a disciple as you please of that luminary of finance, Sir John Sinclair, still he must, if he have the choice, prefer coin to Bank paper; but if he would do so, how much more will such a disposition be cherished by those, who, unacquainted with any theoretical speculations, are *solely* governed by passing occurrences: will you persuade such men as these, who see that a guinea has sold for twenty-five shillings, (and these men form the great mass of society) will you persuade them, to part with coin for paper of a like nominal value; or if they happen to have more coin than they want for immediate use, will you persuade them to buy stock with it? not even so sanguine a man as Mr. Randall Jackson could expect it. Then what is to prevent hoarding if Bank paper is to continue equal to a legal tender? and if hoarding and exportation remain, what human power can alleviate the present dearth of silver. These remarks, I am aware, are but hasty, and if they are fallacious, and distant from the causes of the present scarcity of coin, and alarming prices of the necessaries of life, as they probably are, you will oblige an old correspondent by pointing out his mistakes, and infusing into his brain a small portion

of the financial illumination of the spirit I am, Sir, &c. W. F. S.—*Lincoln's Inn, April 27*, 1811.

PROPOSITIONS RESPECTING MONEY, BULLION AND EXCHANGES.—*26th April* 1811.

I. That the right of establishing and regulating the legal Money of this Kingdom hath at all times been a royal prerogative, vested in the sovereigns thereof, who have from time to time exercised the same as they have seen fit, in changing such legal Money, or altering and varying the value, and enforcing or restraining the circulation thereof, by Proclamation, or in concurrence with the Estates of the Realm by Act of Parliament: and that such legal Money cannot lawfully be defaced, melted down or exported.

II. That the Promissory Notes of the Governor and Company of the Bank of England are engagements to pay certain sums of Money in the legal Coin of this Kingdom; and that for more than a century past, the said Governor and Company were at all times ready to discharge such Promissory Notes in legal Coin of the Realm, until restrained from so doing on the 25th of February 1797, by his Majesty's Order in Council, confirmed by Act of Parliament.

III.—That the Promissory Notes of the said Company have hitherto been, and are at this time, held to be equivalent to the legal Coin of the Realm, in all pecuniary transactions to which such Coin is legally applicable.

IV.—That at various periods, as well before as since the said Restriction, the exchanges between Great Britain and several other countries have been unfavourable to Great Britain: and that during such periods, the prices of Gold and Silver Bullion, especially of such Gold Bullion as could be legally exported, have frequently risen above the Mint price; and the coinage of Money at the Mint has been either wholly suspended or greatly diminished in amount: and that such circumstances have usually occurred, when expensive naval and military operations have been carried on abroad, and in times of public danger or alarm, or when large importations of Grain from foreign parts have taken place.

V.—That such unfavourable Exchanges, and rise in the price of Bullion, occurred to a greater or less degree during the wars carried on by King William the 3rd and Queen Ann; and also during part of the seven years war, and of the American war; and during the war and scarcity of grain in 1795 and 1796, when the difficulty increased to such a degree, that on the 25th of February 1797, the Bank of England was restrained from making payments in cash by his Majesty's Order in Council, confirmed and continued to the present time by divers Acts of Parliament; and the Exchanges became afterwards still more unfavourable, and the price of Bullion higher, during the scarcity which prevailed for two years previous to the Peace of Amiens.

VI.—That during the period of 75 years, ending with the 1st of January 1796, and previous to the aforesaid restriction whereof, with the exception of some small intervals, accounts are before the House, the price of Standard Gold in bars has been at or under the Mint price 34 years and 5 months; and above the said Mint price 39 years and 7 months; and that the price of foreign Gold Coin has been at or under 3*l.* 18*s.* per oz. 31 years and 2 months, and above the said price 42 years and 10 months. And that during the same period of 75 years, the price of standard Silver appears to have been at or under the Mint price, 3 years and 2 months only.

VII.—That the unfavourable state of the Exchanges, and the high price of Bullion, do not, in any of the instances above referred to, appear to have been produced by the restriction upon Cash payments at the Bank of England, or by any excess in the issue of Bank Notes; inasmuch as all the said instances, except the last, occurred previously to any restriction on such Cash payments; and because, so far as appears by such information as has been procured, the price of Bullion has frequently been highest, and the exchanges most unfavourable, at periods, when the issues of Bank Notes have been considerably diminished, and to have been afterwards restored to their ordinary rates, although those issues have been increased.

VIII.—That during the latter part and for sometime after the close of the American war, during the years 1781, 1782 and 1783, the exchange with Hamburgh fell from 34. 1 to 31, 5, being about 8 per cent.; and the price of foreign gold rose from 3*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* to 4*l.* 2*s.* 3*d.* per oz. and the price of Dollars from 5*s.* 4½*d.* per oz. to 5*s.* 11¼*d.* and that the Bank Notes in circulation were reduced between March

1782 and December 1782, from 9,160,000*l.* to 5,995,000*l.* being a diminution of above one third, and continued (with occasional variations) at such reduced rate until December 1784: and that the exchange with Hamburgh rose to 34. 6, and the price of gold fell to 3*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* and Dollars to 5*s.* 1½*d.* per oz. before the 25th February 1787, the amount of Bank Notes being then increased to 8,688,000*l.*

IX.—That the amount of Bank Notes in February 1787 was 8,688,000*l.* and in February 1791 11,699,000*l.*; and that during the same period, the sum of 10,704,000*l.* was coined in Gold; and that the exchange with Hamburgh rose about 3 per cent.

X.—That between the 25th of February 1795, and the 25th of February 1797, the amount of Bank Notes was reduced from 13,539,000*l.* to 8,640,000*l.* during which time the exchange with Hamburgh fell from 36 to 35, being about 3 per cent., and the said amount was increased to 11,855,000*l.* exclusive of 1,542,000*l.* in Notes of 1*l.* and 2*l.* each on the 1st of February 1798, during which time the exchange rose to 38. 2, being about 9 per cent.

XI.—That the average price of Wheat per quarter in England, in the year 1798 was 50*s.* 3*d.*; in 1799, 67*s.* 5*d.*; in 1800, 113*s.* 7*d.*; in 1801, 118*s.* 3*d.*; and in 1802, 67*s.* 5*d.*

The amount of Bank Notes, of 5*l.* and upwards

in 1798, about £.11,527,000		
under £.5 ...	1,810,000	
		13,337,000
in 1799, about	12,408,500	
under £.5 ...	1,653,800	
		14,062,300
in 1800, about	13,421,900	
under £.5 ...	1,831,800	
		15,253,700
in 1801, about	13,454,300	
under £.5 ...	2,715,100	
		16,169,400
in 1802, about	13,917,900	
under £.5 ...	3,136,400	
		17,054,300

That the exchange with Hamburgh was, in January 1798, 38. 2; January 1799, 37. 7; January 1800, 32.; January 1801, 29. 8; being in the whole a fall of above 22 per cent.—In January 1802, 32. 2; and December 1802, 34.; being a rise of about 13 per cent.

XII.—That during all the periods above referred to, previous to the commencement of the war with France in 1793, the principal States of Europe preserved their independance, and the trade and correspondence thereof were carried on conformably to the accustomed law of nations; and that although from the time of the invasion of Holland by the French in 1795, the trade of Great Britain with the Continent was in part circumscribed and interrupted, it was carried on freely with several of the most considerable ports, and commercial correspondence was maintained at all times previous to the summer of 1807.

XIII.—That since the month of November 1806, and especially since the summer of 1807, a system of exclusion has been established against the British trade on the Continent of Europe, under the influence and terror of the French power, and enforced with a degree of violence and rigor never before attempted; whereby all trade and correspondence between Britain and the continent of Europe has (with some occasional exceptions, chiefly in Sweden and in certain parts of Spain and Portugal) been hazardous, precarious and expensive, the trade being loaded with excessive freights to foreign shipping, and other unusual charges: and that the trade of Britain with the United States of America has also been uncertain and interrupted; and that in addition to these circumstances, which have greatly affected the course of payments between this country and other nations, the Naval and Military Expenditure of the United Kingdom in foreign parts, has for three years past, been very great; and the price of Grain, owing to a deficiency in the crops, higher than at any time, whereof the accounts appear before Parliament, except during the scarcity of 1800 and 1801; and that large quantities thereof have been imported.

XIV.—That the amount of Currency necessary for carrying on the transactions of the Country, must bear a proportion to the extent of its Trade and its public Revenue and Expenditure; and that the annual amount of the Exports and Imports of Great Britain, on an average of three years, ending 5th of January 1797, was 51,199,141*l.* official value; the average amount of Revenue paid into the Exchequer, including the Profit on the Lottery, 19,495,945*l.*; and the average amount of the Total Expenditure of Great Britain, 42,855,111*l.*; and that the average amount

of Bank Notes in circulation (all of which were for 5*l.* or upwards) was about 11,262,000*l.*; and that 57,274,617*l.* had been coined in gold during his Majesty's reign, of which a large sum was then in circulation.

That the annual amount of the Exports and Imports of Great Britain, on an average of three years, ending 5th January 1810, was 70,554,719*l.*; the average amount of Duties paid into the Exchequer 59,960,525*l.*; and the average amount of the Total Expenditure of Great Britain, 77,802,674*l.*; and that the amount of Bank Notes, above 5*l.* on an average of the years 1808 and 1809, was 13,763,000*l.*; and of Notes under 5*l.* about 4,500,000*l.*; and that the amount of Gold Coin in circulation was greatly diminished.

XV.—That the situation of this Kingdom, in respect of its political and commercial relations with foreign countries, as above stated, is sufficient, without any change in the internal value of its currency, to account for the unfavourable state of the foreign Exchanges, and for the high price of Bullion.

XVI.—That it is highly important that the restriction on the payments in Cash of the Bank of England, should be removed, whenever the political and commercial relations of the Country shall render it compatible with the public interest.

XVII.—That under the circumstances affecting the political and commercial relations of this Kingdom with foreign Countries, it would be highly inexpedient and dangerous, now to fix a definite period for the removal of the restriction of Cash Payments at the Bank of England, prior to the conclusion of a definitive treaty of peace.

APHORISMS,

RELATIVE TO PUBLIC CURRENCY AND CREDIT.

By Sir Richard Phillips.

1. Currency is the medium by which the interchange of commodities is effected, and, being intended to pass as the representative of property, it ought to be of intrinsic value, and always worth the property which it represents.

2. The stability and intrinsic worth of currency is the foundation of the commercial system, and the basis of public confidence in all transactions and considerations relative to property.

3. Gold and silver are among civilized nations the common medium or homogeneous representative of commodities, on account of their beauty, their durability, their susceptibility of being coined, and their intrinsic and absolute worth, arising from the labour expended in procuring them at the mines.

4. Paper, or arbitrary currency, as the result of local or national convention, and as the creature of the will of man, is subject to the fluctuations of public confidence, and liable to the errors and miscalculations which attend all human combinations and arrangements.

5. The circulation of the precious metals, effected by exchanging them for commodities, is natural and regular, while the circulation of artificial currency is necessarily forced, unnatural, and irregular. The one is in its origin the representative of labour, and can only be obtained for property; while a paper, or arbitrary currency, is generally but the representative of credit, and may be obtained by artifice or intrigue.

6. Capital is the basis of trade and social intercourse, when the currency consists of the precious metals; but credit, address, and intrigue, stand in the place of capital, when the national currency can be created, extended, and issued at pleasure.

7. The nominal and relative value of all property will be in proportion to the amount of the currency employed in the circulation of that property; and this can only find its true level when the currency itself, in all the stages of its circulation, is the special representative of transferred property. Increase the amount of the currency, and all commodities will rise in nominal value; or make it bear unequally on particular kinds of property, and these will attain a factitious or unnatural price.

8. The novel mode of putting artificial currency into circulation, by discounting bills or promissory notes, is objectionable and pernicious, because such bills and notes essentially represent nothing but the credit of the parties, may be created at pleasure, and are often likely to represent no real transaction of which commodities are the basis.

9. Such novel mode of issuing the national currency in exchange for notes and bills, affords an undue and dangerous influence to speculators, middle-men, and monopolists, who, to enhance their gains, will not hesitate to increase their accep-

tances and indorsements, as the means of raising an indefinite capital, and thereby of indefinitely extending their speculations.

10. The security of the public against speculators being the natural limits of their capital, it is evident that if, under a system of paper currency, they are enabled to raise unbounded capitals by creating and discounting bills and notes, they will be enabled to accumulate indefinite stocks; and being under no obligation to sell for want of currency, the prices of such property can have no limit besides the conscience and the prudence of the speculators.

11. The hydra of monopoly will therefore have as many heads as there are manufactories, or fountains, of paper currency; a colossal head, representing the metropolitan manufactory, and five hundred other heads, generated by the small manufactories which spread over all parts of the empire, serve as the convenient and necessary engines of monopolists and speculators.

12. As long as the paper currency is simply and solely the representative of specie, and can therefore be exchanged for specie at pleasure, no preference will exist in the public mind in favour of specie; but, as soon as the re-conversion becomes matter of difficulty, a preference will be universally felt; and, as an affair of self-security, every one will hoard specie, to guard his family against the possible contingencies of a vague paper currency.

13. From this feeling arises the present scarcity of specie; the usual quantity having been about twenty-five millions, and the number of families, or inhabited houses, in the United Kingdom, being about three millions, a hoard of eight pounds to a house will account for its total disappearance, without referring to the temptations afforded to foreign traders, to speculating exporters, to subsidies to foreign powers, and to numerous mal-practices of Jews and money dealers.

14. As long as the cause exists which led to the preference of specie over paper, and to the system of hoarding, specie will continue scarce, and will be likely to rise in nominal value, relatively to Bank notes and paper currency: but as soon as paper can be converted on demand into specie, the preference in favour of specie will cease, the hoards will be opened, and specie will become as plentiful as heretofore,

15. The power of Jews and money-dealers to speculate in the specie, and affect its value, will always be in the inverse ratio of the quantity in circulation; and their controul would cease, if the grounds of the hoarding system were removed, and the Bank paid their notes in specie, when the amount of the specie in circulation would of course exceed the compass of their capitals.

16. The Bank of England being the fulcrum on which are balanced the fortunes of the country, it appears to be expedient, at this crisis, to place it under the vigilant controul of a Committee of Parliament; and the private property of the Directors and of the Bank Company, or the pledge of Parliament, ought to be committed to the public as a security for the notes of the Company now in circulation.

17. In like manner, country bankers, who issue paper currency, ought to be called upon to give landed security for the amount of their issues; and these companies, as well as the company of the Bank of England, ought to pay a half rate of interest to the revenue, for the sums which, by the issue of paper currency, they now borrow of the public without interest.

18. The alternative to prevent greater, perhaps irremediable evils, is to dissolve the existing spell by paying specie on demand for Bank notes. The consequent restoration of public confidence would occasion specie to re-appear in quantities too great to be affected by the machinations of speculators. Paper and specie would be again at par. The motive to hoard would be destroyed; alarms would be dissipated; and public prosperity would stand once more on a solid and permanent basis.

Chelsea, April 12, 1811.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

SPAIN.—BATTLE OF BARROSA.—*Notes of the Moniteur on Lord Liverpool's Letter to the Lord Mayor of London.—April* 4, 1811.

(*Concluded from page* 1056.)

Letter—"The British, with the Spaniards attached to them, amounted to 5,000."

Moniteur—"There were 7,000 English, 8 or 9,000 Spaniards, and 1,000 Portuguese, which makes a total of between sixteen and eighteen thousand men. In the return of wounded officers, you mentioned 11 English regiments, viz. 3 regiments of Guards; the 9th, 28th, 47th,

67th, 82d, 87th, and 95th of the line, and the 2d Hussars, to which is added the 20th Portuguese; in all twelve different corps, making fifteen English battalions, which at 500 each, gives a total of 7,500 men, and (including the 20th Portuguese, of 1,000) of 8,500 men in your pay, who were actually engaged."

Letter—"Lieut General Graham, with the troops under his command, had crossed St. Peter's river, and re-entered the Isle of Leon."

Moniteur—"General Graham, you embarked at Cadiz on the 25th of February, and, on the 28th you disembarked at Algesiras, with your division, and the Spaniards. Tell us, then, why you undertook this military promenade, and incurred so large an expence. You intended to turn the line of the Duke of Belluno—have you done it? Your design was to raise the siege of Cadiz; have you done it? If you carried every thing before you, why did you stop half way? It was not in the Isle of Leon, but at Chiclana, which is but a very short distance from it, that the field of battle was, where you expected to take up your quarters on the night of the 5th. You would have taken 100 pieces of cannon, 60 gun-boats, and immense magazines, baggage, hospitals, &c. &c. This was the object of your expedition—have you attained it? You were beaten—you lost half your troops—and you were very near being taken.—Your numbers, and the steadiness of your troops, saved you from entire ruin. Was it, then, merely for the purpose of returning to Cadiz that you left it ten days before? Would it not have been better that you had remained there? You would have had under your command 4,000 more English or Spaniards."

PORTUGAL.—*Dispatch from Marshal Beresford to Lord Talavera, dated Campo Mayor, March 26, 1811.*

My Lord;—I had communicated to your Excellency my arrival at Arronches with all my forces, except the division of Brigadier General Cole, to which, in consequence of the continued marches it had made, it was judged necessary to give a day's rest at Portalegre.—On the 24th I caused the troops to move from Arronches for Quinta de Reguenga, a little more than half way to this place, and the division of General Cole for Arronches; and having joined yesterday at ten in the morning, I put the whole in motion for this town. I could not know the intention of the enemy with respect to this place: but in case he should endeavour to maintain it, I proposed to post myself between him and Badajoz, and thus cut him off from the latter.—We discovered the enemy's advanced cavalry on the heights of Lopo de Matto about a league distant; but perceiving that we were manœuvring on their flank, they retreated, and some skirmishing took place at the foot of the walls of the town, with the advanced cavalry. When I reached the heights of the place, I discovered the enemy's force on the outside of the town. I did not, however, know whether or not he was master of the place. There were four regiments of cavalry, the regiment of infantry No. 100, of three battalions, with some horse artillery.—I ordered Brigadier General Long, with the cavalry, to endeavour to turn the enemy's right, keeping out of the reach of the place. My object was to detain the force of the enemy till some infantry could arrive. The Brigadier made a wider circuit than was intended, so that he more effectually flanked the enemy, and obliged him to retreat hastily, and indeed with extraordinary rapidity. The cavalry advanced upon his right flank, and Brigadier General Long, seeing a favourable opportunity, ordered Colonel Head, with two squadrons of the 13th Light Dragoons, to charge the cavalry of the enemy, which obliged the infantry to fall back to support it. This charge, followed by Col. Otway, with two squadrons of the 7th Portuguese, and supported by General Long with the remainder of that regiment, the 1st Portuguese and the brigade of Colonel De Grey, was made with the most determined courage, and the French were entirely routed, and pursued into the town of Badajoz, two leagues distant, in which flight the greater part of them were sabred, as were the conductors and artillerymen of 16 pieces of cannon, which were taken on the road, but afterwards abandoned. This success, though it occasioned a great loss to the enemy, was in some manner unfortunate, because, not knowing what had been done by the cavalry that had made the charge, and continuing to pursue the infantry with the remaining cavalry and two pieces of artillery for the space of a league, to support the detached body which had advanced, and not having received any notice from it, nor knowing what new force the enemy might send from Badajoz, prudence obliged me to halt with my cavalry

till the infantry could come up. The enemy's infantry, amounting to about 1,200 men, though in much confusion, continued to march in column without halting, notwithstanding we were not more than one hundred and sixty yards distant from them, yet not knowing any thing of the 13th regiment of Dragoons, and the 7th Portuguese, I could not hazard the loss which would have necessarily taken place, even though successful, had I ordered a charge by the heavy brigade, under the command of Colonel de Grey. The attention, firmness, and order of this brigade, composed of the 3rd Dragoon Guards and 4th Dragoons, merits my warmest approbation.—General Long manœuvred with great ability, and made the greatest exertions to moderate the excessive ardour of the cavalry, and regulate their movements. The valour of all was exemplary, particularly of Colonels Head and Otway, and their squadrons; and the only thing to be remarked is, that which is customary with our troops on their first encounter with the enemy—too great an impetuosity.—The loss of the enemy was very considerable, not less than 5 or 600 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners. We likewise took a great number of horses and mules; in fact, the enemy abandoned every thing, but we had only means to bring away what is mentioned in the enclosed list, and some carriages, &c. were destroyed. We also suffered some loss, a return of which I have the honour to transmit to you. It was not my intention yesterday to have proceeded to this city, and I was only induced to do so from the prospect of capturing or destroying the force which the enemy had incautiously left there, and which would infallibly have taken place if our cavalry had not compelled the enemy to make a retreat so rapid that the infantry could not come up with it.—After the long marches and fatigue necessarily consequent on them, I sent the troops into cantonments here and at Elvas, for rest and refreshment, and to make the necessary preparations for the ulterior operations recommended by your Excellency. Of the corn and provisions in the place at the time of its surrender to the enemy, the latter had not time to carry any thing away, and they will prove a very opportune assistance to us. The enemy left behind 8,000 rations of biscuit, not expecting so sudden a visit. I have the honour to be, &c.—(Signed)

C. BERESFORD, Marshal.

AMERICAN STATES.—*An Act, supplementary to the Act, entitled "An Act concerning the Commercial Intercourse between the United States and Great Britain and France and their Dependencies, and for other purposes."*

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, in Congress assembled, That no vessel owned wholly by a citizen or citizens of the United States, which shall have departed from a British port prior to the second day of February, one thousand eight hundred and eleven, and no merchandise owned wholly by a citizen or citizens of the United States, imported in such vessel, shall be liable to seizure or forfeiture, on account of any infraction or presumed infraction of the provisions of the Act to which this Act is a supplement.—Sec. 2. And be it further enacted, that in case Great Britain shall so revoke or modify her Edicts, as that they shall cease to violate the neutral commerce of the United States the President of the United States shall declare the fact by proclamation; and such proclamation shall be admitted as evidence, and no other evidence shall be admitted of such revocation or modification in any suit or prosecution which may be instituted under the fourth section of the Act to which this Act is a supplement. And the restrictions imposed, or which may be imposed by virtue of the said Act, shall, from the date of such proclamation, cease and be discontinued.—Sec. 3. And be it further enacted, that until the proclamation aforesaid shall have been issued, the several provisions of the third, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, tenth, and eighteenth sections of the act, entitled "An act to interdict the commercial intercourse between the United States and Great Britain and France and their dependencies, and for other purposes," shall have full force, and be immediately carried into effect against Great Britain, her colonies and dependencies: Provided however, that any vessel or merchandize, which may in pursuance thereof be seized, prior to the fact being ascertained, whether Great Britain shall on or before the second day of February, 1811, have revoked or modified her edicts in the manner above mentioned, shall nevertheless be restored on application of the parties on their giving bond with approved sureties to the United States, in a sum equal to the value thereof, to abide the

decision of the proper court of the United States thereon; and any such bond shall be considered as satisfied if Great Britain shall, on or before the 2d day of February, 1811, have revoked or modified her edicts in the manner abovementioned: Provided also, That nothing herein contained shall be construed to affect any ships or vessels, or the cargoes of ships or vessels, wholly owned by a citizen or citizens of the United States, which had cleared out for the Cape of Good Hope, or for any port beyond the same, prior to the 10th day of November 1810.

FRANCE.—WAR IN SPAIN.—*Official Report of the Duke of Belluno, relative to the Battle of Barrosa.*—PEURTO REAL, *March* 7, 1811.

Monseigneur;—In the early part of February, and during the whole of that month, a great deal of bustle was observed in Cadiz roads. The English had been, doubtless, a great while ready for the expedition which they meditated; but they were thwarted by the violent and continual rains which fell about the end of January and during great part of the month of February. These rains rendered impracticable all the roads by which they wished to approach us.—On the 27th of January, a strong Spanish column, issuing from the mountains, attempted a *coup-de-main* upon Medina Sidonia; it was repulsed. The enemy appeared to attach importance to the acquisition of that post; the occupation of which would have given them facility in manœuvring on our rear, by concealing from us all their movements, and in freely communicating through the mountains with the parties which they would have been able to throw into the country between Xeres and Seville.—About the end of February, a convoy of 200 sail of transports, which contrary winds had long detained in the roads, set sail, and directed their course towards Tarifa.—General Cassagne, who occupied Medina Sidonia, with three battalions, and the 5th regiment of chasseurs, informed me, on the 2nd of March, of the march of the combined Anglo-Spanish army by the valley of the Barbatte, upon Casa Vieja and Medina.—The 4th corps, which is not seriously employed, had it in its power to send me a part of its force. I entreated M. the General Sebastiani to manœuvre by Estepona, in order to alarm the enemy, and place him in danger, should he execute a movement upon me; that corps, so numerous and in such good condition, has not been of the least assistance to me.—I ordered from Moron a battalion of voltigeurs, which M. the Marshal Duke of Dalmatia had placed there, directing it to march by Arcos upon Medina, where it would join General Cassagne.—A strong party of the allied army forced a picquet of the 2d dragoons, which was at Vejer, to evacuate that position and retire upon Conil.—The intentions of the allied army being now completely manifest, I made the best arrangements which the feeble means I had at my direct disposal placed within my power, for opposing the effort which the enemy was about to make.—After leaving the necessary troops for guarding the lines which are so extended, I assembled 10 battalions of the 1st and 2d divisions with which, on the 3d of March, I marched to take a position at the farm-house of Guerra, the intermediate point between Medina and Chiclana; and whence I had it in my power to bear upon the enemy, in case he chose to advance by either of these points.—From the 2d to the 4th there was some indecision in the movements of the allied army.—On the evening of the 4th, I ordered General Cassagne to march a strong party of observation upon Casa Vieja, a point where the enemy had strongly posted himself since his arrival.—At three in the morning of the 5th, General Cassagne acquainted me that the enemy had evacuated Casa Vieja, and appeared to be concentrated at Vejer.—On the 2d of March, the Spaniards had passed over from the Isle of Leon some troops from that side of the canal of Santi Petri. I ordered General Villatte to take advantage of the night to attack these troops, and drive them into the sea. Two companies of voltigeurs of the 95th regiment were ordered on that service; they marched at midnight from the lines of Santi Petri. After overthrowing the advanced guard, they arrived without firing a shot at the *tête-de-pont*, on which the enemy were at work. Our voltigeurs scaled the works, fell with the bayonet on the workmen, who carried their muskets slung at their back, and put them into disorder.

(To be continued.)

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER:

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SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

PORTUGAL.—THE WAR.——In my last I had not room to say all that I wished to say upon the subject of the *Vote of Thanks* to Lord Talavera. Therefore, I resume that subject now, and I am the more confirmed in the necessity of speaking freely and fully upon it, since I see, that the occasion seems to have been seized upon for the purpose of *drawing the two hostile political parties towards one another*, an event of which the sensible and observing reader will want no assistance to enable him to anticipate the consequences.——Even MR. WHITBREAD seems to have been afraid of being thought to dissent in *silence* from the vote of *Thanks;* and hastens to say, that he claims a share of the honour of giving that vote; seeing, that he should have been one of the loudest in behalf of it, if he had been present when it was proposed. But, I cannot say, that, after what I have seen for some time past, this much surprizes me.——There has been such a mixture of praising and of blaming in MR. WHITBREAD's speeches; he has so often ended in *complimenting* those whom he began in *accusing;* he has so often *taken the word* of those, whom he described as totally *unworthy of all trust and confidence;* and, in short, there has been so much of backward and forward work in his proceedings, that I, as well as most others, I believe, have began to pay much less attention to him than formerly.——Having made these remarks, which, though I have made them reluctantly, I could not wholly suppress, I shall proceed with my remarks on Mr. PERCEVAL's speech, taking up the subject where I left off in the preceding Number——But, first of all, it will be best to insert here the remaining part of the speech upon which I am commenting, that I may leave no room for a charge of garbling.——" I will not here enter into a detail of the various distinguished actions which have from day to day been exhibited during the whole campaign, down to the last act of valour of Colonel Beckwith, on the banks of the Coa, for fear lest while I distinguished a few I " should omit many of equal merit. Having taken, however, this general view, " and knowing the great acquisition of " military glory to the Country, and the " small loss at which it has been purchased, I cannot help adverting, for a " few moments, to a few considerations " respecting the manner in which that " success is likely to affect our enemy and " ourselves, our Allies and the rest of " Europe. With respect to our Allies, no " man can doubt that it has given them an " additional year for the continuance of " their struggle; and that they have received a lesson from which they may " derive the greatest profit. With regard " to ourselves, the campaign cannot, in " like manner, be without its advantage. " For some time there have been two " parties in this country, who have entertained very different sentiments on the " situation of the country. While the " one party maintains that our glory is set, " the other maintains, that at no former " period of our history was that glory " higher. To those who think that the " glory of this country never shone with " prouder lustre than during the struggle " which we have now so long maintained " with France, the present confirmation of " their opinion cannot fail to be consoling. " But those again, who thought the sun of " Britain's glory for ever set, never more " again to rise among the nations, those, I " should think, would be among the first to ' congratulate the illustrious glory with ' which their country has been crowned. ' To those this glory cannot fail to be ' most cheering and consolatory, and infinitely more so than to us. We all now know that we shall have a British ' army to defend our country, if ever the ' battle shall be brought to our own ' shores, an army which has uniformly ' beaten the army of the enemy, headed ' by Generals who have out-generalled ' the Generals of the enemy. With respect to that enemy, what must be now ' his feelings after all his insolent boastings, and what must be now his confusion, when he sees that he is without ' means to carry his designs into execu-

"tion? What effects these events may "have produced in France it is impossible "now to foresee. They may be to that "country a salutary lesson, while they "demonstrably prove, that extension of "dominion is not in reality an increase of "strength. With respect to the effect of "these victories on other parts of the "world, they will at least point out to 'them the rock on which they themselves "split. With these views, which to some 'persons may perhaps appear too sanguine, I will own that it does appear to me impossible to conceive that the world should for ever remain enthralled under 'its present degrading tyranny; and that it does not appear to me unreasonable to suppose that we may be the instru-'ments by which the delivery of Europe 'may be effected; and that, in that Peninsula, which has been the scene of 'the most unprincipled acts of aggression, 'of the most outrageous barbarity of the 'tyrant, that there the power of the tyrant should also find its grave *(Hear!)* Whatever may be thought of the probability 'of these suppositions, we shall now leave them, and revert again to the proper business before the House, the thanks 'which are due to those who have put us 'in a situation to entertain such proud and 'ennobling sentiments. As long as a feeling shall remain in favour of valour, so long as the hearts of men shall continue to be affected by distinguished 'military glory, a glory acquired not in 'the support, but in the resistance of tyranny, in the most righteous cause for which the sword can be drawn; so long shall the "fame of Lord Wellington stand em-"balmed in the memory of a grateful posterity, and so long shall he continue to receive the thanks of mankind *(loud applause).* The Right Honourable Gentleman then concluded, with moving, That the Thanks of the House should be voted to Lord Wellington, for his dis-'tinguished Military Services in Portugal 'and to the Army under his Command."——To read this Speech, who would not imagine, that the achievement to be thanked had produced a total change in the aspect of affairs, not only in Portugal, and Spain, but in the whole of the Continent of Europe? Who would suppose, that nothing at all had been gained upon the enemy since this day twelve months; and that, in fact, his situation was *better,* at the time when this speech was made, than it was reported to be *at any time within the last year.*——The reader will bear in mind how often we were assured, that the French army never could get away from the trap, into which they had fallen. So fully were this credulous public persuaded of this, that the capture of the whole of the enemy's army was regarded as an event almost certain. And, yet, when no part of it, except a few stragglers, have been captured, when it has not only got away unhurt, but is presenting a steady front to ours; yet, even now, we are called upon to exult at the result? I am sure that this could not have taken place in any country in the world but this. I am sure of it. There is no people but those of this country, amongst whom it would have been attempted.——But, let us examine a little more closely the grounds upon which this Vote of Thanks was passed.—Mr. PERCEVAL views the result of the military movements in Portugal in three lights: 1. As it may affect our *allies.* And, here he says, that these allies will now have had an *useful lesson,* and will, at least, *gain another year for the continuance of their struggle.*——Now, as to the *utility* of the lesson given them in the last year's campaign, and even up to this hour, I can not, for the life of me, discover it. I do not see in what way they can profit from this lesson, that is to say, *favourably to us.* And, as to their *gaining another year* for the continuance of their struggle, that gain may possibly prove a most dreadful loss. If indeed, Mr. PERCEVAL will ensure final success, I shall be ready to say, that something has been gained, by the Portuguese, with a proviso that that success is to lead to their being a *free people.* But, if there be no security of final success in the struggle, there is nothing gained by *delay;* there is nothing gained on the one side any more than on the other side; the French have another year before them as well as our allies; and what, then, is there to boast of upon this score.——Suppose England were invaded by a French army, and the enemy after coming almost to the capital were compelled to retreat to the sea shore. Should we think it any great thing to boast of, that we had *gained another year* for the continuance of the struggle? And, let not the reader imagine, that the French being driven out of Portugal is the same thing that it would be to drive them out of Great Britain. It is very different indeed. To be on the confines of Spain is the same thing, as to all the purposes of hostility, as being in Por-

tugal. The two kingdoms are, in fact, *one country*. The line of separation is imaginary; or, at least, it is no more than the line of separation between Middlesex and Berkshire. So that, the expressions: "*driven out* of Portugal: *evacuation* of Portugal:" and the like, are mere inventions to deceive this credulous nation. I dare say that the French look upon themselves as being in Portugal as much as they did six months ago, in a military sense of the words. They may cross the line at any moment; and, if our object be to prevent them from doing so, we shall want an army that will not be supported by a few dollars every month.——If the French are *not to return again to Portugal;* if they are out once for all; if there be no chance of their re-entering it and subduing it; if that is beyond the means of Napoleon; then, indeed, the driving of them out will have been a great step; but, if they can return; if their return be not nearly impossible, the people of Portugal will not be fools enough to rejoice; for, if the French should return amongst them, it is manifest, that their lot will be much more wretched than if the recent retreat had never taken place.——All, therefore, as to the Portuguese, and the Spaniards too, depends upon the *result*. It is possible, that the retreat of the French may be for their good; but, it is also possible, that it may prove to be the greatest of all the calamities that have hitherto befallen them. If they are to be a free people, then the having got their invaders out of their territory is a great blessing; but, if they are, from whatever cause, finally to be subdued, then the longer the hour of their subjugation is delayed, the worse is it, and the worse must it be, for them. We are not in the best situation for judging of the interests of the people of Portugal. We are very apt to think that whatever is *our* interest must be *theirs*. Turn the question as often as we will, our own interest is sure to be uppermost; and, therefore, it may, to some of us, appear a great advantage to have so safely secured another year for the continuance of the *struggle* in Portugal; but, I would have the reader bear in mind, that the Portuguese may possibly see the matter in a very different light.——2. With regard *to ourselves*, Mr. PERCEVAL said that this achievement must make us all happy, principally because "we NOW know "that we shall have a British army *to defend our country*, if ever the battle shall "be brought to our own shores; an army "that has uniformly beaten the army of "the enemy, commanded by generals "who have out-generalled the generals of "the enemy."——With regard to this *uniform beating* and this *out-generalling*, these points have already been sufficiently discussed; but, did it require *this* achievement; was it not till *now*, that we knew that we had a British army *to defend our own shores;* and, did it require the expending of 20 millions of our taxes in Spain and Portugal to ascertain this fact? Why, we used to say, that "*one* Englishman could "beat *three* Frenchmen;" this used to be not only a common saying, but an article of belief, in England; and, are we, then, come down so far in our pretensions as to have doubted, until just *now*, whether we could muster up men able to defend our own country against an invading French army? Surely it was not very wise to proclaim this to the world, who will say, of course: What, then, while you were holding such a high tone, while you were outwardly professing such contempt for Frenchmen, you were at bottom afraid for your lives, and you discover your former fears by exulting that *now* you are safe! What! and is it, indeed, matter of boast, matter of pride, matter of joy and exultation, and do we call it *glorious*, because something has happened which assures us that we shall be able to save ourselves from becoming the slaves of Frenchmen! If, indeed, the minister had said, "we *now* know that we have an "army capable of *chastising the insolent foe;* "capable of invading France, and carry-"ing the English banners to the capital." If he had, indeed, beaten the *march to Paris;* then there would have been something of consistency in the *boast;* then, though we might have doubted of the fact, we should have conditionally admitted the conclusion. But, as it is we are to boast, we are to exult, we are to be all cock-a-hoop, because something has *now* taken place, which, as we are told, gives us the knowledge that we shall be able to find men to defend our country, in case the French were to invade it; and, for having made this consoling, this heart-cheering discovery to us, we are to *thank* Lord Talavera.——Here, however, I must stop to say, that, supposing such discovery to be matter of great joy in England, I do not see that the discovery has been made in the event alluded to. I do not see any thing in the events of the campaign in Portugal, which

if I had had any fears for the defence of England before, would have removed, or at all tended to remove, those fears. For, what have I seen? A French army and an English army meeting upon the frontiers of Portugal, the business of the former being *invasion,* and the business of the latter being *defence.* Now, can I draw any very great consolation from what followed? Do I see that that took place which I should like to see take place in England? Should we, any of us, like to see the French do here what they have done in Portugal? Should we like to see them follow our defenders for so many hundreds of miles into the country, and to be permitted to lay one half of the country waste, before they were compelled to retreat? Would it be much consolation to us to be told, that our army had *uniformly beaten* the enemy, and that our generals had *out-generalled* his generals? Would this be any great comfort to us, if, at the same time, we saw ourselves reduced to the most poignant misery? Should we exult much at such a state of things? Should we, I ask, call it *glorious?* This is the way to view the matter. To make the case our own. To ask ourselves how *we* should like to be *defended* as the people of Portugal have been defended; how we should relish these *victories* if they had been gained upon our own shores; and, how we should like this promised *advantage* of another year added to the continuance of the struggle.——3. Mr. PERCEVAL said, that, as to the *enemy,* this achievement of ours must plunge him into *confusion.*——Now, before we go any further, let us ask *why* we should suppose this would be the case.——What is there to produce this effect upon him? *A retreat of one of his armies,* with, comparatively, very little loss. Now, are retreats unknown to us? We have seen a retreat under SIR JOHN MOORE; we have seen a retreat under Lord TALAVERA, from the spot whence he takes his title, leaving his sick and wounded to the mercy of these same "barbarous "French;" we have seen a retreat under LORD CHATHAM; we have seen a retreat under the DUKE of YORK; we have seen a retreat under GENERAL GRAHAM, whom the parliament thanked; nay, and have we not seen a retreat under LORD TALAVERA during this very war in Portugal?——Well; did any of these throw us into *confusion?* Yet, they were, some of them at least, attended with circumstances full as well calculated to excite confusion as the retreat of Massena. Mr. PERCEVAL must, therefore, have a very high opinion, I think, of the sensibility of the Emperor Napoleon, when he supposes, that the retreat of his Portuguese army, under such circumstances, will throw him into confusion; will fill him with shame; and make him despair. ——It is stated, observe, that the allied army consists of 100,000 men; and, if our newspapers tell us truth, that of Massena did not, when he began his retreat, amount to 50,000. If this statement be true, it is wonderful; it is beyond measure astonishing, that the French army should have retreated in such complete order. They left behind them no *sick* nor *wounded.* They took all along with them: And, is such a retreat, under every possible adverse circumstance, calculated to throw the Emperor into *confusion?*——However, be it so, for, I am sure, I care not what degree of confusion seizes him and every despot upon earth, under whatever name he may exercise his power, though I must confess that, if I were compelled to choose, I should prefer an undisguised to a disguised despotism. Confusion to him! but, let us not lose our senses, let us not believe, until we have something like proof of it, that he wants the means to carry on his designs; and, particularly let us be cautious how we indulge in the pleasing hope that this achievement of Lord Talavera will produce any *effect* in France. Did the affairs of Walcheren, or any other of our celebrated expeditions, produce any *effect* in England? Did any one of them cause any movement of the people here? Nay, did any one of them, or all of them put together, take from any minister one single voice of his parliamentary majority? Reader, you will, without hesitation, answer me in the negative; you know that they produced no effect at all. A little grumbling from the City of London, in an instance or two, who received a sharp rap upon their knuckles for their pains; and, there was an end of the *effect;* except, indeed, that the rap upon the knuckles seems to have made the Citizens grateful, rather than otherwise. *Why,* then, I ask, should the retreat of Massena produce any effect in France? *Why* should the people of France make any stir upon such an occasion? Why should they be out of temper with their Emperor? It is a strange perversity which has seized us, to believe, that every little adverse circumstance in the affairs of France is to cause the people to rise

against the government. What would be said to any of us Jacobins, if we were to foretell the overthrow of the government in England, because of the failure of an expedition or an armament? Why, then should such effects flow from such failure of the armaments of France? Here, on the contrary, to fail appears to be meritorious in a Minister. PITT failed in *all* his wars; and the parliament decree him a public funeral and a monument at the expence of the people. *Why*, then, again I ask, do we suppose, or should we suppose, that the people of France are to be roused to rebellion, or to opposition against the Emperor, by the retreat of Massena?—— But, this retreat is to be "a *lesson*" to the enemy; to Napoleon, perchance, and is to convince him, "that *extent of dominion*, "is not *increase of strength*."——HE wants no lesson to convince him of that, but, WE seem to want it; for, we are frequently firing Park and Tower guns for the conquest of Islands, to send a pound of beef to which costs us a crown in silver money. ——*We*, indeed, have need of a lesson like this. We, who have an *Empire in the East*, which has long been dragging England down to ruin. *His* empire is not nearly so extended. *His* is all within his reach. He can come at it, and command it. We cannot do so with ours.—— Besides, his plan is not to unite Spain and Portugal to France. He has set up a new king in Spain, who is residing in the Capital, and who is, as far as he is able, grinding the poor people down with taxes. So that, Napoleon is not here fighting for extent of *dominion*. He is fighting for *alliances*; and what are we fighting for in Spain and Portugal? Are not we fighting for alliances too? Say, we are not; why, then, we must be fighting for *extension of dominion*? No: that will not do. What will do, then? Why, we are fighting, in Spain and Portugal, the battles of England. We are there *anticipating the attack upon ourselves*.——Say you so? Well, then, surely there can be no blame to the French for going there to meet us; unless you hold, that it is *unfair* in them to attack *England*.——So that, in no view that you can take of this matter, will it bear the test of reason. A *shew* of argument may be made up; but there is nothing solid; nothing that does not vanish at the appearance of truth.—— But, besides an effect upon the people of France, the *rest of the world* is, it seems, according to Mr. PERCEVAL, to be affected by the retreat of Massena.——The *world!* It is Europe he means, doubtless. And the *nations* of Europe are *now* to see the *rock* upon which they *split*.——There is a great deal of matter in this little sentence. ——The *nations* of Europe do not, that I hear of, seem to think that they have *split* at all. I see no indication of their entertaining any such notion. It seems, therefore, a pure assumption on the part of the Orator, who should have shewn us the nations that had *split*. There is a confusion here. Mr. PERCEVAL meant *governments*; and, it is very true, that many of them have split, and actually gone to pieces, but the people are alive and well. They have, to be sure, changed rulers, and those of them, who were *better off before*, have, of course, changed for the worse; but, in any case, I do not see how they are to *profit* from what has happened in Portugal, nor how the retreat of Massena is to shew them the *rock* upon which they have split.——Mr. PERCEVAL, however, appears to have great hopes about something; and he does not think it unreasonable to suppose, that *we* may yet be the *instruments* by which Europe is to be *delivered!*——Good heavens! What, still bent on the deliverance of Europe; even after our principal Ally; our August Ally, has given his daughter in marriage to our enemy, "the *tyrant*," as Mr. PERCEVAL calls him.——The "*march* to Paris" will assuredly be revived, if we make the French retreat another fifty miles! What! deliver Europe still, after having ratified many of the conquests of France by treaty! But, it is foolish to be surprized, or to affect surprize, at any thing of the kind. We have been engaged in the deliverance of Europe for the last eighteen years, and on we shall go as long as the means exist.——Mr. WHITBREAD recommended an endeavour to obtain *peace*; but the minister told him, that *this was not the time*. He was very right. It certainly is not the time; and I do not believe that he will ever see the time as long as there is a paper-money in England, that will pass (*at any rate*) in lieu of gold and silver.—— But, as to the deliverance of Europe, that is to say, the reconquering of other countries from France, what must be in the head of the man, who could conceive the idea, merely because Massena had retreated to the frontiers of Portugal? What is this to do for the Italians, or the Dutch or the Hamburghers? If they *wished* it, that is to say; for I, for my part, have

seen no signs of these nations wishing to change. I have heard *falshoods* enough upon the subject; but, nothing else have I seen importing that these nations *wish*, that they have the *slightest wish*, to shake off what is called the *Yoke* of Napoleon. But, if they did wish it, how will Massena's retreat assist them? When Lord Talavera was retreating last year, did any one imagine that that would tend to *deliver* Martinico, or Guadaloupe? Yet, it would have been as reasonable to suppose it, as to suppose, that Massena's retreat will tend to deliver Holland.——Looking back, now, over what has been said, let me ask the reader what *real grounds* he can find for all this exultation about the retreat of the French army; I beg him to consider what has, until within these few years been the custom in similar cases; and to find, if he can, any record of *a Vote of Thanks* for military services, except in cases of signal *victory* gained over the enemy.——I should here dismiss this topic, but, the appellation of TYRANT, bestowed upon the Emperor of France by Mr. PERCEVAL, is not wholly unworthy of notice. ——He seemed particularly gratified in observing, that, in the country where "the barbarity of THE TYRANT had been "most conspicuous, that there the power "of the TYRANT would also find its grave." ——It does make one stare, to be sure, to hear a man seriously say, that he looks upon the retreat of Massena as the *grave* of Napoleon's power. But, the word *tyrant*! I can remember when Mr. PERCEVAL prosecuted, by the means of an *Information Ex-officio*, Mr. Peltier for calling Napoleon *hard names*, and for hinting pretty broadly, that the people of France would do well *to put him down*.——But, before I refer more particularly to Mr. Perceval's speech upon that occasion, let me remind the reader, that the MORNING POST and COURIER news-papers, have, within these few months, accused Napoleon of *boasting* of *unnatural crimes*; that they call his Empress his *mistress*, his child a *Bastard*; and, accuse him of committing *incest* with his brother LOUIS's wife.—— I will here take a passage from the COURIER of no longer ago than *Thursday*, the 2d instant. The writer is finding fault with some of the *Opposition* as he calls them, for calling Buonaparté *Emperor of France*. Impudent hireling? and whose fault is it that there is an Emperor of France? Whose but that of those who prevented the French from establishin republican government, lest the example should spread. Whether a republican government would have been the best that France could have had is quite another question. The French revolutionists set out with setting their faces against all sorts of *tyranny*, at any rate. They did not ask for a military despotism. *War* was not made upon them because they set up *a despotism*; but, because they inculcated *anarchy*. Let this never be forgotten. They did not *choose* a despotic government; they revolted to get rid of one; and the accusation against them was, *that they taught anarchy*.——Therefore, if there be an *Emperor* of France, the fault is not in the "Jacobins and Levellers," who wanted to see no *Emperor* in France; but, who, since there is one there, are not to be blamed for liking him as well as any other Emperor, or, at least, are not to be blamed if they give him the same title. They, in fact, have nothing at all to do with these matters of etiquette; and, their best way is always to give to every one the name that he is easiest known by.—— The passage of the COURIER is as follows: ——"One or two more observations be- "fore we conclude. We find that Mr. "Whitbread, as well as many others of the "Opposition, constantly calls Buonaparté "*Emperor of France*, and his Generals by "their new titles. This may appear of "little importance to some; to us the easy "admission of these usurped titles is at "best foolish, and may be mischievous. "One effectual weapon against Buona- "parté, and which *he dreads as thoroughly* "*as the sword*, is the general abhorrence "of his crimes; but if these are forgotten, "the abhorrence must expire with the re- "collection. Whilst he is called by the "name of his reputed father, the scrivener "of Ajaccio, the memory of his pristine "*meanness* continues; with his *meanness we* "*associate his crimes*; with his crimes we "confirm his infamy; with his infamy we "*perpetuate our resistance*. It is impos- "sible to recognize a title without acknow- "ledging the power which created it: and "thank God we are not yet *reduced* to ac- "knowledge the French Emperor! The "offspring of Buonaparté's *Mistress* may "be proclaimed King of Rome: he may "be swaddled by Grandmamma Letitia, "formerly Abbess of the Nunnery in "Marseilles and now Patroness of the "Magdalens in Paris; he may be Chris- "tianized by the Pope, or Mahome- "tanized by the Mufti; but until *Britain*

"*shall recognize* his squalling Majesty, and "send an embassy to salute the royal "Baby-clothes, the imperial inheritance "*is not quite assured.*——Even of his "brother Louis, unoffending as he is, can "we not speak, without terming him the "Ex-King; or of his *incestuous* sister, without terming her the Ex-Queen, of 'Holland? Can we not speak of the '*drunken* Joseph, without calling him 'King of that very country, for whose 'legitimate Sovereign we at this moment 'are triumphing? Must we hail the *adul-* "*terous* Jerome, King of Westphalia; or "the *crimp-serjeant* Bernadotte, Crown "Prince of Sweden? Is it not as easy to "say that Lord Wellington drives before "him *Massena,* as the *Prince of Essling;* "and that General Graham routed *Victor,* "as the *Duke of Belluno?* Is it more diffi- "cult to pronounce *Junot,* than *Abrantes;* "or *Mortier* than *Treviso?*"——Why, then, is it not as easy to pronounce *Robert Jenkinson* as *Earl of Liverpool,* and so on? But, the good of it is, that the title of Emperor of France was first formally acknowledged by us in the *Convention of Cintra,* of which this far-famed Lord *Talavera,* whose name was then *Wellesley,* was the negociator.——Aye, and how glad would this same hireling be to see a *treaty* to-morrow with the *Emperor of France and King of Italy!*——This man seems, then, to think, that the *recognition* of the Emperor's title, on the part of England, is *necessary* to his stability! If a negociation was on foot, and such a thing were *mentioned,* it would send our embassador home in the twinkling of an eye.——This miserable slave, a slave ten thousand times worse than any under the dominion of Napoleon, couples *meanness of birth* with *crimes;* and, yet, I'll warrant, that this man himself was born in a house not worth 20 shillings a year of lawful money. This is excessively base. It is such a villamous abandonment of a man's own character. But, from my soul, I believe, that the most abject slaves upon the face of the whole earth are some of those who are concerned with the English press; and if there had been such to be found in France, or in any of his dominions, Napoleon would have known better than to put an end to what is called "*the* "*Liberty of the Press;*" that is to say, *the liberty of praising men who have the power to oppress you.* He could find no men base enough; his whole dominions furnished no men so detestably base as to use the press upon such terms; and, therefore, he put it down; and, infinitely better, and more favourable to real freedom it was, to put it wholly down, than to let it exist in such hands.——Let us now return to Mr. PERCEVAL and his prosecution Ex OFFICIO of Mr. Peltier. In his speech upon that occasion he used the following words, as reported in the octavo edition, page 81, published by Mr. Peltier himself.——"Whe- "ther the present libel was directed "against a Monarch sitting on his throne, "from long hereditary descent, or whe- "ther he is a person raised to this power "by the revolution, from the choice of "that country, or from any other cause, *it* "*makes no difference.* He is, *de facto,* the "chief Magistrate, and is *to be respected* by "those who are the subjects of that coun- "try, who owe a temporary *allegiance to* "*him.* He is to be *respected as if his ances-* "*tors had enjoyed the same power for a num-* "*ber of generations.* Perhaps I may hear "of publications in the Moniteur reflect- "ing on our government. What have we "to do with that? I am standing here for "the *honour* of the English *law,* and of the "English nation. I state this to be a "crime, and as such have brought it "before an English jury. And if any "other country think that they can pros- "per by any such publications as this, "let them have the benefit of it but "do not let us have *the disgrace.*"——Now, reader, apply this to the publications of the present day; nay to go no further than the one above taken from the COURIER. If Mr. PELTIER's publication was a dishonour to England; if the HONOUR of the English LAW (*Honour of Law!*) called for the proceeding against *him,* what is this *honour* at now? This same sovereign is now called an *incestuous person,* an *adulterer,* a boaster of *unnatural crimes;* and, yet, very far indeed are the authors from being called to account. The child of Napoleon is called a *Bastard;* his wife is called a *mistress.* Is the excuse that we are now *at war* with him? This is a pretty justification indeed, and another very fine illustration of the *consistency* of what is called the *law* of libel. But, at any rate, I never will say any thing of Napoleon *in war* that I am not allowed to say of him *in peace:* I never will condescend to be that base thing of a writer, who will submit to be *hallooed* on and *rated* off, just as it suits the views of men in power. Napoleon is the same man now that he was in 1803, only his fame is more spread and

his power greater. But, he is, at any rate, *First Magistrate of France;* and, he is not the less so because he is at war with us. If any man were to sell a file of the COURIER after peace is made with France, such man would, agreeably to the doctrines upon which Mr. PELTIER was accused and convicted, be liable to cool his heels in jail.——In another part of his speech at that trial, Mr. PERCEVAL pointed out the danger of *irritating the people of France against us;* and, in short, every thing was said to shew the evil tendency of abusing Buonaparté.——I say, then, that he is still the *same man,* and that he is still the *First Magistrate* of France.——If he is to be abused merely because we are at war with him, what pretty consistent *law* is this. The *honour* of this law must be of a most singular description.——In peace we must not say *truth* of him, if unpleasant; but, in war, we may say what we will, true or *false,* as clearly appears from the publications in the MORNING POST and the COURIER.——Such publications cannot, indeed, *produce war;* but, it is possible that they may *perpetuate* it. The French news-papers contain no such infamous publications about any persons in this country. Bad as they are represented to be, they do not contain any such things, and never have. But in this country, they are found in all these prints, the authors of which shew their devotion to men in power.——I do not say, that it is *my opinion* even, that they will perpetuate war, being persuaded that Napoleon masters his passions where his political interest is concerned; but, it must be evident to every one, that, if any publications could have such a tendency, these would have that tendency.-nister may call Napoleon a *tyrant* as long as he pleases; but, I never will, until such a change is made in the practice of the law, as will authorize me to call him a tyrant in *time of peace* as well as in time of war; nor, will I ever say any thing of him, which (if I have the *truth* with me) I am not allowed to say of the King of England or of any of his sons or his ministers. No: I have tried and convicted of the *crime* of having spoken of Napoleon in a way, calculated to expose him to *hatred;* and if this be a crime, it must be a crime in time of war as well as in time of peace; and, therefore, I will not speak of him in any such way. I will speak of him with just the same caution that I am compelled to speak of other sovereigns. I dare not satirize the king of Sicily or Sardinia or the Prince Regent of Portugal or Ferdinand the Seventh; and I will not satirize the Emperor of France. I will not condescend to be so vile a time-server.——*If* he be a *tyrant,* why then, I hate him, that is all; but, if we were at peace with him, the *law* of libel would not suffer me to *call* him tyrant, neither will I so call him now.

MR. BINGHAM.——The case of this gentleman was noticed in my Register of the 30th of March, page 769 of the present volume. It appeared clearly to me, from a perusal of the proceedings on the Trial, as reported in the news-papers, that he had not only been *falsly* accused; but that there had been some very foul play made use of against him; and, in short, that his life had been put in jeopardy from some most abominable motive in some quarter or other.——At the time when I wrote the article here referred to, I could not lay my hand upon any of the publications, which were made against Mr. BINGHAM in London, the moment he was taken up, and which publications were, I recollected, of a nature to prejudice the public, the whole world, and of course, the Jury against him.——There were several of these publications; but, that which was made in the TIMES news-paper was the one which I remembered the best; and, upon looking back for it, I found it as follows. I shall here insert it entire; and I give it as an instance of the *boldness* of these literary heroes; of their *undaunted courage;* of their *noble spirit of freedom,* in cases where they assault the *feeble* or the *fallen.* Here they exercise the *liberty of the press* without any restraint; *here* they shew that they enjoy the "*blessed birthright* "of Britons;" *here* they swagger; here they look big.——But, it is time to come to the publication referred to; and, as we proceed, we should bear in mind, that the object of attack was a man not proved to be guilty, a man of spotless reputation heretofore, a man with a numerous family and with very scanty means of maintaining them, and that this publication was made at a time when there was a *great reward offered* for bringing to conviction the person guilty of one of the crimes with which he was charged.——There are two passages, which I have designated by *capital letters,* and to these I beg the reader to pay particular attention. The whole of

the article should be attended to; but these two passages are of the greatest importance; for of great importance it is to every man, seeing that every one is exposed to the same danger that Mr. Bingham has experienced.——The passage is taken from the TIMES news-paper of the 5th of February, 1811.——"A few months "since, a great part of Ashdown Forest "in Sussex was inclosed by a set of men "called Foresters, and also by the Rev. "Robert Bingham, the Curate of the "parish of Mayersfield; which being "deemed to be the right of the Dutchess "of Dorset, the same were thrown down "by order of her Grace, Lord Whitworth, "and Lord Sheffield, the acting Magis-"trate for that county. This act irritated "all those who had made inclosures, "and some of them were heard to make "use of threatening language, which caused some little alarm among those concerned in destroying the inclosures; but no particular notice was taken, or any act done except swearing in a number of respectable inhabitants as Special Constables, to be ready in case of an emergency.——On Sunday, the 16th of December, a letter was found on the road near Mayersfield, by the sons of Mr. Richard Jenner, a respectable farmer, directed to their father. The boys took it home, but their father being absent they gave it to their mother, who on opening it, discovered that it was headed in large letters, "Fire: Murder! and Revenge!" and the contents threatened destruction to the Parson, Churchwardens, Farmers' houses, barns, and stacks. The boys told the mother, that after Mr. Bingham performed the morning service at Mayersfield Church, he got on horseback to ride to a neighbouring parish to do duty there in the afternoon, he passed them, and when he was at a short distance from them, THEY SAW A PAPER DROP FROM HIS POCKET, WHICH THEY WERE POSITIVE WAS THE LETTER THEY PICKED UP.——The letter so much alarmed Mrs. Jenner, that she sent off one of her sons after her husband, who was in London. The circumstance caused considerable alarm in that part of the country. Lords Whitworth and Sheffield published an advertisement, offering a reward of 200*l.* for the discovery of the writer of the letter. A number of men "were employed to watch Mr. Jenner's "premises, and to patrole in different parts. "—On the 16th of January last, Mr. "Bingham's house was discovered to be "on fire, and although timely assistance "was given, great part of the premises "were destroyed. It was ascertained that "the fire broke out in the school-room, "where there were several faggots laid. "Mr. Bingham reported that he had no "doubt it was one of the Foresters who "had set fire to his premises. The ac-"count he gave of the fire and his con-"duct, was, that his family went to bed "about ten o'clock—he was the last up. "About half past ten o'clock he heard "the noise of footsteps; he looked out of "his window, but could not see or hear "any person.—About half-past eleven "o'clock he was alarmed again—he look-"ed out of the window the second time, "but did not see any person? but a little "before one, he heard a noise at the school-"room-door; and he states that he saw a "man walking from the house, but could "not tell whether he had on a blue coat "or a smock frock. This account being "so very extraordinary and unsatisfactory, "Lord Sheffield sent to the Public-office, "Bow-street, for an active and intelligent "officer, and Mr. Read sent Atkins. Upon "the officer's arrival, after making inqui-"ries, HE strongly suspected Mr. Bing-"ham set his own house on fire, and in "consequence placed several men to "watch. ONE OF THEM HE STA-"TIONED IN THE STEEPLE OF "THE CHURCH, WHEN THEY DIS-"COVERED HIM TO BRING A "GREAT QUANTITY OF BOOKS "FROM HIS STABLE, AND BURY "THEM IN HIS GARDEN. From a "variety of other suspicious circumstances "a warrant was granted against Mr. Bing-"ham, and one to search his premises, "when Atkins found in the roof of the "privy a variety of valuable papers con-"cealed, together with other suspicious "circumstances of his having set his pre-"mises on fire for the purpose of defraud-"ing the Union Fire Office, and he was in "consequence taken into custody, and "on Friday underwent a final examina-"tion at Lewes, before Lords Chichester "and Sheffield, and was fully committed "for trial."——Now, without dwelling upon the *general* tenor of this article, I beg the reader's attention to the two passages, pointed out by the *Capital Letters*, either of which, if *true*, contains pretty nearly proof of the guilt of the accused person.

——They relate to the two crimes, with which he stood charged: the first, to the crime of writing the *threatening letter* to JENNER; and the second, to the crime of setting fire to his own house with a view of defrauding the *Union fire Office*, of which office we shall have *more to say another time perhaps.*——It is stated here by MR. WALTER, the Proprietor of the Times newspaper, that the sons of Jenner "*saw* a paper *drop from Mr. Bingham's pocket*, which "they were *positive* was the Letter they "picked up."——Now, if the account of the trial be true, this is *false*; for, in that account the boys, even these boys, say no such thing; and, Mrs. Jenner says no such thing. The boys say, on the contrary, that they did *not* see the letter drop from his Pocket; and, Mrs. Jenner says, that they *never* told her that they did see it drop from his pocket, and that, for some time, no such thing was ever talked of.——Thus, then, is the falsehood of this publication proved upon the trial; it is proved upon oath; and, indeed, if the truth of it had been proved Mr. Bingham must have been found guilty; for, the evidence of seeing it drop from his pocket, would, at any rate, have been proof quite sufficient of his being, at bottom, the author of it.——What justification, then, can Mr. Walter set up for this publication; this foul attack upon the character of Mr. Bingham; this stab at his reputation? *Ignorance?* Is that his plea? Will he say that he was ignorant of the matter; that he was not acquainted with the circumstances? Will he say this? Why did he not stop, then, till he was acquainted with the circumstances; why did he not stop till he had good authority for saying what he said? What right had he to venture such a publication regardless of the effect upon the unfortunate gentleman and his family? Yet, ignorance, bad as it is, is his best justification; for, if he knew the truth, at the time when he was publishing this falsehood, I have no hesitation in saying that the act was very little better than that of a murderer, and a murderer of the worst sort too, because it united to consummate cruelty the basest of cowardice.——The second assertion, that one of the men, stationed in the steeple of the church, discovered Mr. Bingham "*to bring a great* "*quantity of books from his stable and bury* "*them in his garden,*" is, as appears from the report of the trial, equally false with the former. There is not a word of truth in it, from beginning to the end.——What an infamous thing, then, was it to publish such an assertion! If this assertion had been true, and, who could doubt of it, from the manner in which the assertion was made, there could have been little doubt of Mr. Bingham's guilt; every man must, upon the face of the fact, say that it indicated, clearly indicated, guilt; and, the persuasion of its truth once safely lodged in the mind of two or three of the jury might have sent this innocent man to the gallows; for his escape from which he certainly has not to thank MR. WALTER. ——The last assertion is a sheer falsehood. It has not shadow of foundation in any fact, as far as appears from the report of the Trial. How then, came Mr. WALTER to make it; for, after all, Mr. Walter it is, and Mr. Walter it must be. How came he to make this assertion? Did he put in the paragraph at the request of another person? Was it paid for, or was it not? Here, as in the other case, ignorance is his best plea; but, what satisfaction is that to Mr. Bingham, his wife, his children, his relations, and his friends? What satisfaction would it have been to them, if the ignominious death of the accused had been, as it might have been, the consequence? Nay, what satisfaction is it to Mr. Bingham for all his actual losses and injuries, sustained in consequence of these false reports? Here is no blind hint; it is a positive assertion; a plain assertion of a fact, and which fact is *a proof of guilt.*——Still, however, I should have been ready to make some allowances for Mr. WALTER, if he had made the reparation, the *cheap* reparation, of a *contradiction,* through the same channel that had conveyed the injurious falsehood to the public. But, though I have looked pretty attentively to see if such contradiction appeared, I have seen none, either in the TIMES or the MORNING CHRONICLE, or in any of the papers through which the falsehoods were conveyed to the public.——And here I cannot help observing the difference in the conduct of these gentlemen towards a *poor Clergyman* and a *rich Bishop.* It is not long since they were all upon their knees before the Bishop of Derry, with hands clenched together and eyes uplifted, like blasphemers in a storm. Yet, all that they had done against him was, the mere copying of a sort of punning paragraph, reflecting, unjustly, as it was said, upon the Bishop's *solvency.* In paragraphs of lengths and breadths did they beg pardon.

The Miserable Sinners uttered whole Litanies of paragraphs in the hope of averting the wrath of the offended Father in God. They put me in mind of the crouching caitiffs in the LUTRIN of BOILEAU, trembling for their lives in fear of the avenging crosier.——They published, not only a recantation; a full and clear recantation; but they, moreover, published all sorts of *praises* of the Right Reverend Father. They told us of his *charity*, his *benevolence*, his *humanity*, his *munificence*, of which they gave us particular instances; and so particular and circumstancial were they as to these points, that it would almost have seemed, that they had, at the least, lived in the same house and dipt in the same dish with his Lordship.——Whether they saved themselves I know not; but, I cannot refrain from comparing their conduct upon that occasion with their conduct towards Mr. Bingham, against whom the offence was assuredly much greater, but, to whom, none of them have, that I have seen, offered the smallest apology. Nay, they have not, as far as I have observed, even said one word in the way of *correcting* what they had before asserted.——This is very unjust, and very cruel; for, this silence would seem to argue, that, though he has been acquitted in a court of justice, they, the publishers of these accusations, still look upon Mr. Bingham as being guilty of the crimes, which they had laid to his charge.——Would they have acted thus with regard to a rich or a powerful man? We have seen how they acted in case of a rich Bishop; and, I believe, that the reader will agree with me, that if Mr. BINGHAM had been a Bishop, their conduct towards him would have been very different indeed from what it has been.——The cause of Mr. Bingham is that of *every man*; for, if he can be treated thus, if his life can be put in jeopardy by false accusations spread through the public papers, whose life may not?——I observed before, that it was the duty of the gentlemen of the county of Sussex to give him countenance and support, it being, from the trial, very evident, that there had been some very foul work going on against him. Whether he has received such support I know not; but, of this I am very sure, that, if he has not, it argues great baseness in the people of the county, and especially the people of rank and property. The *expences* must have gone nearly to ruin a man in the circumstances in which he appears to have been. He was, it seems, only the *curate* of the parish, upon a stipend, probably, of 50 or 60 pounds a year; and, with this and a school, he had to support a family of *eleven* children. The expences of trial must, to such a man, have been nearly utter ruin. This is, then, quite hardship enough without being calumniated into the bargain; and, when any one has from want of knowing the truth, propagated injurious falshoods against such a man, justice, bare justice, demands a contradiction, in the most public manner and most explicit terms.

SPAIN.—THE WAR.——There is something going on in Spain, which does not indicate any very good understanding between our army and that of the Spaniards.—The public will bear in mind what loud accusations were made here against the *Spanish* Commander at the affair of Barrosa. It was said, that we had the *whole* of the honour; and that the Spaniard was either *traitor* or *coward*.——The Spanish Regency seem to be of a different opinion. They, in giving an account of the battle, have the following passage:——"Such "have been the memorable expedition, "and battle of the 5th of March, in which "the British troops have again shewn "*their discipline*, their *incomparable firmness*, "and *extraordinary valour*; maintaining "their reputation of being superior to the "French, which they have proved on "every occasion when they have con-"tended against them.—The Spanish "troops, with *unbounded bravery*, and an "*heroic enthusiasm, gloriously fought*, and in "the *most brilliant manner overcame their* "*oppressors without the dispersion of a single* "*soldier*. The *allied* army has covered "itself with *glory*, and merits the eternal "gratitude of Spaniards, and the admira-"tion of Europe."——Now, either the Spanish Regency speak *truth*, or they speak *falshood*; if the former we were not told the truth by our prints before; if the latter, what a pretty set of *allies* have we got? For my part, I do not know what to believe, and wish to give no opinion about the matter; but, if what the Spanish Regency say be really true, the Spaniards were very roughly treated here; and, at any rate, the harmony between the armies cannot, I should suppose, be very perfect.

AMERICAN MANUFACTURES. —— The book advertised below has been repub-

lished by me in the manner there stated with a view of enabling those who take an interest in the question to judge for themselves, whether there is any probability of America remaining any longer *dependent* upon England for wool and woollens. It is the best book that I have read upon the subject of *Sheep*; but, I was induced to make the publication here, because the book seemed to me to *settle* the grand question of *manufactures*. ——The reader will bear in mind, that the Author was, a few years ago, minister of the American States to the Emperor of France. In the insertion of his name I have purposely omitted his *titles* of LL. D. &c. &c. and was sorry to see, that he should have thought them worth the trouble of printing. I am sure the best of his countrymen did not.

W^M. COBBETT.

State Prison, Newgate, Friday, May 3, 1811.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

FRANCE.—WAR IN SPAIN.—*Official Report of the Duke of Belluno, relative to the Battle of Barrosa.*—PEURTO REAL, *March* 7, 1811.

(*Concluded from page* 1088.)

That very night the enemy had thrown across a bridge of rafts; some voltigeurs penetrated to the other side of the bridge, and returned again with the Spanish troops, who hastened to the assistance of their people.—These two companies, which were headed by the Colonel of the 95th, re-entered their camp with a number of prisoners.—The Spaniards, by their own acknowledgment, had 150 killed, and 200 drowned.—This combat, which took place under the constant fire of the fort of Santi Petri, and the batteries of the Isle of Leon, does honor to the voltigeurs of the 95th; they displayed on this occasion as much coolness as courage.—It was only from the account of this affair which General Villatte addressed to me on the 4th, that I learned the establishment of this bridge of rafts, which permitted the enemy to connect the operations of the troops left in the Isle with those of their army.—The establishment of the bridge of Santi Petri, and the report of General Cassagne, who informed me that the enemy had not made his appearance on the side of Acala and Medina, made me presume that it was his intention to march by his left, in order to surprise and cut off the troops of the 3d division, which were in the lines of Santi Petri, to join those which should come out of Cadiz, and to march in that direction upon Chiclana.—I made my arrangements for surprising the enemy on his march, and frustrating his expectations.—At five in the morning of the 5th, the ten battalions of the 1st and 2d divisions set out from the farm-house of Guerra, and marched towards Chiclana.—General Cassagne received orders to march to us.—On my arrival at Chiclana, I ordered General Villatte to withdraw from our lines at Santi Petri the two battalions which might have been endangered, and to unite them to the rest of his division, destined to attack the heads of columns of the allied army, at the moment of their appearance.—I was in the belief, from all the information I could collect, that this army consisted of 8,000 Spaniards and 4,000 English. Even this was double the numbers I could oppose to it; nevertheless I had conceived the hope not only of frustrating its projects, but of destroying it: it was with this feeling that I manœuvred.—The enemy was in full march; his heads of columns had arrived near our lines of Santi Petri, and his rear-guard was on a height near the sea-beach, about a league from our lines, when I advanced by the woods which are in front of Chiclana, upon his right flank and almost upon his rear with the 10 battalions of the 1st and 2d divisions.—The troops of General Cassagne did not yet make their appearance; a long quarter of a league separated me from the enemy: and without attacking him, I gave him time to concentrate his troops, and to arrive upon the division Villatte. I thought I ought

not to let slip so fine an opportunity; and I advanced towards him.——The division Ruffin forming the left with the 1st regiment of dragoons, took a direction by the extremity of the height on the side of Conil, and the division Laval marched straight to this height, upon which the enemy appeared inclined to await us. He there kept his ground for a few moments; he was overthrown, and General Ruffin took possession of the height. I then repaired to this height, whence I perceived the disposition of the enemy's army. The Spaniards, under the order of Lapena, were at the head, and strongly engaged with General Villatte. The cannonade and fire of musquetry were extremely brisk. I discovered, upon seeing their lines, that they were at least 15,000 in number. The English formed the rear-guard, and according to their custom, they wished to place the Spaniards in the post of danger, and expose themselves as little as possible. By the movement which I had made, I advanced upon them. The English General made his dispositions, and I could see, that instead of being 4,000 strong as I had supposed, they were at least 8,000; so that they alone, without including the Spaniards, were stronger than myself. I had then reason to be convinced that the army which I had to fight amounted to at least 22 000 men. I instantly resolved to send orders to General Villatte not to oppose the passage of the enemy, to prevent him from advancing on Chiclana, and to confine him to the left of the rivulet.—From the height whence I had driven the enemy to Santi Petri and to Chiclana, the country is entirely covered with pine woods, except a few hundred of toises.—I repaired the division Laval; I caused it to be formed, and some moments were spent in waiting for the artillery. As soon as the enemy had got knowledge of my march, they made a halt, and placed themselves; the Spaniards on the left, the half of the English on the right; and the other half, forming a square, was opposed to General Ruffin. The English touched upon the sea. This line was nearly continuous.—As soon as the artillery arrived, I directed General Laval against the left of the English corps and the right of the Spaniards, having General Villatte on my right, who was briskly engaged with the left of the Spaniards, and General Ruffin on my left, who occupied the heights: his left rested on the sea, and his right was separated, by an interval of 5 or 600 toises of intersected country, from the left of General Laval. The firing successively commenced along the whole of the line. The enemy perceiving that to combat for victory was no longer the matter in question, but for his very preservation, fought with courage, supporting a fire which brought down his men by hundreds. But his numbers were so great, that as soon as one line was overthrown, it was replaced by another. Our soldiers fought like lions. A Spanish corps had gained the right of General Laval, a circumstance which determined me to make a movement on his right, and to order General Ruflin to draw closer from his left. After two hours and an half of extremely hard fighting, about three in the afternoon the firing ceased on both sides, the enemy gave up the project which his movements for two months had in view, and which was to take Chiclana and turn our lines. On our side, I gave up the hope of destroying him; a hope which would have been absurd from the moment when I learned that his force amounted to 22,000 men, among whom were at least 8,000 of the best troops of the English, in the number of which last were several corps of the guards.—I repeat it, the enemy's army amounted to 22,000 men, including 8,000 English infantry, 700 Spanish cavalry, and 500 English horse. Information from the prisoners, from the inhabitants of the country, and all the reports addressed to me, leave no doubt with regard to this number. Had I been only aided by a fourth part of the 4th corps, that whole army would have been destroyed.—We have taken 3 pieces of cannon, 3 colonels, 100 officers, and 600 soldiers, mostly Spanish. The Spaniards have suffered greatly; their loss is reckoned at 2,000 men; but the loss sustained by the English has also been very considerable. The most moderate calculations make it amount to 2,500 killed and wounded.—General Ruffin, being wounded with his sharp-shooters, has been made prisoner.—The 8th, 24th, 54th, and 94th regiments distinguished themselves.—General Rousseau, an officer of the greatest merit, and Col. Autie, were killed.—Our loss is very considerable, taking into view the small number of our combatants. We have had 300 killed, and 1400 wounded. The enemy took no prisoners, except about 60 men who were severely wounded.—A battalion of the 8th having charged in a

woody ground, and their eagle-bearer having been killed, we have not found their eagle again.—While the enemy were marching upon Chiclana, the insurgents from the mountains threw themselves upon our rear by Arcos and Medina; all the points of our line were attacked; but the valour of the 1st corps prevailed over the numbers of our enemies The inhabitants of Andalusia can hardly conceive how such small numbers were able to resist so many combined efforts.—General Cassagne, with the garrison of Medina, did not arrive till two hours after the action.—I am with respect, &c.—The Marshal Duke of BELLUNO.

PORTUGAL.——THE WAR.——*Dispatches published in London, 30th April,* 1811.

A Dispatch, of which the following is an Extract, was this morning received at Lord Liverpool's Office, addressed to his Lordship by Lieutenant-General Viscount Wellington, dated Nissa, 18th April, 1811.

HAVING made arrangements for the blockade of Almeida, and having reason to believe that the enemy's army will not be in a situation for some time to attempt to relieve that place, even if they should be so inclined, I have taken advantage of the momentary discontinuance of active operations in that quarter to go into Estramadura to the corps under Marshal Sir Wm. Beresford, and I have got thus far on my way.—Lieut.-General Sir B. Spencer remains in command of the corps on the frontiers of Castile. Nothing of importance has occurred in that quarter since I addressed your Lordship on the 9th instant. The enemy retired entirely from the Agueda; and, it is reported, that some of their troops had gone back as far as Zamora and Toro, upon the Douro.—Marshal Sir Wm. Beresford was not able to effect his passage across the Guadiana as soon as he expected; and the enemy have introduced some provisions into Badajoz and Olivenza. Sir William Beresford's advanced guard crossed the Guadiana on the 4th instant; and I am concerned to report, that a squadron of the 13th Light Dragoons, which were on picket under Major Morres, were surprised, on the night of the 6th, by a detachment of the enemy's cavalry from Olivenza. I have not received the return of the loss upon this occasion, but I am informed that the whole squadron, with the exception of 20 men, were taken prisoners. The enemy have since retired, as I am informed, entirely from Estremadura, leaving small garrisons in Badajoz and Olivenza.—Marshal Sir Wm. Beresford has taken a position to invest both Badajoz and Olivenza.—A detachment of the 5th army, which is now commanded by General Castanos, is, I understand, at Merida.—Since I last addressed your Lordship, Gen. Zayas had again landed the troops under his command, and had again embarked them, and returned to Cadiz. General Ballasteros's division alone, therefore, continues in the Condado de Niebla; but, from a letter from Mr. Wellesley of the 11th, I learn that General Blake was himself about to come into the Condado di Niebla to take the command of General Ballasteros's division, and the troops which had been under the command of General Zayas, and which were to return to that quarter. General Blake had expressed an anxious desire to co-operate with Marshal Sir William Beresford.—General Castanos has been appointed to command the army in Gallicia, as well as the 5th army, lately the army of the left, commanded by the late Marquis of Romana.

FOREIGN-OFFICE, DOWNING-STREET, *April* 30.

Dispatches were this morning received by the Marquis Wellesley from Charles Stuart, Esq. his Majesty's Minister at Lisbon, under date the 20th inst. stating that the garrison of Olivenza, consisting of 310 men, surrendered at discretion to the Allied Army on the 14th inst. and was marched to Elvas.

Marshal Mortier, with 4,000 men, was in the neighbourhood of Llerena, having detached a moveable column, under General Mortiniere, by the way of Almarez, towards Toledo. General Beresford, with that part of the Allied Army which does not form the siege of Badajoz, was in the neighbourhood of Santa Martha.

"The Corps of Gen. Ballasteros had its head-quarters in Segura de Leone on the 12th. His cavalry was at Zafra on the 13th, on which day Lord Wellington left Villa Formosa on the Coa, to join the army in Estremadura."

FOREIGN OFFICE, APRIL 30.

A Dispatch of which the following is an Extract, was this morning received by the Marquis Wellesley, from Charles Stuart, Esq. his Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Lisbon, under date the 20th instant.

The brilliant successes of the Allied Army have been celebrated by every de-

monstration of joy which can mark the gratitude of the Portuguese for the exertions of the British in their behalf, and for the satisfaction inspired by the salvation of their country.

Te Deum has been sung in the churches; the City has been illuminated; and shortly after the publication of the Proclamation enclosed in a former dispatch, the letters, of which I have the honour to enclose copies, were addressed to Lord Wellington and Marshal Beresford, by the Government and the Minister.

Most Illustrious and Most Excellent Lord Viscount Wellington, K. B. Marshal, General Commander in Chief.

Your Excellency's Dispatch, dated the 9th inst. having been laid before us, and your Excellency's glorious and transcendant services in the course of the present campaign having been duly considered, we have high satisfaction in testifying our just administration of the exalted achievements which have immortalized your Excellency's name, sustained the honour of the combined armies, and delivered this kingdom the third time from the oppression of our enemies.—The conduct of the army having justified the confidence of their chief, and fulfilled the expectations of the allied nations, we are desirous that your Excellency do make known to the whole army that the Government and the country are amply repaid for their exertions and sacrifices, by the wisdom, valor, and discipline displayed by the Generals, Officers, and privates of which that army is composed.—We will lay before his Royal Highness, in the distinctest manner, the events which have taken place; recommending to his Royal notice the services of an army which has covered itself with glory under your Excellency's command.—Your Excellency cannot fail to derive high gratification from the result of your plans and labours, which, crowned with the most eminent success and public opinion, leave nothing wanting to satisfy the heart of the illustrious warrior by whom they were conceived and accomplished.—May God preserve your Excellency.

Patriach Elect.
Count Redondo.
R. Noguier.
Principes Sousa.
Charles Stuart.

Palace of Government, April, 19 1811.
D. Miguel Pereira Forjaz.

Most Illustrious and Most Excellent Sir William Carr Beresford, K. B. Marshal, Commander in Chief of the Portuguese Army.

The Combined Armies having driven the enemy beyond the northern and southern frontier with as much glory to the forces allied, as advantage to the just cause they defend, the Governors of the Kingdom have authorised me to acknowledge, in their name, the high and distinguished sevices for which the Portuguese Nation is indebted to your Excellency in quality of Marshal, Commander in Chief of her Armies.—If the success of our arms be the result of valor and discipline, to your Excellency it is attributable that troops, only the other day mostly recruits, have been enabled to conduct themselves like experienced veterans, and to deserve so eminently of their Sovereign and their country.—The Government will lay before his Royal Highness, with an especial recommendation, the merits and glorious achievements of his army, and desire that your Excellency do make known to the whole of that army, in the most impressive manner, the high estimation in which their services are held.—The army have amply fulfilled the expectations of their country; and so long as she shall preserve the recollection of events so glorious, the distinguished Chief who disciplined and commanded that army will ever be present to her grateful memory.—I have particular satisfaction in communicating the sentiments of the Governors of the kingdom towards your Excellency being precisely those I have ever invariably entertained.—May God preserve your Excellency,

D. Miguel Pereira Forjaz.

Palace of Government, April 17, 1811.

France.—*Decree for the raising of Seamen.—March 2,* 1811.—*Signed by the Emperor Napoleon.*

Art. 1. There shall be made a levy of 3,000 seamen, from the age of 20 to 50 years, in the three departments of the mouths of the Elbe, the Weser, and the Upper Ems.—2. The Governor-General shall apportion these 3,000 seamen among the different cities and ports of these three departments.—3. These seamen shall be marched, in parties of 100 each, to Antwerp.—4. This call of seamen shall be in discharge of the maritime conscription.—

5. Our Minister of Marine shall take the necessary measures for securing to the wives and children of such seamen, while at sea, a suitable subsistence, and for providing for the necessary expences of conveyance and the details of the service.—6. Our Minister of Marine is charged with the execution of the present decree.

FRANCE.—*Report of a Plot respecting Belle-isle.—April* 14, 1811.

Report to his Majesty the Emperor and King.—Sire; I had the honour to submit to your Majesty on the 22nd of March last, the disclosures of the Sieur Cunlisse Owen, an Officer of the British Navy, prisoner of war at Besancon. The result thereof was, that this prisoner had concerted with a Sieur Laupper, an Officer in the 4th Swiss Regiment, the means of surprising Belleisle-en-Mer. Owen, according to the promise he had received, as he said, from M. Mackenzie, to whom the plan had been communicated, was to have been exchanged, and to command the Expedition; and Laupper, whose battalion was in garrison in Belleisle, charged himself with the recruiting of partizans among the officers and soldiers, to favour the communications between the cruizers and the coast, &c. It was at Besancon where Laupper had staid some time, while conducting the recruits to his corps, that this plot was formed. Among the papers which the Sieur Owen produced in support of his statements, there appeared many letters which Laupper had addressed to him from Rennes, and in which he stated that several officers had joined themselves to the conspiracy, and especially a Sieur Laudis, who, he asserted, was to give in his resignation, for the purpose of following Owen to England. In pursuance of the orders which I had given, Laupper and Laudis were arrested at Rennes. The first declared, that having had occasion to know the Sieur Owen, on his way to Besancon, and finding himself pressed by the want of money, he had appeared to receive the propositions which the Englishman had made to him, of procuring particular information respecting Belleisle, or the plans and maps of that place; but he maintains that he would no have pretended to enter into his view, but in order to draw from him the sums which he had promised; that he never intended to assist his projects; that he had not even the means of doing so, for he had resided only thirteen days in Belleisle. On his arrival at Rennes, Laupper was arrested for debts contracted to his regiment. It was not long, he added, before I received a letter from Sieur Owen, in which he reminded him of their reciprocal promises, and announced the approaching arrival of the money; in fact, he transmitted to him, at two periods, two drafts, one for 1,000 francs, and the other for 400, but they were not paid. In the mean time, the Sieur Owen, insisting and advising him to bring into their interests some of his comrades, he then described to him, as an officer of his regiment, the Sieur Laudis, an old grenadier, who was in prison with him, and he protests that this soldier was totally ignorant of the part which he was made to perform in his correspondence with the English prisoner. Laudis is in fact an old grenadier of the 4th Swiss regiment, who, having been reduced in 1809, remained in the department D' Illet Oilaine, in quality of Garde Forrestier; he had been imprisoned for firing a musket at some person. It was in this prison that he found Laupper. He declared that he never received from him any overtures respecting his intercourse with the Sieur Owen, and, with the exception of the letters of Laupper, the investigation has not hitherto produced any proof against him. Whatever may be the denials of Laupper, and the grounds on which he supports them, it does not appear to me that they can be capable of justifying him in opposition to the suspicions which his correspondence with Sieur Owen establishes against him.—I have the honour to propose to your Majesty, to order the transmission of the Papers to the Minister of War.—I am, with the most profound respect, &c.

The Duke ROVIGO.

Referred to the Grand Judge, to cause the Laws of the Empire to be carried into Execution. NAPOLEON.

Palace of the Thuilleries, April 14, 1811.

By the Emperor's Order.

H. B. Duke DE BASSANO.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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"In the Borough Faction behold an army of Godoys."——WESTMINSTER ADDRESS.

WESTMINSTER ADDRESS.

IN the present Number of the Register, I have to put upon record what gives me greater pleasure than I have ever derived from any thing that I have inserted in it, from its first establishment to the present hour.——The WESTMINSTER ADDRESS, which was passed at the last meeting of the people of that city; at that meeting which Mr. Wilberforce's brother-in-law (lately made a *Master in Chancery*); at that meeting which this gentleman, MR. STEPHEN, spoke so contemptuously of; that Address, which was presented to the Prince Regent by the HIGH BAILIFF and SIR FRANCIS BURDETT; that Address has been published in the LONDON GAZETTE, by AUTHORITY.——I insert it below just as it stands in the London Gazette; and I thus do all that lies in my power to cause it to be read, or heard, by every person, not only in this country but in every other country, as far as the English language has reached; and, if I had time, I would put it into the French language also; for, every man upon earth, who is worthy of being free, is interested in it.——This Address is full to *all points*. It blinks nothing. *Bribery, Corruption, Seat-trafficing, Foreign Troops, Star-Chamber work*; and all the rest of it are here. This is the truth, told in plain language. We have here the sentiments of honest minds, and expressed without the smallest disguise.* Here are no circumlocutions; no going about the bush; no hinting and rubbing; no double meanings; none of those devices to which men who have not power to resist oppression are compelled to resort (under governments really despotic) in order to save themselves from the fangs of what is, in such governments, called *law*, but which is, in fact, nothing more than the most convenient instrument of the basest tyranny.—In short, we have here, the words of men of independent minds, addressed to a Prince, whom we have every reason to believe worthy of reigning over such men.——But, excellent as the language and the sentiments of this Address are; wholesome as are the truths that it promulgates to the world; hard as are the blows which it deals on that which is our country's bane; still, the circumstance that gives it most value in my eyes, and will, I trust, in the eyes of the nation, is, that this Address has been *published by the order of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent*. This is what I most highly esteem; for it is to me, and so it is, I believe, to the people of Westminster, a proof that his Royal Highness is, as we have always believed him to be, on the side of *Parliamentary Reform*.——That this publication took place in consequence of his special order, there can be no doubt at all; for until now, not a single address, in favour of reform, has ever been published in the London Gazette, under *any* ministry. Nay, as I am informed by those who have searched the File of the London Gazettes for the purpose of ascertaining the fact, there has not been any address or petition published through that vehicle, *which called for a redress of grievances of any sort*.——To the Prince, therefore, we must direct our thanks for what has now been done; and certainly not to the ministers, under whom, or whose predecessors for the last thirty years, nothing that was not *complimentary to men in power* has found its way to the world through this authentic channel, the London Gazette.——With what feelings the persons *named* in the Address have seen it published thus to the world, under *the authority of government*, I know not, neither do I care. Their time for *real* feeling is yet to come. But, it must be confessed, that the Prince has here had an opportunity of *repaying* them a little of that which he has so largely received at

their hands. It is not *he* who speaks of them here; it is not *he* who characterizes their actions; it is not *he* who draws the picture of them; it is the people of Westminster, who speak the sentiment, of all the virtuous and public-spirited part of the people of England; it is that part of the people who set the noble example of returning their member free of expence; it is the people, the *real* people of England, who draw the picture, and the picture being by them presented to the Prince, he holds it out to the world; he says to the parties described, " look! this is the picture *the people* give " me of you! Here are the words of the " people of England! Such is their opi- " nion of you! Such are their accusations " against you!"——And, surely, nothing could be more manly or more wise. He knew, that, in this Address of the people of Westminster, he heard the voice of the people of England; the real people of England; those upon whose hearts and arms the safety of his throne must finally depend; those, without whose attachment and zeal fifty armies would not save the country from subjugation in case of an invasion by a powerful enemy.——I look upon this step, on the part of his Royal Highness, as having decided the question respecting his being in favour of a Reform of Parliament. In this step he seems to me to have *declared for the people*, and against the *system of corruption*: against all those who are guilty of the crimes of *bribery, corruption, subornation*: against the whole of those infamous miscreants, of whatever grade they are, or by whatever name they may be known.——His Royal Highness is, I sincerely believe, in favour of a Parliamentary Reform from *principle*; but, if this were not the case, policy points out this path to him; for, is it possible, that any man can be so blind as not to see, that, in these and the nearly approaching times the good will, the cordial attachment, of the people will be of infinitely more consequence than it ever was at any former period? In short, there appears to be, and, indeed, there evidently is, no other choice than that between *the People* and the *Borough Faction*; and the Prince has very wisely declared for the former. ——With this Preface, I insert the Address, and I do it, too, in a larger character than usual, as well for the purpose of distinguishing it above other articles, as for that of rendering it more easy to be read by persons of all ages.

Numb. 16479. [751]



The London Gazette.

Published by Authority.

From Tuesday April 23, to Saturday April 27, 1811.

Carlton-House, April 23, 1811.

THE following Address has been presented to His Royal Highness the Prince Regent; which Address His Royal Highness was pleased to receive very graciously:

To the PRINCE REGENT.

The dutiful Address of the Householders of the City and Liberties of Westminster.

May it Please Your Royal Highness,

SIncerely attached to your Person, as on the present Occasion will be evinced, it is with a lively Sensibility we participate in the Sorrow Your Royal Highness must feel for the Cause of your having been called to your present Situation.

But we trust, that, by taking on you a Nation's Care, demanding, as they now do, an undivided Mind, the private Griefs of Your Royal Highness must be less painfully felt.

It has been, Sir, with extreme Dissatisfaction we have contemplated those habitual Suspensions of the Regal Authority, some of which have been but recently brought to light, that have been so derogatory to Your Royal Highness, and are in their Nature so portentous; but we trust

that a Repetition of such Suspensi[ons,] which we know not how to distin[guish] from Usurpations, will be ren[dered] impracticable.

Independent of these unconstitutional Proceedings, there has been much Cause of Complaint, if not of Suspicion, in the Obstacles interposed by Ministers for preventing the accustomed Access of the Subjects to their Sovereign; wherefore, Sir, in now beholding Your Royal Highness Regent of the Kingdom, we are inspired with a cheering Hope, because His Majesty, should his Health be happily restored, will assuredly, through the faithful Report of Your Royal Highness, learn the true Condition of his Kingdom, and the real Sentiments of his loyal and aggrieved People.

In habitual Suspensions of the Regal Functions it is not a mere Token we discover whence to infer the Existence of Evil. In Breaches of the Constitution so flagrant we do not witness mere slight Indications of something wrong; but they are so many Proofs that a Borough Faction, trampling on the Rights of Crown and People, triumphant Reigns. In the Example now fresh in all our Minds, the indignant Nation hath seen in full Display that Faction's odious Pretensions, and Your Royal Highness has been made sensible of its detested Power.

Thirty Years ago it was declared by Sir George Savile, in his Place in Parliament, that the Commons House was no more a Representation of the People of this Kingdom than it was of the People of France.

The Seats in that House, both for close and for open Boroughs, are notoriously marketable. One of them, as we are credibly informed, was once bought by a French King's Mistress for her English Correspondent in Time of War; and it stands on Record that, at another Time, those Seats were purchased wholesale by the Nabob of Arcot for his intriguing Agents. None then, Sir, can assure us, that at this Day a whole Troop in the Pay of a Napoleon may not sit and vote in that House.

The Inveteracy of this Disease was made manifest to the whole World, when, in the Cases of Mr. Henry Wellesley, Lord Castlereagh, and the present Minister, Mr. Perceval, all accused of trafficking in those Seats, not only no Punishment ensued, but the Traffic was vindicated—and for this extraordinary Reason, that it was become as notorious as the Sun at Noon-Day.

Here, Sir, is the Cancer of the State. With a House of Commons rapidly becoming, by the Virulence of this Pest, a mere Mass of Corruption, Death must ensue, unless the Cancer to its last Fibre be eradicated, and free Parliaments restored.

For such a Restoration Your Royal Highness must perceive that no Talent, no Wisdom, no Virtue in Ministers can become a Substitute.

Proud and light Men have indeed, in all Ages, pretended to such Skill. Puffed up with a Conceit of their own Sufficiency, they have been abundantly ready to dispense with the Constitution. But did not all History proclaim the Absurdity of such Pretensions, that Absurdity must, to every reasoning Mind, be self-evident.

The Nature of the nefarious System of Government, which hath

grown with the Growth and strengthened with the Strength of the Borough Faction, is ascertained to us by long and calamitous Experience. Its Root is Tyranny; its Fruit is Ruin. It scourged America into Resistance: Ireland it tortured into Rebellion. It disinherited Your Royal Highness of many and flourishing States; and the numerous Seamen of those States it alienated from the English Navy.

It was this System of Government which peopled our Prisons with innocent Persons, for the malignant Persecution of whom Ministers took Shelter under a Bill of Indemnity passed by themselves and their Abettors.

It is this System of Government which hath pauperized more than a Million of our English Fellow-subjects; and which daily augments the Number.

It is this System of Government that covers our once free Land with Bastiles and Barracks; that brands the Millions of England as Cowards, needing foreign Soldiers for Defenders; and that brings back upon us the Doctrines and the Cruelties of the Star Chamber.

This System of Government, by a blind Infatuation, confers on French and other foreign Roman Catholic Officers what it offensively refuses to native Irish, filling the Hearts of the Irish Millions with Indignation and Resentment; combustible Passions, which, so pent up, cannot without Terror be contemplated.

This System of Government hath in the End demonstrated the Wickedness and exposed the Folly of those who, to tear from the People all Hope of a just Reform, forced them into an unjust War. For, after Hundreds of Millions have been insanely squandered, after Rivers of Blood have been inhumanly shed, after the Nation, foiled and disgraced, has been reduced to a forlorn Hope,—after all this has been brought on us by corrupt, short-sighted and tyrannical Men, for putting down and treading under Foot Parliamentary Reform, it is at length seen that in this Reform, and in this Reform alone, national Salvation can be found.

During the Machinations for fettering Your Royal Highness and bringing you under the galling Yoke, you must, Sir, have noticed the Faction's base Ingratitude to the King your Father, for whom with the deepest Hypocrisy they affect the greatest Devotion. That System of Government which has been our Bane, that System of Government which had its Origin in the worst Corruptions, and the most treacherous Counsels of ill Advisers, they made no Scruple to call the King's own System of Government.

There is no View, Sir, of the Nation's Affairs but must impress on Your Royal Highness a Conviction of the pernicious Consequences of a System of Government founded on a House of Commons in which the People are not represented.

Wherefore, the Subject which above all others, for its paramount Importance, we are anxious, Sir, to rivet on your Thoughts, is that which Your Royal Highness has found to be uppermost in our own,—Parliamentary Reform.

It being our confident Hope that the present Session will not pass away without a Renewal of Parliamentary

Efforts in that Cause, we believe, that a public Knowledge of an Desire on the Part of Your Royal Highness for the Success of those Efforts, would assuredly cause their early Triumph.

Convinced indeed we are, that whenever the Crown and the Subject, for mutual Self-Preservation, shall make common Cause in pursuit of this indispensable Object, the odious, the intolerable Usurpation of the Borough Faction, smitten by the united Rays of the Law, the Constitution, the Throne, and the Nation, must, like a noxious Exhalation, melt in Air and disappear.

Against all Counsel for protecting or fortifying the Borough Faction, who are hostile to your every Interest, we trust Your Royal Highness will be on your Guard. Ours, Sir, were we entitled to offer it, would be Counsel of another Complexion; as will be that of all those loyal and faithful Advisers, whose Desire it is that Your Royal Highness should escape the Toils of the Wicked, that you may not be unconstitutionally shackled, and made to appear the Patron of a Faction, instead of standing free, dignified, independent, and illustrious at the Head of the Nation.

Once, Sir, identified with the Borough Faction, Farewel to Greatness! Think, Sir, of a Prince of Asturias and a Godoy! Surrounded by the Toils of that Traitor, the unhappy Prince became instrumental in undermining his own reversionary Throne, and in accelerating the Downfal of the Kingdom of his Inheritance! In the Borough Faction, Sir, behold an Army of Godoys!

It is this Faction, Sir, ostentatious of its usurped Dominion, which, for several Months at a Time, you have now a second Time seen carrying on Government over the English Nation without either a King or a Regent; thus striking in public Opinion at the Utility of the Kingly Office; thus striving to deepen the Root of their own Usurpation, and to accustom the People to the most extravagant Exercise of their hateful Power.

Wherefore, Sir, we repeat, that it is a Faction which alike tramples on the Rights of Crown and People. All but the Name of King this insolent Faction hath usurped. Nay, Sir, with a King's Authority it is not content; the Faction aims at nothing short of being despotic.

When therefore Your Royal Highness, with us, shall be convinced, that the usurped Authority of the Faction is utterly incompatible with "the Safety, Honour, and Dignity of His Majesty, and the Welfare of his People," which, as Regent, you have sworn "you will in all Things, to the utmost of your Power and Ability, consult and maintain," that Conviction in the Mind of Your Royal Highness will be to us a Source of the most animating Hope, and a Presage of recovered Rights and Liberties.

Were it not, Sir, a Law of Nature, that none can taste the godlike Pleasure reserved to the patriot Saviour, who hath not first acutely felt the Pain of contemplating public Wrongs and Calamities, the Citizens of Westminster would have to regret that the Wrongs and Calamities of their Country should have made the principal Theme of this their first Salutation

of Your Royal Highness, in the Character of Regent.

But having not failed to dwell also with Emphasis on that Reform which is the sole Remedy for the Nation's political Evils, they trust they have given the best Proof of their Anxiety that the Blessings of a grateful People should await Your Royal Highness; and that by all Posterity your Name should be venerated as long as human Records shall endure.

It is thus, Sir, the Citizens of Westminster give you their Pledge, that, in all your Exertions for saving the State, they, with Life and Fortune, are determined to stand by Your Royal Highness.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

Mr. Bingham.——In my last, I thought it my duty to state the case of Mr. Bingham, the unfortunate and falsely accused Clergyman of Sussex; and I could not help contrasting the conduct of the London daily news-papers towards him with their conduct towards the *Bishop of Derry*, during last winter and much about the time that they were attacking Mr. Bingham.——But, I did not say all that I wished to say upon this part of the subject. There were, upon the occasion referred to, such instances exhibited of the terror under which the press moves in this country, when not on the side of power, that, perhaps, are without a parallel.——It will be remembered, that the Morning Chronicle was one of the papers threatened with prosecutions by the Bishop. On the *5th of November* (mark the day), the matter was brought before the Judges of the King's Bench, and then it was stated, that the Morning Chronicle was to be prosecuted.—On the *third* of November, the poor Chronicle appears to have smelt out its danger, and, accordingly, it betook itself to supplication, prayer, and atonement in the following terms, to which I must beg the reader's particular attention.——"The Bishop of "Derry.—This *amiable* and *highly respected* "Prelate, who has been the unmerited "subject of so much calumny, is the *Hon.* and Rev. William KNOX, fourth son of the *venerable* Viscount Northland, now 'in his 81st year, by the *Hon.* Miss 'Vesey, sister to the late Viscount De 'Vesci. The Bishop, soon after he was 'ordained, married Miss Spencer, sister 'of Mrs. Pomeroy, wife to the *Hon.* and 'Rev. J. Pomeroy, brother to Viscount 'Harberton, and daughter of the late 'James Spencer, Esq. of the county of 'Kildare.—Mrs. Knox was married at a 'very early age, and although possess'ing an *uncommon share of personal charms,* 'it was in the domestic circle of her own family she sought for happiness, fulfilling the *duties of a wife* to a most *affectionate husband,* and those of an *anxious* and *tender mother* to a numerous family, the eldest of whom is now a Lieutenant in "the Royal Navy. When his Lordship "was translated to the See of Derry, he "found much to correct and more to im"prove; his predecessor, the Earl of 'Bristol, having been for some years an 'absentee, his liberal intentions were 'not always carried into effect. To pro'mote the manufactures, encourage agri'culture, and improve the morals of the county and its inhabitants, have been 'the great objects of his life; and how 'far this Prelate has succeeded, the Ad'dress presented by the Clergy and Gentlemen of the Diocese, on a late occasion, prove. In this age of depravity, when it is necessary to make laws to 'enforce clerical residence, we cannot wonder that such a man, the only recommendation to whose patronage is merit, should become the envy of *slanderers and detractors.*"——One of which last was, let it be observed, this very Morning Chronicle itself! Poor Chronicle! What must have been its feelings before it could bring itself to this. "Have mercy upon us, miserable "slanderers and detractors!" Here is the whole family. Not only the *amiable* and *highly respected* Bishop, but his *venerable* and *noble* father (the great *merit* of whose *age* is not forgotten) and his *honourable* mother, and her *noble* brother. Next come the Bishop's wife and her sister and her sister's *honourable* husband and this honourable husband's *noble* brother, and then the Bishop's wife's father. Having dispatched the pedigree on both sides, next come the qualities. The Bishop's wife has an *uncommon share of personal charms;* she is a *dutiful wife,* a *tender mother,* and has a *numerous family,* though I much question

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whether poor Mrs. Bingham does not equal her in this respect at least. Then we are to know that the eldest son of the Bishop is a Lieutenant in the *Royal* Navy. The writer winds up with the public spirited efforts of the Bishop, and with a formal acknowledgment of his own guilt, and an act of self accusation and condemnation.——What must a man have felt before he brought his pen to trace this paragraph upon the paper! Reader, put yourself in his place, and say, what you would not rather have suffered than write such a paragraph as this.—Only think! The *whole family!* From grandpapa down to the boy on board the fleet! As if, however, even all this was not enough; as if this disgusting, this nauseous, this loathsome puff was not sufficient, the same paper, the next day after the above-mentioned occurrence in the King's Bench Court, published the following:——" The 'Roman Catholic inhabitants of the city 'and liberties of Londonderry having found 'it expedient to enlarge their chapel, the 'Lord Bishop of Derry, with that *munificence* and *liberality* which have *always characterized his Lordship*, has been pleased " to contribute the sum of 50*l*. to enable them to complete this necessary but expensive undertaking."——Whether the Right Reverend Father in God knew any thing, or heard any thing, of these acts of atonement, is more than I can say; but, I have not seen any account of any prosecution carried on against the Morning Chronicle on account of the " *amiable* and " *highly respected* prelate."—Now, I say, that, though the Right Reverend Father in God has an income fit for a Prince, and much greater than some princes, there was no reason for doing him justice, as to slanders published against him, which reason ought not to have operated in the case of Mr. Bingham.——This is what I find fault of; that *no reparation* whatever has been made to this gentleman. These miserable sinners were as bold as Hercules with respect to *him*. They were in no dread of him. They could not discover that he had been *slandered;* and, to this very hour, though he has been proved to have been by them most falsely accused, they say not a word tending to do away the effect of their former publications.——It was not enough to do all they could towards causing him to be hanged: they must now, by their silence, seem to deny that he *ought* to have been acquitted.——There is something very mysterious hangs about the *origin* of the prosecution against Mr. Bingham. It is as clear as daylight, that he was not guilty of either of the crimes laid to his charge; and, one is really at a loss to account for the origin of the prosecution. We have seen how it proceeded: but, to assign an *adequate cause* for it appears, at present, to be impossible.——A thought does, indeed, occur to one; but, then, it is so shocking; it is so horrible; it is so revolting to human nature, that one cannot entertain it. What! prosecute a man, soberly seek the life of a fellow-creature, pursue him to an ignominious death and throw his widow and a dozen children upon the world to starve; and this solely for the purpose of .... But, it is too base; it is too detestable to think of.——However, we shall see *the report of the Trial soon*; and, then we shall be better able to judge of the real *motives* of the prosecution; and, I would press upon the public to attend to the subject; for, it is one, in which *every man* of us is deeply interested.

Portuguese Subscription.——This Subscription goes on but slowly. The whole of the sums subscribed do not yet amount to quite 2¼*d*. each for the Portuguese, and this, you will perceive in paper-money, which, in the transit loses, they say, about 30 *per centum*. So that there will remain to each person but 2¼*d*. at the most.——There seems to want animation in the business. *A war-whoop* by the pensioned poet Fitzgerald would do good, I should think. It might be shewn very clearly, too, that, in the end, it would be a *gain* to many to give money to this collection; for, without the Portuguese, we really should not now be able to have *a war;* that is to say a war, requiring Contractors and Paymasters and Commissaries and Quartermasters and so forth; a war upon any thing of *a respectable scale*.——But, I must confess, that the Subscription does not fill as one might have expected. The sum of 2¼*d*. each is surely not sufficient to replace the mills and the barns and olive groves and the corn fields. Why, 2¼*d*. will not buy much more than a quid of tobacco each, which will not keep them from starving more than four hours. Come, come! Push on, then, with the subscription. The money already subscribed should be looked upon as nothing more than mere nest eggs to invite the country at large to lay. There ought to be nests opened in every town and vil-

lage; and thus all those who are for a war in Spain and Portugal, would have a fair opportunity of shewing their zeal in the cause. A collection *from door to door* would not be a bad thing; for, doubtless, they are many who love the war, and who would draw their purses in support of it, who do not know how to convey their mite to the grand fund.——How would it do to give the Portuguese *a share in our Funds;* and let them be Stockholders after the same manner as George Rose's Friendly Societies are Stockholders? They would then have something to *rely* on, in case they should lose their all in Portugal! Their Prince Regent borrowed some here some time ago, and there is part of our *Stock,* as it is called, which arises out of that loan. Suppose we were to make the Portuguese a *present* of this!——The owners of it would, I dare say, have no objection, and it would really be making the Portuguese comfortable. As I said before, they would then have something *to rely* upon.——However, I must confess, that this is a matter with which I have nothing to do. It belongs wholly to those, who have been for a war in the "*Peninsula,*" as they call it. Those who are for a war in behalf of the old governments of Spain and Portugal, do well, and, indeed, it is their duty, to assist the poor creatures who have suffered from that war; but, for my part, I do not think myself bound to give them one penny; and, in this state is every man who did not wish a war to be entered into for the old governments of Spain and Portugal. ——In looking over the list of subscribers I could not help asking myself *whence* came the money subscribed. I recommend to the reader to do the same. To stop when he has read the sum, and consider a little *whence* the subscribers actually draw that sum; or, in other words, *who* it is that pays it, *in the end.* When the list is closed, it will be very useful to print it, and put against each sum the *source* whence it is drawn. In short, it is my intention to do this; and, for doing it, the subscribers will, doubtless, be exceedingly obliged to me. The Courier in speaking of this subscription, compares the ministers to *the Saints* and *Martyrs,* and, indeed, to *Jesus Christ* himself——"The "subscription for the Portuguese advances "rapidly, and its success proves the cor- "diality with which the people go hand "in hand with the policy of the MINIS- "TERS. Of the *triumph* and *glory* of these "successes, surely they must be entitled "a *large share,* who have persisted, "through calumnies the most coarse, "through abuse the most personal, in the "policy that has produced them. We may "say to them, There is not a tongue, a nation, or religion, which will not bless your "presiding care and manly beneficence. 'Your names will never be separated *be- 'fore the throne of the divine goodness,* in 'whatever language or with whatever 'rites *pardon is asked for sin,* and reward 'for those *who imitate the Godhead* in his 'universal bounty to his creatures. These 'honours *you deserve,* and they will surely 'be paid."—— Reader, are you not ashamed at reflecting, that the writer of this is your countryman? Are you not ashamed at reflecting, that this is published in England? Do you think, that Napoleon would have put down the press if he could have found writers like this? It is very clear, that a press managed by men like this must be one of the most efficacious instruments in the hands of tyranny; and, if such men could have been found in his dominions, Napoleon would have had a very fine press, we may be well assured. But, all France did not produce a wretch so shamelessly base as to compare Napoleon's attributes to those of the "*Godhead.*" England and England alone produces men of this description. The Editor of the Morning Chronicle observed, the other day, that he was not amongst those who thought *good* to be *evil,* because that good happened to be *English.* Where he finds persons who are of this description I do not pretend to know; but, I should like them infinitely better than this man who compares the English ministry to the *Godhead,* or the other man who fell down upon his belly before Bishop Knox. I would rather say, evil be thou my good, and, good be thou my evil, than I would be the author of these paragraphs.

Insurrections in France and Holland. ——We have no further information upon this important subject; and, if I had time, I would here go into an inquiry as to these two points: 1. Why it is supposed likely that insurrections should take place in those countries, or, in other words, *what are the causes* which it is supposed impel the people to revolt; and 2. Why we suppose, that such insurrections would *tend to our benefit.*——This is a subject that ought to be well understood, because it is manifest, that the venal writers are unre-

mittingly at work to buoy up the ... with the hope of final escape through means of a revolt against the Empe... France. In short, the notion they ... cate is this, that the people cannot endure his tyranny much longer; and that, when they rise against him, he will be overthrown, and that then, then, oh then! all *our danger* will be at an end.——Now, I cannot forbear asking, *why* his *subjects* (for so they were called upon Mr. PELTIER's trial) should revolt? What is it that *he does to them* to make them so anxious to get free from his power? In short, what are their *causes of discontent*?——"Why" some full-blooded Anti-Jacobin will answer, "you Jacobin, you leveller, you "traitor, have they not a thousand and a "thousand causes of discontent, and is not "the Corsican the greatest tyrant and the "most infamous miscreant that ever "breathed?"—— Softly, softly! Hard names are not facts. Come; take breath, now; and, since the people have thousands and thousands of causes of discontent, do pray name only *a dozen* of them to me.——Well; I will wait 'till another time; but, *a dozen* good reasons for revolt will quite satisfy me; and, if you can produce me that dozen, I shall be ready to join you in hoping for a speedy insurrection, whether it does us any good or not.——In the mean while I must not pass unnoticed one ground of complaint; namely, that of *imprisoning* merchants *for holding correspondence with England*, respecting which our papers published the following account a few days ago.——"A "number of respectable merchants at "Hamburgh have been imprisoned for *no "other* reason than their *having had letters "addressed to them from England*. A com-"munication we have seen on this subject, "states as follows: "Many of your inti-"mate friends are now in prison, for which "they are indebted to the merchants of "London, who continued to correspond "with them against their wishes and ad-"vice. If you are anxious that I should "bear them company, you have only to "continue to write to me as you have re-"cently done." "—— *No other* reason? What other is wanted? It is very strange with what different eyes we view the same acts at different times, or in different places.——Is it not known to these writers, that Napoleon is at war with us? Is it not known to them, that we are his enemies? And, is it not known to them, that it is a crime in our country *to hold correspondence with the enemy*? As to letters being written *to these* merchants, that would not have been the case had they not wished it. Letters came *from* them, or letters would hardly have gone *to* them.——Besides, is it so very extraordinary a thing for men to be crammed into jails without having committed any offence; without any accuser upon oath; without any *distinct crime* even *alledged* against them? Is this any thing so very extraordinary? And is it so very wonderful to hear of men being put into prison for indefinite periods without being brought to trial, without ever, from first to last, being confronted with any accuser? Is this so wonderful a thing?——Is this a thing to urge a people *to revolt*? ——And, then, as to *merchants*? Why should they not be crammed into jails as well as others? What is there so very *sacred* about their persons? They have seen enough of *others* go to jail and to *Cayenne*, without expressing, or discovering the smallest degree of pity for them; nay, they backed on those who sent them thither; and why should they grumble, then, when *their turn* is apparently come, or fast coming? What! do they mean never to have *their* share of the miseries of the world, after having so long enjoyed the good things of it?——In the midst of these charges of *tyranny* heaped upon Napoleon, there now-and-then slips out of the goose pens of these venal men, something to throw discredit upon all that they have been saying upon this head for months before.——Of this kind is a paragraph in the COURIER of last week, relative to Sweden. ——"Our readers were probably sur-"prised at the Order issued by the Swe-"dish Government to capture all Danish "vessels. They had been taught to con-"sider Sweden, under a French General, "as the engine of France, and they knew "the King of Denmark to be the mere "Prefect of Buonaparté. But Buona-"parté, *however Bernadotte may be devoted "to him, is not able to apply to Sweden those "coercive measures he can adopt on the instant "against other Powers*. He cannot pass "*an army over to Sweden* to enforce his "orders—and Bernadotte, knowing this, "is obliged to defer more to the national "will and feeling. We have seen that he "has not yet presumed to carry all the "commercial rigours of his master into "practice; he has not been able to re-"strict commerce altogether, and there "have of late been occasional remarks in "the French Papers upon the facilities

"which Sweden, spite of the friendship "and protection of the great Napoleon "has afforded to commercial intercourse "with this country."——So, then, it now comes out that Napoleon is *unable* to bring Sweden into his system *against her will*. He cannot "*pass an army over to Sweden*," we are told here. Sweden is *free* then? Well, then, you stupid hireling, Sweden *voluntarily chose Bernadotte*, after all that you and the rest of your set asserted about her being *compelled* to receive him, and about her neck being *bent* to the yoke. ——No, no; he cannot pass an army over to Sweden, and *I told you so* at the time, and cited that fact as a proof of the *willingness of the Swedes to receive Bernadotte*; and now you say the same thing, exactly the same thing, having forgotten what you said before.

Bullion Debate.——Now we are drawing towards the close of this grand discussion; this discussion that has lasted from the day I was sent to Jail to the present day; and, which, thank God, will lead to most important consequences. I said, the moment I fixed my eyes upon the Bullion Report, that that was the harbinger of good days for England. The full-blooded Anti-Jacobins, that is to say, the greatest enemies the country has, and the most corrupt men *in the whole world*, are alarmed, and well they may be; but no one else is. For every one else the discussion leads to good.——The long expected debate began last night (Monday 6th May), upon a motion of Mr. Horner, who, though he appears to have spoken about 3 hours, made use of no one argument that was not used by me *nearly seven years ago*, in support of a proposition the same as that which he now brought forward, and for maintaining which I was abused like a pickpocket, and Paine had before, for asserting the same, mixed with a little political fun, been burnt in effigy all over this "*thinking* country."——Not *one* argument did Mr. Horner add to those long and long ago made use of by me; and this I will hereafter shew.——But, for the present I shall conclude, the Debate not being as yet all before me.—— The *whole* of this Debate I shall insert in the Register. I have set my heart upon seeing this paper-money affair out; and, I am resolved that my readers, in all parts of the world, shall miss nothing belonging to it. The time is not far distant, when events will have decided this question *for ever*; and, against that time, I wish my readers to be fully prepared to give their judgment upon all of us, who have taken a prominent part in any of these discussions.

Wm. COBBETT.

State Prison, Newgate, Tuesday,
May 7, 1811.

Propositions respecting Money, Bullion and Exchanges.—3 *May* 1811.

I. THAT the right of establishing and regulating the legal Money of this Kingdom hath at all times been a Royal Prerogative, vested in the Sovereigns thereof, who have from time to time exercised the same as they have seen fit, in changing such legal Money, or altering and varying the value, and enforcing or restraining the circulation thereof, by Proclamation, or in concurrence with the Estates of the Realm by Act of Parliament: and that such legal money cannot lawfully be defaced, melted down or exported.

II.—That the Promissory Notes of the Governor and Company of the Bank of England are engagements to pay certain sums of Money in the legal Coin of this Kingdom; and that for more than a century past, the said Governor and Company were at all times ready to discharge such Promissory Notes in legal Coin of the Realm, until restrained from so doing on the 25th of February 1797, by his Majesty's Order in Council, confirmed by Act of Parliament.

III.—That the Promissory Notes of the said Company have hitherto been, and are at this time, held in public estimation to be equivalent to the legal Coin of the Realm, and generally accepted as such in all pecuniary transactions to which such Coin is legally applicable.

IV.—That at various periods, as well before as since the said Restriction, the Exchanges between Great Britain and several other Countries have been unfavourable to Great Britain: and that during such periods, the prices of Gold and Silver Bullion, especially of such Gold Bullion as could be legally exported, have frequently risen above the Mint price; and the coinage of Money at the Mint has been either wholly suspended or greatly diminished in amount: and that such circumstances have usually occurred, when expensive Naval and Military operations have been carried on Abroad, and in times of public danger or

alarm, or when large importations of Grain from foreign parts have taken place."

V.—That such unfavourable Exchanges, and rise in the price of Bullion, occurred to a greater or less degree during the wars carried on by King William the 3rd and Queen Anne; and also during part of the Seven Years war, and of the American war; and during the War and Scarcity of Grain in 1795 and 1796, when the difficulty of procuring Cash or Bullion increased to such a degree, that on the 25th of February 1797, the Bank of England was restrained from making payments in Cash by an Order of Council, confirmed and continued to the present time by divers Acts of Parliament; and the Exchanges became still more unfavourable, and the price of Bullion higher, during the scarcity which prevailed for two years previous to the Peace of Amiens.

VI.—That the unfavourable state of the Exchanges, and the high price of Bullion, do not, in any of the instances above referred to, appear to have been produced by the restriction upon cash payments at the Bank of England, or by any excess in the issue of Bank Notes; inasmuch as all the said instances, except the last, occurred previously to any restriction on such Cash payments; and because so far as appears by such information as has been procured, the price of Bullion has frequently been highest, and the Exchanges most unfavourable, at periods, when the issues of Bank Notes have been considerably diminished, and they have been afterwards restored to their ordinary rates, although those issues have been increased.

VII.—That during the period of nearly 78 years, ending with the 1st of January 1796, and previous to the aforesaid Restriction, of which period Accounts are before the House, the price of Standard Gold in bars has been at or under the Mint price 28 years and 5 months; and above the said Mint price 48 years and 11 months; and that the price of Foreign Gold Coin has been at or under 3*l.* 18*s.* per oz. 36 years and 7 months, and above the said price 39 years and 3 months; and that during the remaining intervals no prices are stated.—And that during the same period of 78 years, the price of Standard Silver appears to have been at or under the Mint price, 3 years and 2 months only.

VIII.—That during the latter part and for some time after the close, of the American war, during the years 1781, 1782 and 1783, the Exchange with Hamburgh fell from 34. 1 to 31. 5, being about 8 per cent.; and the price of foreign Gold rose from 3*l.* 17*s.* 9*d.* to 4*l.* 2*s.* 3*d.* per oz. and the price of Dollars from 5*s.* 4*d.* ½, per oz. to 5*s.* 11*d.* ½ and that the Bank Notes in circulation were reduced between March 1782 and December 1782, from 9,160,000*l.* to 5,995,000*l.*, being a diminution of above one third, and continued (with occasional variations) at such reduced rate until December 1784: and that the Exchange with Hamburgh rose to 34.6, and the price of Gold fell to 3*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* and Dollars to 5*s.* 1*d.* ½ per oz. before the 25th February 1787, the amount of Bank Notes being then increased to 8,688,000*l.*

IX.—That the Amount of Bank Notes in February 1787 was 8,688,000*l.*, and in February 1791, 11,699,000*l.*; and that during the same period, the sum of 10,704,000*l.* was coined in Gold; and that the Exchange with Hamburgh rose about 3 per cent.

X.—That the average amount of Bank Notes in the year 1795 was about 11,497,000*l.* and on the 25th of February 1797, was reduced from 13,539,000*l.* to 8,640,000, during which time the Exchange with Hamburgh fell from 36 to 35, being about 3 per cent., and the said amount was increased to 11,855,000*l.*, exclusive of 1,542,000*l.* in Notes of 1*l.* and 2*l.* each on the 1st of February 1798, during which time the Exchange rose to 38.2, being about 6 per cent.

XI.—That the average price of Wheat per quarter in England, in the year 1798 was 50*s.* 3*d.*; in 1799, 67*s.* 5*d.*; in 1800, 113*s* 7*d.*; in 1801, 118*s.* 3*d.*; and in 1802, 67*s.* 5*d.*

The amount of Bank Notes, of 5*l.* and upwards.

in 1798, about	£.10,920,400	
under £.5 ...	1,786,000	
		12,706,400
in 1799, about	12,048,790	
under £.5 ...	1,626,110	
		13,674,900
in 1800, about	13,421,920	
under £.5 ...	1,831,820	
		15,253,740
in 1801, about	13,454,370	
under £.5 ...	2,715,180	
		16,169,550
in 1802, about	13,917,980	
under £.5 ...	3,136,470	
		17,054,450

That the exchange with Hamburgh

was, in January 1798, 38.2; January 1799, 37.7; January 1800, 32.; January 1801, 29.8; being in the whole a fall of above 22 per cent.—In January 1802, 32.2; and December 1802, 34.; being in the whole a rise of about 13 per cent.

XII.—That during all the periods above referred to, previous to the commencement of the war with France in 1793, the principal States of Europe preserved their independence, and the trade and correspondence thereof were carried on conformably to the accustomed law of nations; and that although from the time of the invasion of Holland by the French in 1795, the trade of Great Britain with the Continent was in part circumscribed and interrupted, it was carried on freely with several of the most considerable ports, and commercial correspondence was maintained at all times previous to the summer of 1807.

XIII.—That since the month of November 1806, and especially since the summer of 1807, a system of Exclusion has been established against the British trade on the Continent of Europe, under the influence and terror of the French power,. and enforced with a degree of violence and rigor never before attempted; whereby all trade and correspondence between Britain and the Continent of Europe has (with some occasional exceptions, chiefly in Sweden and in certain parts of Spain, and Portugal) been hazardous, precarious and expensive, the trade being loaded with excessive freights to foreign shipping, and other unusual charges: and that the trade of Britain with the United States of America has also been uncertain and interrupted; and that in addition to these circumstances, which have greatly affected the course of payments between this country and other nations, the Naval and Military expenditure of the United Kingdom in foreign parts, has, for three years past, been very great; and the price of Grain, owing to a deficiency in the crops, higher than at any time, whereof the accounts appear before Parliament, except during the scarcity of 1800 and 1801; and that large quantities thereof have been imported.

XIV.—That the amount of Currency necessary for carrying on the transactions of the Country, must bear a proportion to the extent of its Trade and its public Revenue and Expenditure; and that the annual amount of the Exports and Imports of Great Britain, on an average of three years, ending 5th of January 1797, was 48,732,651*l.* official value; the average amount of Revenue paid into the Exchequer, including Monies raised by Lottery, 18,759,165*l.*; and of Loans, 18,409,842*l.*, making together 37,169,007*l.*; and the average amount of the Total Expenditure of Great Britain, 42,855,111*l.*; and that the average amount of Bank Notes in circulation (all of which were for 5*l.* or upwards) was about 11,262,000*l.*; and that 57,274,617*l.*, had been coined in Gold during his Majesty's reign, of which a large sum was then in circulation.

That the annual amount of the Exports their and Imports of Great Britain, on an average of three years, ending 5th Jan. 1811, supposing the Imports from the East Indies and China to have been equal to their amount in the preceding year, was 77,971,318*l.*; the average amount of Revenue paid into the Exchequer, 62,763,746*l.*; and of Loans, 12,673,548*l.*; making together 75,437,294*l.*; and the average amount of the Total Expenditure of Great Britain, 82,205,066*l.*; and that the average amount of Bank Notes, above 5*l.* was about 14,265,850*l.* and of Notes under 5*l.* about 5,283,330*l.*; and that the amount of Gold Coin in circulation was greatly diminished.

XV.—That, the situation of this kingdom, in respect of its political and commercial relations with foreign Countries, as above stated, is sufficient, without any change in the internal value of its Currency, to account for the unfavourable state of the foreign Exchanges, and for the high price of Bullion.

XVI.—That it is highly important that the Restriction on the payments in Cash of the Bank of England, should be removed, whenever the political and commercial relations of the Country shall render it compatible with the public interest.

XVII.—That under the circumstances affecting the political and commercial relations of this Kingdom with foreign Countries, it would be highly inexpedient and dangerous, now to fix a definite period for the removal of the Restriction of Cash payments at the Bank of England, prior to the term already fixed by the Act 44 Geo. III. c. 1, of six months after the conclusion of a definitive treaty of peace.

3d May 1811.—AMENDMENTS *on the* PROPOSITIONS *respecting* MONEY, BULLION, *and* EXCHANGES, (*dated, 26 April* 1811.)

AMENDMENT to No. IV.

That, prior to the Restriction of Cash Payments, the Exchanges were never more unfavourable to Great Britain, for any length of time, than from 5 to 7 per cent. below par, the depression appearing to have never exceeded the whole expence of transmitting Specie abroad; except during a debasement of the Coins of the Realm.

That, prior to the said Restriction, the market price of Standard Gold in bars never rose above the Mint price more than 1½ per cent. and that only for a very short interval; except in 1720, the year of the famous South Sea Scheme, when it rose to 4*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.* per oz.: and during the periods when the coins of the Realm have been debased.

That, in periods subsequent to the said Restriction, and particularly of late years, the Exchanges have been unfavourable to Great Britain much below the limit marked by the whole cost of transmitting Specie abroad, and have continued so for a considerable time together, being at present and having been for a considerable time more than 25 per cent. below par; and in the same manner the market price of Standard Gold in bars has been and still is more than 25 per cent. above the Mint price.

AMENDMENT to No. V.

That, during the wars carried on by King William the IIId. the Exchanges did fall below the limit fixed by the expence of transmitting Specie, and the price of Gold Bullion did rise very considerably; viz. during the debased state of the Silver Coin of the Realm; but, immediately after the reformation of the Coin, the market price of Gold fell to the Mint price, and the Exchanges rose nearly to par, although the circumstances of the War and the foreign expenditure continued unaltered.

That, between the reformation of the coin in the reign of King William and the 4th year of the Reign of King George the First, the Guinea passed by law for 22*s.*; during which period therefore the Mint price of Gold was 4*l.* 1*s.* 7*d.*

That, during the Seven Years War, and until the year 1774, the Gold Coin of the Realm was in a state of debasement.

That the price of Standard Gold in bars never exceeded the Mint price, in any one year of the American War.

That, the Exchange with Hamburgh, which had been rather unfavourable to this country, during part of the year 1795, ceased to be so in March 1796, became more favourable in the month of October, and continued favourable till the 26th of February 1797, when the Restriction took place, and for some time afterwards.

That, there was no rise in the price of Standard Gold in bars immediately prior to the 26th of February 1797, nor for a considerable number of years before.

That, the state of the Exchanges, and of the price of Bullion, for two years previous to the peace of Amiens, was subsequent to the said Restriction.

AMENDMENT to No. VI.

That, with regard to the period of 75 years ending with the 1st of January 1796, from the year 1721 to 1758, the market price of Gold never at any one time exceeded the Mint price by more than 1*s.* 2½d per oz. and seldom by more than half that sum; from 1758 to the recoinage of the Gold in 1773, the market price of Standard Gold in bars was always above the Mint price, and sometimes exceeded it by as much as 3*s.* 6*d.* per oz. being the period during which the Coins were in a debased state; from the recoinage in 1773 to the 25th February 1797, the date of the Restriction, the market price of Standard Gold in bars never exceeded the Mint price, except for part of the years 1783 and 1784, when it rose 1½d. above the Mint price; since the year 1804, the price of Standard Gold in bars has been always very considerably above the Mint price, and from the end of the year 1808 to the present time, has been progressively rising (with occasional fluctuations) till it has been as high as the unprecedented price of 4*l.* 18*s.* per oz. as appears from Wetenhall's Tables.

AMENDMENT to No. VII.

That, taking the issues of Bank Notes in circulation, not at their amount on a particular day, but on a fair average antecedent to any alteration of the Exchanges and price of Bullion, it does not appear, from the information which has been procured, that the price of Gold has been highest and the Exchanges most unfavourable when the issues of Bank Notes

had been considerably diminished, and have been restored to their ordinary rates subsequently to these issues being increased.

That since the said Restriction, the price of Bullion has been highest, and the Exchanges have been most unfavourable, at times subsequent to the periods in which the issues of Bank Notes have most increased.

AMENDMENT to No. VIII.

That taking the average of Bank Notes in circulation in the years 1782 and 1783, from their amount in the beginning of the months of January, March, June, October, and December in each year, and that of 1784 from their amount in the beginning of the months of March, June, October and December, (which are the returns before the House,) it appears as follows;

1782 .... £. 7,599,570
1783 6,583,560
1784 6,209,855

That the Exchanges with Hamburgh, and the price of Foreign Gold, during the same periods, were as follows;

1782.

	Exch.	for G.
Jan.	31. 9.	£.3. 18. 6.
Mar.	32.10.	3. 19. —
June.	32. 7.	3. 19. 6.
Oct.	32. 3.	4. 2. —
Dec.	31.10.	4. — 1.

1783.

	Exch.	for G.
Jan.	32. 7.	£.4. 1. —
Mar.	32. 5.	3. 19. —
June.	31. 5.	4. 2. 3.
Oct.	32. 7.	3. 19. 6.
Dec.	32. 8.	3. 19. 6.

1784.

	Exch.	for G.
	—	—
Mar.	33. 9.	£.3. 18. —
June.	34. 4.	3. 17. 10.½
Oct.	34. 7.	3. 17. 10.½
Dec.	34.10.	3. 17. 10.½

That the Exchange with Hamburgh between the end of December 1784, and the 25th of February 1787, fell from 35. 6 to 34. 6.

AMENDMENT to No. IX.

That of the sum of 10,704,000*l.* stated to have been coined in Gold from February 1787 to February 1791, the sum of 8,084,981*l.* was a recoinage from the light Guineas of the Realm.

AMENDMENT to No. X.

That the average amount of Bank Notes in circulation during the months of January and February 1795, was 12,452,451*l.* and the average amount from the 1st January to 25th February 1797, was 9,566,430*l.*; making a difference of 2,886,021*l.*

That this reduction in the amount of Bank Notes was principally effected between the middle of the month of May 1796, and the 25th of February 1797.

That the Exchange with Hamburgh fell from 36 to 32. 4 (its lowest depression during the period in question) between the 3rd of February and the 4th of August 1795, during which time the average amount of Bank Notes in circulation was 11,464,143*l.*, having been occasionally during the time as high as 14,071,850*l.*, and even 14,876,580*l.*

That between the 4th of August 1795, and the first of January 1796, the Exchange with Hamburgh rose from 32. 4 to 32. 7, during which period the average amount of Bank Notes in circulation was 11,415,653*l.*; and from the 1st of January to the 3rd of June 1796, the Exchange with Hamburgh rose from 32. 7 to 34. during which period the average amount of Notes was 10,874,316*l.*

That from the 3rd of June 1796 to the 25th of February 1797, during which period the amount of Bank Notes was gradually reduced to the sum of 8,640,250*l.*, the Exchange with Hamburgh rose to 35.; and in the few months following the last reduction rose gradually to 38.

AMENDMENT to No. XIV.

That the average amount of Bank Notes in circulation, of 5*l.* and upwards, for three years ending the 5th of January 1797, was 10,782,780*l.*; and for the years 1808, 1809, and 1810, was 14,265,850*l.*

That the average amount of Notes for 5*l.* and upwards, in the year 1796, was 10,240,125*l.*; and in 1810 was 15,421,310*l.*

BULLION DEBATE.

House of Commons, Monday, 6th May 1811.—Mr. HORNER rose, and moved, That the House do resolve into a Committee of the whole House, and that the Report of the Bullion Committee, with the different papers relating to the foreign exchanges, and the exchanges with Ireland, be referred to the said Committee.

Mr. HORNER then proceeded to observe, that, in opening the subject before the Committee, it was his intention to separate the consideration of the last resolution of those he should submit, from the consideration of those which preceded it. The latter consisted of a statement of the law, of the alledged evil, and of its cause, the former suggested what he conceived was the most proper remedy. Many Gentlemen, who might coincide in the opinions expressed in the first resolution, might not perhaps be disposed to concur with him in the propriety of his last proposition. It would therefore, he conceived, be advisable for him to keep the two questions as distinct as possible. And here he begged leave to observe, that although he designed to enter pretty fully into the view which he took of the general question, it would not be necessary for him to enter into all its details, or into many of those minute and various statements which were contained in the papers already on the table. Some of those which were essential to a clear elucidation of the subject, would probably be examined by the Honourable Members, who would follow him, and were much more competent to draw from them whatever was requisite for a clear exposition of the question. At the same time, the outline which he proposed to describe must comprehend all the most prominent and material points at issue; and he assured the committee, that it should be his endeavour to compress them into as narrow a compass as they would admit.—(*Hear, hear!*)

Among all the various opinions entertained on the present and on former similar occasions, there had been some which proceeded to the most opposite extremes. Persons were not wanting hardy enough to assert, that a circulating medium, consisting entirely of paper, was perfectly adequate to the fulfilment of all the purposes of a metallic currency. According to their creed, the greatest of all modern discoveries in the improvements of commerce, was the exclusive substitution of a paper currency, founded, not upon the basis of the precious metals, but on the basis of confidence alone. On the other hand, there had been persons blind to all the experience of our commercial and economical history, blind too to all those important advantages practically derivable from the circulation of paper convertable into gold, who went so far as to assert, that the only remedy was to resort to the exclusive use of the precious metals, and to the anterior state of things. He wished, however, to revert only to the doctrines and opinions of the ablest and most practical statesmen of this country previous to the period of the Bank Restriction. The principle of those doctrines was, that the circulation of paper was in itself beneficial, and sufficiently guarded against excess by its constant liability of conversion into gold. There was another feeling also abroad in which he could not join, a feeling of jealousy of the Bank as an institution, and a disposition to condemn it as an unfair monopoly. He could not help thinking that all those who regarded the liberties of the country with a due attention, and who justly appreciated their value and their importance, could not contemplate the origin of the Bank without connecting it with an æra memorable as the epoch when those liberties were secured, and placed on a solid foundation. (*Hear! hear!*) But beside this, all who had attended to the subsequent events of our political history must be convinced that at different periods, and on great critical emergencies, the Government of the country has derived from the Bank the most important assistance. If then the most extensive and essential resources had been drawn from that quarter for the greatest national objects, it was natural that with the present prospect of new difficulties to be encountered, and additional exertions to be made, we should look in future for a continuance of that aid, and of these resources, of which we had before availed ourselves. Having thus disclaimed all these contrary opinions, he must now declare, that his great and ultimate object was to restore, with as much care and circumspection as might be fairly claimed by partial and particular interests, but at the same time with as much promptitude as still more urgent considerations might dictate, the circulating medium to its original state—a state attested by a long experience to be not less favourable to private than propitious to public prosperity —a state, every departure from which must be injurious, in proportion to its extent. He could not here forbear to notice a prejudice which had been excited against him, and those who coincided with him in opinion on this subject; a prejudice that represented them as mere theorists, and as setting up their theory against the conclusions of practice and

experience. If he was indeed a theorist, his theory was, however, that of those who founded the Bank of England (*Hear, hear!*) if he considered the convertibility of paper into specie as the fundamental principle of that institution, his opinion was in perfect unison with that of the most enlightened and practical statesmen who had conducted the financial relations of the country (*Hear, hear!*) and who concurred with the most eminent practical merchants of these times. They were consulted because it is the part of a statesman to acquire information from all descriptions of men, not to take it upon credit from any particular class. Such a question as that before the Committee was one peculiarly fit for Parliament to decide, because it was the province of Parliament to compare and distinguish different kinds of practical information, and to determine by their collective wisdom, the due application of general principles. If it was a charge against him to have entered upon the investigation with some preconceived opinions respecting it, it was a charge to which he certainly must plead guilty. But without considering if it was possible to commence any such inquiry free from any such preconceived opinions, he would venture to say, not only for himself but for the rest of the Committee, that no investigation ever was begun with a firmer determination to make the most ample, accurate, and impartial scrutiny, and to suspend judgment till that scrutiny was accomplished. (*Hear, hear!*) The names of the Members of the Committee were a sufficient security perhaps for this, and rendered it unnecessary for him to repel any accusations on that score. It would have been convenient for him to have been informed, before he began the discussion, which of his principles were denied, and which admitted by his right hon. friend (Mr. Vansittart); but upon this point he was left entirely in the dark. If he looked at the last of his right hon. friend's Resolutions, he appeared to differ with himself only as to the remedy proposed; but when he turned his attention to those preceding it, he saw propositions directly controverting all the antient and received doctrines of economical science. The primary object of the Committee had been to ascertain the causes of the high price of gold. The House of Commons, struck with the appearance of a gradual rise in the price of bullion, had appointed the Committee to examine and report its cause. If this was the object of the House at that period, how much more imperious had that duty become by the subsequent and progressive rise which had taken place? He meant to state broadly here, that although there had been collateral causes, the operation of which he was most ready to admit, yet that the high price originated in and was perpetuated by an excess of paper circulation. The Mint price was 3*l.* 17*s.* 10½*d.* the market price had first risen to 4*l.* 10*s.* and since the Report of the Committee had reached as high a point as 4*l.* 14*s.* being somewhat more than 20 per cent. of excess above the mint price. Now it was important to observe, that this excess was a departure to that amount from the standard value of our national currency, that standard consisting, according to law, of gold and silver of a certain fineness, weight and denomination. Bank notes were nothing more than stipulations to pay so much of this lawful money to the holder. The excess of the market price of gold proved, therefore, that bank notes purported to represent what they did not, viz. a certain sum of standard value. Measured by the market price, a pound note was worth 15 shillings and a fraction. To this degree the paper must be considered as depreciated. The maintenance of the legal standard had always formed a principal feature in the legislative policy of this kingdom. Parliament had hitherto, at all times, displayed the utmost vigilance upon the appearance of any derangement or undue alteration of the value of the circulating medium. Some of our ablest princes had on particular occasions attempted to debase the legal coin, or to raise its denomination, but Parliament had never failed to raise its voice and check the progress of the evil. The last operation of this kind took place in the reign of queen Elizabeth, and since that period the standard has remained unaltered, both in fineness and in weight.

(*To be continued.*)

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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"It is in the *last twenty years* of the Funding System, that all the *great shocks* begin to operate."
—PAINE.

PAPER AGAINST GOLD:

BEING AN EXAMINATION

OF THE

Report of the Bullion Committee:

IN A SERIES OF LETTERS

TO THE

TRADESMEN AND FARMERS

IN AND NEAR SALISBURY.

LETTER XXIII.

Events since the Date of the foregoing Letter—Bank Notice about the Dollar—Various Symptoms of the Effect of that Measure—Proceedings in Parliament relative to the Bullion Report.

GENTLEMEN,

IN reviving my correspondence with you, it will be necessary for me to revert for a moment to the point, at which I broke off, which was in the preceding volume of my work, at page 1291, where I closed Letter XXII, in which, as you will remember, it was shown, for the satisfaction of two correspondents in the country, that any man, having Country Bank Notes in his possession, had (and he still has, of course) the power of compelling the drawer of such notes *to pay him in gold or silver*, the lawful coin of the realm.

But, that Letter was a digression from the main track of our subject, which, at the close of Letter XXI, page 1221, was leading us into the great question as to the *depreciation*, that is to say, *fall*, of the Bank of England Notes; a question, which has caused more discussion than any other that has been agitated for many years past, and which, I think, we may now look upon as completely decided, seeing that, while the dispute was going on, the Bank Company themselves have done an act which can, in the mind of no man out of a mad-house, leave the smallest doubt upon the subject.

Nevertheless, as I wish that this series of letters should contain *the whole* of what I have thought, and still think, relating to this interesting matter; I shall treat of the question here spoken of, after I have recorded the *events*, which have taken place *since I last addressed you*; and which events are important to a degree, that few persons, comparatively speaking, appear to imagine.

When, on the 24th of December, I wrote my last Letter to you, I did expect, that the winter would not pass over our heads without some striking change as to the circulating currency of the country. It appeared to me, as I had, upon former occasions, told my readers, quite impossible, that things could go on much longer without events that would strike the impudent partizans of the paper system dumb. The guinea had, for sometime, been a marketable commodity; and, under such circumstances, the paper could not continue much longer without being openly at a discount in all transactions. The coin of every denomination grew daily more and more scarce; till, at last, change for a pound note was with difficulty obtained; and, as these difficulties increased, people, of course, felt an increased inclination to hoard the coin.

As a *remedy* for this evil, the Bank Company issued a *Notice*, raising the Dollar (which was in circulation at the rate of 5*s*.) to 5*s*. 6*d*. and it was afterwards found, that this Notice had been issued with the advice and approbation of the PRIVY COUNCIL, or, at least, of a Committee of the Privy Council, appointed to watch over the affairs of Coin (1). This Notice, which was first published on the 8th of March, not only failed to produce the intended effect; but, it produced an effect *precisely the opposite* of that, which was intended by the Privy Councillors

(1) The *Notice*, and the *Minute* of these Privy Counsellors will be found at page 80 of this present Volume.

and the Bank Directors. The few Dollars that were in circulation immediate disappeared, and the distress for *change* became so great, that people were obliged to take 10 shillings worth or 15 shillings worth of *halfpence* in changing a pound note, which halfpence were, for the most part, mere *raps*, not worth a tenth part of their nominal value.

Many of the shop-keepers in London, in order to procure the means of carrying on their business, notified, by bills put in their windows, that they would receive the Dollar (the real value of which is *less* than 4*s.* 6*d.*) at 5*s.* 9*d.* and some of them notified, that they would receive it at 6*s.* The same continues to be done now; and, that man must be blind indeed, who does not perceive, that *two prices* have to a certain extent, already taken place.

The inconvenience arising from the want of money *under a pound note* was felt very severely by the Bankers, whose customers drawing upon them for any sums that they might happen to want, frequently, of course, drew for *parts of a pound*. These the Bankers were unable to supply; and, on the 9th of April, a circular paragraph appeared in the London news-papers, exhorting people to draw for whole pounds. On the same day it was stated, that in the shops, markets, and public offices, people gave *written acknowledgments* for the parts of a pound, and left them thus unpaid. (2)——On the 11th of April MR. MANNING, the Deputy Governor of the Bank, and who is also a Member of Parliament, informed the House, that the Bank were about to issue a large quantity of Dollars; and he observed, that those persons who were hoarding them, in the expectation that they would rise in price, would be disappointed. (3)——Some days before this (on the 4th of April) the Bank thought it necessary to publish an advertisement, that the report of great quantities of their notes having been forged, and that the plates from which the said notes had been taken, had been stolen, was wholly false; and, it seems, that this report was spread very widely through the country; the object being to excite suspicion of the Bank of England Notes, and thereby to insure a preference for the Country Bank Notes. (4)——On the 19th of April, it was stated in the public prints, that a person had a promissory note dishonoured because he could not produce to the person, who had to receive the payment, the change of 18*s.* 3*d* (5)——On the 23d of April a prisoner, confined for debt in the Marshalsea Prison, obtained his release, because his creditor, in paying him his maintenance money, gave him a piece of foreign coin instead of a sixpence. (6)——On the same day, it was stated in the public prints, that, at some of the public offices, change was not only refused, but that certain of the *Clerks* in those offices, were dealers in the article, and *supplied the Bankers with silver at 3 per cent.* (7)——On the same day, 23d of April, JAMES KING, a Guard to a coach, was taken before the Lord Mayor, upon a charge of having *bought guineas,* and was *held to bail.* (8)——On the 26th of April, there was a paragraph, published in all the London daily prints, stating, that the *Chinese* had just discovered that gold and silver were too abundant with them, and, it was added, that they were going *to send great quantities of it hither,* some of which might be speedily expected. (9)——In the public prints of the 27th, 29th and 30th of April, it was stated, that *ten thousand pounds* in gold had been seized on board of a ship, about to carry it abroad. Many statements of this sort had appeared before, but this one was worthy of particular attention. (10)——Also that a riot, attended with acts of violence and killing, had taken place at Sampford, in consequence of the scarcity of change. (11)——A circular paragraph appeared at this time reprobating the practice of hoarding, and hinting that it would be proper to *punish* it as a *crime.* (12)——At the same time another circular paragraph appeared advising people *not to hoard the change,* for that a new silver coinage was just coming out that would sink the value of the present coin (13)——At the same time *Mock bank notes* were circulated from the *King's Bench and Fleet Prisons,* by the means of which some unwary persons were

(2) See page 876. (3) See page 89?
(4) See page 965.

(5) See page 1009.
(6) See page 1010.
(7) See page 1010.
(8) See page 1035.
(9) See page 1036.
(10) See page 1062.
(11) See page 1062.
(12) See page 1063.
(13) See page 1063.

cheated. (14)——An account of gold lawfully exported during one week was published at this time, from which it was manifest, that the gold and silver were going to France and her dominions as fast as possible. (15)——It was now announced that the Bank had issued more Dollars, and that £.300 worth had been sent to each of the Banking Houses in London (16).

Such, Gentlemen, were the symptoms of the effect of raising the nominal value of the Dollar; and on the 8th of May, it was stated in the public prints, that another seizure of guineas had been made on board a ship sent into Dover. The words of the statement were these :-----"*Four* "*thousand and fifty more guineas* have been "found on board the ship sent into Dover "last week. It is supposed she will be "*pulled to pieces*, as her very *iron ballast* "*is hollowed to receive gold*. She is called "the New Union of London." They may pull her to pieces and burn her; they may do what they like with her; but, Gentlemen as long as this paper-money exists in England, the gold and silver will continue to go out of it in some way or other. The government may be ingenious, and we know it is able to employ great numbers of artful men; but, all their art put together; and all the powers of the government, not excepting the power of life and death, will never make gold and silver circulate at par with a depreciated paper.

I have thus filled up the history of the time since I last addressed you. That time is hardly *five months*, and yet, what events are here! What a *change* is here, in so short a space of time! And, can you be made to believe, that the thing will *stop where it is*? Is it possible that you can be persuaded to believe, that the Bank Notes will now, or will ever, *revive*? The grand effort now, with all those who wish to deceive the people, and to profit from their credulity, is to persuade them, that it is not the Bank Note that has *fallen*; but, the gold and silver that have *risen*. This seems to be the last trick in the budget; but, what I have to say upon this head I must reserve till I come to my intended Letter upon the subject of depreciation.

(14) See page 1064.
(15) See page 1063.
(16) See page 1064.

In the mean while we must see what has been passing *in Parliament*, relating to this matter; so that, before we proceed upon the remainder of our inquiries, we may have the whole history of the paper-money before us, down to the very day when we shall come to our conclusion. In the foregoing Letters, there will be found, I am convinced, the most complete history of our Paper Money that has ever yet appeared in print. We have there traced it from its very outset to the day when the people of Salisbury became, all in a moment, destitute of the means of getting a dinner. In this Letter its history has been brought down to *last Saturday*; and, all that we have now to do is to give, in as few words as possible, the history of the BULLION DEBATE, which, perhaps, would be unnecessary for *our present* purposes; but, this is a subject every fact belonging to which ought to be so recorded as to be capable of being hereafter referred to; and ought, if possible, to be made known in every part of the world.

The Report of the Bullion Committee, which was printed last year, was laid before the House of Commons but a short time previous to its rising. It was ordered to be printed on the 8th of June, and I must say, that it gives me great pleasure to reflect, that it issued from the press *on the very day that I was sent to jail*! I shall always remember this with satisfaction. It will be a source of delight to me as long as I have breath in my body; aye, and it will be borne in mind, too, long after the Bank Notes and all, yea *all*, that thereon *depend*, shall have come to their true level; their proper state.

The time being so short, the House could not take the Report into consideration, during the last session; therefore, this part of the business was to be performed during this session. The Chairman of the Committee, Mr. FRANCIS HORNER, was to propose some measure to be adopted in consequence of the Report; but, he being a *lawyer* and a *placeman* at the same time; having to go the Western circuit and to manage the Nabob of Arcot's Debts, he, of course, could hardly find time for this Bullion affair After many appointments and disappointments, however, he, at last, brought the matter forward on Monday last, the 6th instant, when a Debate ensued, which lasted

during four successive *nights*; it being the custom in this Assembly to carry on the greater part of their works after it is dark.

Previous, however, to this Debate, Mr. HORNER had laid upon the table of the House a string of PROPOSITIONS, expressive of his opinions as to the state of the coin and paper-money of the country, and also as to the remedy to be applied (17). In a few days after these had been before the House, Mr. NICHOLAS VANSITTART, who took the other side of the question, laid before the House a set of *opposing* PROPOSITIONS (18); which he soon afterwards followed by a set of Propositions being the former set amended (19); and these were followed by another paper from MR. HORNER (20), containing Propositions in the form of *amendments* upon his brother lawyer's Propositions, both of the gentlemen being "learned friends."

The way being thus prepared, all the preliminary steps having been taken, the discussion was entered upon on the day before-mentioned, at the end of *one year, two months, and fourteen days* from the time that the Committee commenced its labours. I have began inserting this Debate, and I shall insert all the principal speeches before I have done; and I do it, because I wish to afford all my readers, and you, Gentlemen, in particular, an opportunity of perusing, at your leisure, what these persons have said upon this important subject; and, besides, my wish is to place these speeches where they may be, at all times, *conveniently referred to*, seeing that my conviction is, that *events* are now hastening on apace; events that will set all low cunning, all chicanery, all trick, at defiance; and that, of course, will put the opinions, contained in these speeches, to the test. My conviction is, that the time is not far distant, when it will be impossible to deceive the people of England; when *truth* will reign; and, at that time, it will be of great advantage for us to know what have been the opinions of men who have taken a part in these discussions, and to what point, whether good or evil, their endeavours have tended.

What *we* have to dis[illegible] the question of *depreciation*, or *fall*, in the value of the Bank Notes; and, after that, the *remedy* proposed by Mr. HORNER and those who side with him. I shall, I trust, go to work in a way very different indeed from that of these gentlemen; and, when I have written my opinion, there the matter will rest, and the truth of our several opinions will be tried by *Time*, which tries all things.

I remain,
Gentlemen,
Your friend,
WM. COBBETT.

State Prison, Newgate, Friday,
10th May, 1811.

(17) See page 1012.
(18) See page 1075.
(19) See page 1140.
(20) See page 114[illegible].

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

PORTUGUESE SUBSCRIPTION.——The sums subscribed for the suffering Portuguese amount to nearly *three pence* each; but, do the subscribers mean to stop here? Is this all that they mean to give the poor creatures? Why should not the sinecure placemen give half a year's salary each? And then the *Commissaries* and *Paymasters*, who have fattened upon the war, might give up a share of their profits, I should think. A hundred pounds! What is a hundred pounds to a man, who clears, perhaps, thirty or forty thousand pounds a year? The subscribers should have begun with *tens of thousands* instead of *hundreds*. But, let us hope, that an amendment will take place; and that we shall see the thing go on in a different style. ——I know, I shall be told, that the Portuguese have been *thanked*; but, though thanks, when coming from *a body like our Honourable House*, are, doubtless, to be looked upon as of very great value, still I presume that thanks will not rebuild houses, plant and bring to maturity olive and orange groves, and bring slaughtered cattle to life. Thanks from such a body as our *Honourable House* must, of course, fill the heart with pride; but, they will not, I presume, fill the belly with any thing.——The COMMON COUNCIL OF THE CITY OF LONDON have, I see, voted a sum to the Portuguese; and, which is one of best things I have yet heard of, they have, it would seem, voted a sword to Lord Talavera, at the same time. They have given him, who went all across Portugal before the French, just the same marks of respect and gratitude that they gave to Lord Nelson! *Their* marks of respect and gratitude will soon come to their level, at any

rate.——What! They vote Talavera their *Thanks* and a *Sword* for having "*successfully defended* Portugal" against the French; and, in the same breath, they vote a sum of money to the Portuguese *because* they have suffered from the *invasion of those same French*, while Talavera was so successfully defending them! Bravo! Encore! To't again!——To comment upon this proceeding would be nearly as great a shame as the having participated in it. It is unworthy of comment. It is beneath comment. It is so offensive to reason and to common sense, that one cannot endure the idea of its standing in need of exposure.

Battle of Barrosa.——The public will bear in mind, that much was said about the *cowardice* or *treachery*, or one of them, or both of them, in this battle, where, as in the case of Talavera, we took the *whole* of the glory to ourselves, though, in both cases, we left the Spaniards upon, or near, the field of battle. This affair of Barrosa, which drew such cordial Thanks from the *Honourable House* and the *Common Council*, and such floods of tears from Mr. Sheridan, who melted the very midriffs of his hearers by relating to them how General Graham planned cottages and improvements upon his farms while he was lying on the ground in Spain and Portugal; this affair, which kept the nation all a-gog for more than a week, though I must say that it was owing to Mr. *Ward* and Mr. *Whitbread* that it lived out the nine days; this affair gave rise to a great deal of invective against the *Spanish Commanders*. The Spanish Commanders, and even the whole of the Spanish army, were reproached, in most of our news-papers, in very harsh terms. It is impossible to conceive any thing more harsh. Indeed, they were, in plain terms, called *traitors*, or *cowards*; and, it was insisted upon, that we ought no longer to go on in *defending* that nation, unless they would submit to have had Lord Talavera appointed *Generalissimo of all their armies*, and to have *English officers* put into their *particular corps*. This modest proposition was made upon the ground (taken to be admitted), that, in the Battle of Barrosa, we had derived little or no aid from the Spaniards; and that, it had there been proved, that it was become absolutely necessary for us to take command and possession of their army. ——I noticed some time back, that the Spaniards seemed to see the thing in a very different light; that they had thanked *their* troops for the part they had taken in that affair; and that, in short, they seemed to look upon whatever honour had been gained as belonging chiefly *to them*.——We have now before us a full confirmation of this, in a letter to the Editor of a Spanish paper at Cadiz, whose name is Blanco, from no less a person than *one of the Spanish Generals*, engaged on the day, of which we are speaking. This letter, if what it says be true, is decisive of the point. It leaves not the smallest doubt of the Spaniards having a fair claim to an equal share of whatever honour was gained at Barrosa, notwithstanding all the severe remarks upon them made by Mr. Ward and Mr. Whitbread.——I will below insert this letter to Mr. Blanco, and the reader will bear in mind, that it was published at Cadiz, where the English army was, and where, of course, it might be met with an answer.——*I* do not, mind, *say*, that what this Letter asserts *is true;* of that I will leave the reader to judge; but, this I will say; that, if this Letter speaks truth, the Spanish Commanders and their troops have been most foully treated in England, by the news-papers at least.——But, at any rate, here is an open dispute going on *in print*, at Cadiz, about that with regard to which the Common Council of London, (the *little Honourable House)* appears to have had *no doubt at all.* They voted to General Graham all the honours *they* had to bestow; they put him upon a footing with Lord Nelson without the smallest hesitation. Really, they will, I am afraid, very soon prove to be but too true, the picture that was, some time ago, given of them by the venal man of the Courier.——But, this Letter of one of the *Spanish* Generals is not all that we have. There is a Letter now arrived from *General Graham* himself, to our Minister at Cadiz, *defending* himself against the *accusations* of the Spaniards! This is curious enough. This will, one would suppose, make the Common Council of London wait a little another time, before they vote *Thanks* and *Swords*.——Perhaps, however, I go too far in supposing that any such effect will be produced upon them.——I do not say, that General Graham did any thing that was *wrong;* but, I see, that persons upon the spot *accuse* him of something, no matter what; and, that he thinks it necessary to make a *written*

defence of that conduct for which the Common Council have voted him *thanks* and a *sword*.——The least of what has taken place must be a serious misunderstanding between the Spanish Commanders and ours; and, how far that is likely to promote the success of the war, and the deliverance of Europe, contemplated by MR. PERCEVAL, it is by no means difficult to guess.——GENERAL GRAHAM'S Letter I take from the Morning Chronicle of to-day; and, I beg the reader to pay great attention to it; for, *if there ever were* any hopes of success against the French in Spain, this letter must be considered as being of the greatest importance.——The Morning Chronicle says: It must *grieve* "every honourable mind to see *a brave* "*and successful* Commander thus *forced to* "*defend himself* against the pitiful insinua-"tions of those who *deserted him* in the "moment of danger, and who now *basely* "*endeavour* to screen their own conduct "from blame, by the most *unfounded as-*"*persions* General Graham's letter will "be read with the most lively interest."——Very true: it must grieve every honourable mind to see "a brave and "successful commander *forced* to de-"fend himself against *pitiful* insinua-"tions;" but, the fact is, that he was not *forced* to do this; for, if he was *forced* to defend himself, the insinuations were no longer *pitiful*.——I do not say, that the insinuations were *true*. That is more than I pretend to have any knowledge of; but, I know that they are not *pitiful*; or, if they were, I know, that General Graham has done wrong in taking this serious notice of them.——His assailants may be "*base*," they may deal in "*unfounded* "*aspersions*;" but, this I must say, that the Letter of GENERAL GRAHAM falls, with me, very far short of being *conclusive*. Indeed, though he may possibly be in the right, his letter does by no means shew it, and, I must say, that it argues no great store of confidence in his friends, that they have not accompanied the publication of his Letter with that of the statement of GENERAL LAPENA; for not doing which there can have been no excuse, seeing that it is, by GENERAL GRAHAM'S Letter, said to have been *in print*, previous to the writing of that Letter.——This is not the way, in which we usually treat a dispute. "Hear *both sides*," is an old maxim of justice; but, it is one which seems now to be pretty much neglected. GENERAL GRAHAM'S Letter is an *answer* to a *printed statement*; and, is it in his favour that we have not that statement as well as the answer? The MORNING CHRONICLE calls the accusers of General Graham *base*, and their charges *false aspersions*, but, he does not let us see *what those charges were*; though he does not fail to repeat against the Spaniards the charge of *desertion*. I cannot help looking upon this suppression of General LAPENA'S statement as being a strong presumptive proof of its containing something that has not met with a *complete answer* in the Letter of GENERAL GRAHAM. I shall be glad to find my suspicions groundless; but, I cannot be so unjust towards the Spaniards as not to state them.

WM. COBBETT.

State Prison, Newgate, Friday, May 10, 1811.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

SPAIN.—BATTLE OF BARROSA.—*Reply to the false and injurious Ideas which the 12th Number of the Paper called El Espanol conveys of the memorable Action of the 5th of March, in the Plains of Chiclana.*

The atrabilarious Blanco, still not satisfied with the great and numerous evils which he has caused to his unfortunate country, has again thrown out a prolific germ of discord in the last number of his Journal, where he treats of the action of the 5th of March. Under the pretence of letters to which no one can give credit without offending the honour and delicacy of the English, he attributes the whole of the glory to them; he says, that the Spaniards alone were mere spectators: he unjustly and impudently treats General Lapena as an imbecile; while, with the same breath, and as if by way of a great favour, he says that "one division appears to have conducted itself well previous to the principal action," without deigning to specify which division it was: and finally, he has the effrontery to calumniate all the Spanish Generals and officers, regarding them as unfit for the discharge of their respective duties, and pronounces that they should be replaced by English, Austrians, &c. with other scandalous and most uncandid propositions.——How long, Senor Blanco,—how long will you abuse our good nature! Is it possible, miserable man, that you can be degraded so low as to prefer your own sordid and vile interests to the glory

of the magnanimous and generous nation to which you owe your being! How dare you shield such atrocious calumnies under the respectable and glorious name with which your paper is inscribed?—Far from me be the spirit of partiality. the pure and simple truth has always been the pole star of my actions: and vanity is a passion foreign from my breast. But what occasion is there for this observation, since it is ascertained beyond a doubt, that the brave Graham, in giving an exact description of the action, has bestowed deserved praise on the troops which were engaged? Let us see, then, Senor, how you have committed yourself by your malignant, venal, and adulatory character.—The combined army marched in three columns, the van, the main body, and the reserve, and the cavalry covered the right flank. In this order, the van, commanded by me, and consisting of the battalion of Campo Mayo, of 600 men,—the regiment of Murcia, of 700,—the battalion of the Canaries, of 300,—of Carmona, of 320,—the reserve of the third battalion of Royal Spanish Guards of 500,—and the regiment of Africa, of 700, with four pieces of flying artillery, traversed the thick and extensive wood of Torre de Barrosa; upon coming out of which we encountered the enemy, who defended their position with three pieces of artillery, and the 27th, 94th, and 95th regiments, each consisting of 1500 men. The action began at half-past 8; I endeavoured to menace his flanks and center, in order to surround him on the left with my reserve; but he anticipated my movement; and as his constant permanence on that position for 14 months gave him a superiority over me in his knowledge of the ground, he attacked my wings, throwing into a disorderly flight my brave light troops, and began to open upon me in all directions a most furious fire of musketry and chain-shot. In the midst of this horrible fire, within pistol shot, and with the greatest contempt of death, the troops, animated by a general cry of death or victory, returned to the combat, and the battle became more obstinate. With the intrepid regiment of Murcia, I attacked their right: its efforts bore down all before it. This wing being beaten, I hastened to the left; 3 brave companies of the battalion of the Canaries covered themselves with glory, completely routing the enemy; and the reserve, full of valour and enthusiasm, completed the victory at 11 in the forenoon. I pursued the enemy more than half a league; and on my return to secure the position, the action with the reserve began on the ridge of Puerco—an action as well directed by General Graham, as well fought by the troops which formed that reserve. The enemy, to give us employment, attacked my position four times, and were not only as often driven back, but by orders from General Lapena, I attacked them latterly in front and on their left, thus diverting all those forces which were on their march from Chiclana, to reinforce the division Ruffin, the assistance of which troops would have greatly favoured that division. Well, then, Senor Blanco, do all those services, and 7 hours without intermission of the most obstinate fire, not even deserve that the division which supported them should be mentioned? As often as you seek to attribute all the glory to the English alone, I will call upon you to answer me the above question. It being a certain fact, that the van had been three hours in action, and had already beaten the enemy before the English began their action, tell me, if the van had been routed, or had not renewed the action, and beaten the enemy, what would have become of the English? Alone, and attacked in front, rear, and on their flanks, at the same time, and by an enemy double their numbers, it is very probable that they would have been beaten; and their fate might have been no better, if, during the action, the van, supported by the main body, which guarded the position, had not called off and diverted, by repeated attacks, the columns which twice marched to join the enemy's division engaged with the English. These are undeniable and notorious truths. It is certain that the English behaved bravely; but it is not less so that our troops fully performed their duty, left nothing to be desired, and covered themselves with glory; as much so, as you daily disgrace yourself by your intriguing manœuvres, your criminal, immoral, and revolutionary conduct, and by being the most infamous detractor from the glories of your nation.—The General LARDIZABAL.

Cadiz, April 22, 1811.

SPAIN.—BATTLE OF BARROSA.—*Letter from Lieutenant General Graham to the Right Honourable Henry Wellesley.—Isla de Leon, 24th of March,* 1811.

Sir; You will do justice to my reluc-

tance to enter into any controversy for the purpose of counteracting the effects of that obloquy which you yourself and many others assured me my conduct was exposed to by the reports circulated in Cadiz relative to the issue of the late expedition. —But a copy of a *printed statement of General Lapena* having been shewn to me yesterday, which by implication at least, *leaves the blame of the failure of the most brilliant prospects on me,* it becomes indispensably necessary that I should take up my pen in self-defence.—Having already sent you a copy of my dispatch to the Earl of Liverpool with a report of the action, I will not trouble you with any detail of the first movements of the army, nor with any other observations relative to them, than that the troops suffered much unnecessary fatigue by marching in the night and without good guides.—Considering the nature of the service we were engaged in, I was most anxious that the army should not come into contact with the enemy in an exhausted state, nor be exposed to the attack of the enemy but when it was well collected; and in consequence of representations to this effect, I understood that the march of the afternoon of the 4th was to be a short one, to take up for the night a position near Conil—to prepare which, Staff Officers of both nations were sent forward with a proper escort. The march was nevertheless continued though the night with those frequent and harrassing halts which the necessity of groping for the way occasioned—When the British division began its march from the position of Barrosa, to that of Bermeja, *I left the General on the Barrosa height, nor did I know of his intention of quitting it,* and when I ordered the division to countermarch, in the wood, I did so to support troops left for its defence, and *believing the General to be there in person.* In this belief I sent no report of the attack which was made so near the spot where the General was supposed to be, and though confident in the bravery of the British troops, I was not less so in the support I should receive from the Spanish army. The distance, however, to Bermeja is trifling, and no orders were given from head-quarters for the movement of any corps of the Spanish army to support the British division, to prevent its defeat in this unequal contest, or to profit of the success earned at so heavy an expence. The voluntary zeal of the two small battalions (Walloon Guards and Ciudad Real) which had been detached from my division, brought them alone back from the wood; but notwithstanding their utmost efforts, they could only come at the close of the action.—Had the whole body of the Spanish cavalry, with the horse artillery, been rapidly sent by the sea beach, to form in the plain, and to envelope the enemy's left—had the greatest part of the infantry been marched through the pine wood in our rear, to turn his right, what success might not have been expected from such decisive movements? The enemy must either have retired instantly and without occasioning any serious loss to the British division, or he would have exposed himself to absolute destruction —his cavalry greatly out-numbered, his artillery lost, his columns mixed and in confusion, a general dispersion would have been the inevitable consequence of a close pursuit. Our wearied men would have found spirits to go on, and would have trusted to finding refreshment and repose at Chiclana. This moment was lost. Within a quarter of an hour's ride of the scene of action, the General remained ignorant of what was passing, *and nothing was done.* Let not then this action of Barrosa form any part of the general result of the transactions of the day; it was an accidental and insulated feature; it was the result of no combination, it was equally unseen and unheeded by the Spanish Staff; the British division, left alone, suffered the loss of more than one fourth of its number, and became unfit for further exertion. Need I say more to justify my determination of declining any further co-operation in the field towards the prosecution of the object of the expedition? I am, however, free to confess, that having thus placed myself and the British division under the direction of the Spanish Commander in Chief, in the field, (contrary to my instructions) I should not have thought myself justified to my King and country to risk the absolute destruction of this division in a second trial. But I have a right to claim credit for what would have been my conduct, from what it was; and I will ask if it can be doubted, after my zealous co-operation throughout, and the ready assistance afforded to the troops left on Barrosa Height, that the same anxiety for the success of the cause, would not have secured to the Spanish army the utmost efforts of the British division during the whole of the enterprise, *had we been supported as we* had

a right to expect.—There is not a man in the division who would not gladly have relinquished his claim to glory, acquired by the action of Barrosa, to have shared with the Spaniards the ultimate success that was within our grasp as it were.—The people of Spain, the brave and persevering people, are universally esteemed, respected and admired by all who value liberty and independence; the hearts and hands of British soldiers will ever be with them; the cause of Spain is felt by all to be a common one.—I conclude with mentioning, that the only regret expressed to me at Head-quarters on the morning of the 6th, on not knowing of my intention to send the British troops across the River Santi Petri, was, *that the opportunity of withdrawing the Spanish troops during the night was lost;* and on my *observing,* that, after such a defeat, there was no risk of attack from the enemy, *a very contrary opinion was maintained.* In point of fact, no enemy ever appeared during several days employed in bringing off the wounded and burying the dead. It may be proper to remark on the reports published, relative to the enemy's number at Santi Petri (4,500 men of Villat's division,) that by the concurrent testimony of all the French Officers here, General Villat's division had charge of the whole line. What then must be the strength of that division, to have afforded 4,500 men to Santi Petri alone? In order to establish by authentic documents, facts which may have been disputed, and to elucidate others, I inclose, by way of appendix, the reports of various Officers of this division.—I have the honour to be, with the greatest regard, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

THOMAS GRAHAM, Lt. General.

P. S. I must add this postscript, distinctly to deny my having spoken at Head-quarters, in the evening of the 5th, of sending for more troops or for provisions from the Isla.—My visit was a very short one, of mere ceremony; I may have asked if the Spanish troops expected were arrived. This error must have arisen from the difficulty of conversing in a foreign language.—With this I send you a sketch of the ground, &c. of the action of Barrosa, by which it will be seen how impossible, according to my judgment, it would be for an enemy to expose his left flank, by making a direct attack through the wood on the Bermeja position, while that of Barrosa was occupied in force by the allied army.

BULLION DEBATE.

(Continued from page 1152.)

His first Resolution contained a correct statement of the law, nor was there in the history of this nation, any reign that had been marked by a more watchful attention to the preservation of the standard value of the coin of the realm, than his present Majesty's. In evidence of this, it was only necessary to appeal to the new gold coinage, to the statute of the 14 Geo. III. enacting that silver should only be legal tender, for sums above 25*l.* according to its weight, and not its denomination. There had been proclamations subsequently to the same effect, and the doctrine of Parliament fully coincided with this exercise of the Prerogative. The doctrine of the Legislative, the Royal Proclamations, the Rolls of Parliament, were all at direct variance with the new principles of recent theories. If we looked back to the 4th Session of Geo. I. we should find a Resolution of that House, importing that they would not consent to any alteration of the value of the current coin of the realm, and we should find them desiring a conference with the House of Lords, who came to a similar Resolution. We were now told, however, that all this was error, and that the merchants of the present day had discovered its fallacy. This indeed was not asserted at first by those upon the Committee, they did not venture to commit themselves to such hazardous declarations; but contented themselves with strongly denying that any departure had taken place from the standard value from the currency. When this denial could no longer be supported, the advocates of the Bank denied the existence of a standard. One Gentleman, highly deserving of attention, had stated this principle in the first edition of his pamphlet; but had abandoned it in the second, in which he discovered that the standard was the interest of such sum in the public funds as would produce one pound, which pound being paid in paper, was thus of course the measure of itself.—(*A laugh!*) Deserting afterwards this original idea, he informed the public that the real standard was money of account, a proposition to which he (Mr. Horner) could attach no intelligible interpretation whatever. The next step in this curious series of reasonings was to assume the existence of an abstract currency, and in support of this doctrine, all the substitutes of the Aristo-

telian metaphysics had been collected and applied. There was something in this theory that furnished a striking resemblance to the attempts of the ancient school-men to substantiate essences, and embody the offspring of their imaginations.—(Mr. Horner here read a passage from a late work, in which the nature of currency was illustrated by an allusion to a column of mercury in the tube of a barometer). Another writer argued, that the only standard consisted in an ideal measure, and not in any tangible or material medium. From all these ingenious theories and amusing conjectures, he should make his appeal to the laws of his country. He was sure there was no lawyer in the House who would contradict him when he stated, that by all the statutes on the subject, no other standard was acknowledged but that of the precious metals. He must now advert to the admissions of the practical men, by which the fact of a departure from the legal standard was fully established. He could wish for no better evidence than this. The 3d Resolution of his Right Honourable Friend differed materially from his; and it was worthy of observation, that his Right Honourable Friend appeared to have been greatly embarrassed in drawing it up, as was evinced by his subsequent alterations. As that Resolution stood at first, bank-notes were declared "to be held equivalent to the legal coin of the realm in all pecuniary transactions to which such coin is legally applicable." In the new edition, however, they are stated "to be held equivalent in public estimation and general acceptance." *(Hear! hear!)* His Right Honourable Friend did not therefore meet his principle, but evaded it by a reference to a part of our criminal law, of very equivocal policy. *(Hear! hear!)* Now although his own principle was not denied, still must he positively deny the principle assumed on the other side. He affirmed that a difference did exist in the relative value of the gold and of the paper currencies, and that nothing prevented this difference from becoming manifestly notorious but the penalties of the law. *(Hear! hear!)* His Right Honourable Friend had also omitted one very important consideration, the undeniable fact that gold and paper do not associate; that the gold has actually disappeared and is no longer in circulation. It seemed to be forgotten that the coinage was the King's assurance to his subjects—that the money was of standard value. The equivalence, therefore mentioned by his Right Honourable Friend, did not exist, and the only point in dispute was a question of fact, was the Bank of England note worth what it purported to be in the legal and current coin of the kingdom? He denied that it was, and no illustration could more powerfully demonstrate this than the reference, made by a Right Hon. Gent. (Mr. Huskisson), which must be recollected by the House, of the preferable value of the light guinea over the guinea of sterling weight.—The point might be illustrated in a similar way in the instance of silver. Since 14th Geo. III. silver by tale is not a legal tender for a sum not exceeding 25*l* If a debtor proposed to discharge a debt of 20*l*. in silver, he must give, at the rate of 5*s*. 2*d*. per ounce, an hundred ounces of standard silver; 20*l*. in bank notes would now purchase eighty-six ounces and a fraction only—he must therefore, in discharging his debt in standard silver, sustain a loss of fourteen ounces. To all these reasonings and examples he must say that he had never witnessed the shadow of an answer, and he was convinced that they were unanswerable. The bank note he stated to be worth no more at present than 15*s*. 10*d*. He was not now discussing what was the cause, or where was the blame, but he hoped the plain assertion he had made, would be openly admitted or openly denied. Enough was certainly proved, to impose on the House the necessity of probing the question to the bottom The determination of the measure of exchangeable value, was one of the most important institutions of civilized society. The precious metals, for various reasons, had been long selected as the best calculated for forming a fixed and permanent standard. In all modern commercial states they had in consequence formed the circulating medium. If then it appeared that within a very short time the standard had become deteriorated, it was impossible not to perceive the injury that must attend all contracts and fixed monied incomes, the loss to creditors, the irrecoverable impoverishment of annuitants and others, with the forfeiture of that rank and station which property confers, the mischief of the public interest arising from the decreasing value of the taxes, and a long train of concomitant evils. One very serious disadvantage too must arise from the public burdens appearing greater than their real magnitude, from

the effect of a depreciation of their real amount. Here was an apparent increase of the national expenditure, without any real addition to the revenue. In turning their attention to the most expedient remedy for the existing evil, it was necessary for the Committee to ascertain its cause. All that had been urged by the adversaries of the Bullion Report in explanation of the present phenomena in our currency, appeared to be reducible to two points. It was said, that gold had experienced a rise in its real value from a positive scarcity.—*(Hear, hear !)* and it was also stated, in the second place, that the unfavourable exchanges had caused a rise in its price at home The first opinion implied, that the demand for gold had increased on the Continent —the other he held to be a complete fallacy. The money value of gold could not rise in this country. Its real price was unquestionably subject to all the variations arising from increased or diminished supplies; but its standard value as a measure of exchange, could not possibly fluctuate under any change of circumstances In the East, in some places, salt was the common measure of value. It was obvious that salt was an article of which the real price must often vary; but used as a measure of value, it was as immutable as any other—and the apparent variations in it as a standard, were in fact variations in the prices of other commodities, estimated by that common measure. In those countries where silver was the standard, the money price of silver could never vary—and in Great Britain, where gold constitutes the standard, it was impossible that any change could be produced in its value as a measure in exchange The only effect which could therefore take place, by any diminution of the amount of the circulating medium in any country, must be to make all commodities cheap, and he put it to the House whether any such effect had happened in this country. In 1795, there was a scarcity of gold arising from the large sums paid for foreign grain. In 1796, there was a great demand for internal purposes, and the practice of hoarding was carried to a great extent. During the whole of this period, not the smallest rise took place in the market price of gold. A very small quantity only was imported from Portugal, at 4*l.* 8*s.* per oz. including the exchange and freight. From 1717 to 1796, there was no alteration in the market price of gold, as was shewn by the very valuable document on the table from the Mint. With respect to the alledged rise on the Continent, he believed there had been some, but it was extremely small. In consequence of the excess of the importation of silver above gold, it had been found necessary to alter the relative Mint value of the two metals. Gold had accordingly risen somewhat as compared with silver in the states where silver was the measure of value. At Paris a new Mint had been established, and the alteration of the relative value of gold and silver was adopted there. It amounted to about 4 or 6 per cent. By an account which he had lately received of the current prices at Paris, dated 16th April, English pure gold was worth 3*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.* per ounce. At Hamburgh the prices nearly corresponded. At Amsterdam the English guinea sold for 12 gueldres and a fraction—the bank note for little more than 7. But it was not only the gold which had undergone all this variation, silver had experienced the same. How was this to be explained? Our importations had been lately unusually large, we supplied the whole of Europe, and our export to India had been stopped. But the great and paramount standard of value was corn, and he would therefore beg leave to call the attention of the Committee to the rise within the four last years of its average prices. He proposed, for the sake of accuracy, to omit those years in which any extraordinary scarcity had been felt. It appeared, in page 71 of the Report, that from 1771 to 1785, the average price was 46 shillings the quarter of wheat. From 1786 to 1797 the entire average was 52 shillings; but omitting 1795, and six years of peculiar dearth, the average would be 47 shillings and two-pence. Since 1797 a very different rate of increase would be found to have taken place. During an equal period of twelve years from 1798 to 1810, leaving out the two years of dearth, 1800 and 1801, the average price of the quarter of wheat was 71*s.* *(Hear, hear !)* and including the years of scarcity 79*s.* What could furnish more palpable or indisputable evidence of the fall in the value of the currency?—An unfavourable state of foreign trade had certainly a tendency to lower the foreign exchanges, but only to a certain degree. Admitting, which, however, he knew was not the case, that the whole of the depression of the exchanges was a real depression, he must

yet deny that it could have the effect of raising the price of gold in this country. In the return from the Mint of the prices of gold for the last hundred years, no evidence could be discovered of the alterations of the exchange producing any corresponding rise in the prices of bullion. The present state of the exchange required itself explanation. It was a state, of which no example existed, except in those periods when the national currency had been debased. *(Hear! hear!)* With Holland the exchange had once fallen 25 per cent. and it was precisely under the circumstances which he had mentioned. He would not at present go into a detailed examination of the question relating to the balance of payments. He admitted that an unfavourable balance existed, and that in the last year a very enormous importation of grain had taken place, amounting to upwards of two millions of quarters. A most important consideration seemed to him to grow out of this fact, for if by any unforeseen interruption of supplies from the Continent, we should be left with an unsatisfied demand of corn to that amount, what must be the condition of the country? It was worthy of attention, while upon this subject, to observe that in 1793 an alteration was made in the corn laws, and a protecting price of 56*s.* was enacted for the home grower. In 1804, it was found necessary to raise this protecting price to 66*s.* and the same necessity clearly existed now for a further rise to 71*s.* These importations of grain must be paid for in some way; and although he was disposed to allow that the balance of payments was against us, when he considered the great excess of our exports above our imports, as shewn by the papers before the Committee, he could not believe that the balance could be very considerable. The official value of the imports in the year ending 5th Jan., 1811, was 36,400,000*l.* including Irish manufactures, and their real value might be 33,000,000*l.* The exports amounted to more than 45,000,000*l.* leaving an excess above the imports of 12,000,000*l.* He was informed that the amount of cotton cloths exported in the last year, was 18,000,000*l.* and with the addition of the yarn exported made a sum of 19,400,000*l.* thus furnishing a most triumphant proof of the impotence of the enemy's attempts to crush or destroy our commerce. Either it must be shewn then that our military expenditure is so large, as more than to equal the excess arising upon our exports, or the statements of the quantity of bullion sent out of the country must be incorrect. He well recollected when a Right Honourable Gentleman, then at the Board of Trade, had given a most sanguine description of the flourishing and prosperous state of our commercial relations, he, at that time, had ventured to express some little distrust of that statement. He was told, however, that great as was the foreign expenditure of the country, the extension of our trade had more than counterbalanced it. What, however, he must continue to assert was, that whether our foreign trade had or had not declined, the present state of the exchanges could not possibly be produced by any such cause. That there was a necessary limit to the fall of exchange was a principle admitted by practical men themselves, and might be found in the evidence before the Lords' Committee and the Committee in Ireland. It was then stated that the expence of sending bullion to India was ten per cent. and that to no part of Europe it could exceed seven. The Bullion Committee were thus then compelled to resort for a solution of the difficulty to fixed and determined principles, since no circumstances of a partial or tempory nature could be found to explain it. The immediate inference was that it originated in the state of our domestic currency. The value of a domestic currency might be depreciated by debasement if it consisted of the metals, by excess if it consisted of paper. *(Hear! hear!)* During the whole of the seven years war the value of gold coin was depreciated by debasement in relation to bullion. Spain supplied at that time the rest of Europe with silver, and there the relative value of silver compared with gold was one per cent. lower than in any other country. A paper currency being liable to depreciation only from excess, was perfectly secure so long as its convertibility into the precious metals was free and unfettered. Any accidental tendency to excess was instantly corrected by its being exchangeable for gold. By this principle the Bank had been governed in their issues before the restriction. That restriction, by removing all control on their issues removed every limit to the depression of the foreign exchanges. The doctrine of the exchange was now as clear and indisputable as any question in

mixed mathematics, and the only means of repelling its deductions was by the production of mutilated facts, and imperfect statements, with the quotations of parts of cases, the remainder being either unknown or studiously concealed. This practice had been pretty generally adopted out of doors; but at least it was incumbent on those who set up their new cases to account for those brought forward on the other side. The alteration in our currency had not communicated itself to the currencies of other nations. With Portugal the exchange last year was at par, and in Portugal there was then a paper currency depreciated 26 per cent. It was at an open discount to that amount. The Swedish exchanges had fallen 70 per cent., for she, too, had a paper currency depreciated to that extent. With America the exchange had been about 11, and was now 10 per cent. against us. The premium given for an English bill in the West Indies had been reduced from 15 to 5 per cent. in the East Indies, it was about 22 per cent. against us. The exchange with Palermo and Lisbon when no obstruction exised to our intercourse, was equally low.—He had likewise compared the exchanges on the Continent. Between Hamburgh, when there was no paper currency, and Vienna, when there was, the difference was striking. The par was as 14½ guineas to 200 francs. The exchange had risen against Vienna to 950. Between Sweden and Hamburgh the par was 48 stivers for a dollar, the exchange was now 136. Between Copenhagen and Hamburgh the par was 125 rix dollars for 200 Banco at Copenhagen they now paid 6 or 700. In all these places there was a depreciated currency.—Between Paris and Hamburgh, however, the exchange was 4 per cent in favour of the former. In the period of issuing the assignats in France the exchange fell from 22 progressively to 17, 15, 9, 4, and nothing. Every body then ascribed this fall to the depreciation of the assignats. No such fall had ever been experienced in France since the famous Mississipi scheme in 1720. Even then, however, the price of gold never rose above 4*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.* per oz. The depreciation of paper currency might proceed either from an issue of more than the circulation could absorb, or by not diminishing the issues according to any diminution in the amount of the metallic part of the currency. And here it was incumbent on him to state that although our trade and commerce had been represented as in so crippled and unfavourable a state, the Bank so far from restraining their issues had increased them by no less a sum than two millions since the publication of the Bullion Report. In 1809, the average amount of notes in circulation was 19 millions—in 1810, 21 millions two hundred thousand, and for the first 17 days of the present year, twenty-three millions and a half.—He must term this a most wanton and unnecessary addition to the circulating medium of the country, since he was well assured money had never been more plentiful in the market. The recent doctrines and the practice of the Bank, unless checked, must inevitably soon bring down the most complete ruin in the financial relations of the country. The restriction in 1797 certainly placed the Bank in a novel situation; but the mischief was infinitely aggravated by its being afterwards made a permanent war measure.—In his opinion it was much more dangerous in a time of war than in a time of peace. The task of ascertaining the precise quantity of circulating medium required by a nation, was one which no human wisdom could perform, and could only be properly regulated by the natural influx of the precious metals. (Mr. Horner then proceeded to read extracts from the evidence of Mr. Whitmore and Mr. Pearse, the late and present Governors of the Bank,) in order to shew that these Gentlemen acted on the erroneous opinion, that the issues of the Bank could not be excessive while confined to the discount of mercantile securities, and that they had contemplated as a possible event of no injurious tendency, the rendering the suspension of payments in cash a permanent measure. He did not believe, however, that all the practical men had fallen into this delusion, but that the old capitalists who had supported, in good and evil times, the commercial credit and prosperity of the country, looked with anxiety for a restoration of the ancient order of things. Among men of this description who had concurred in the conclusions of the Committee, was one (Sir F. Baring) not less eminent for wealth than for the characteristic enterprize of British merchants, but whose evidence on this important subject they were now unfortunately prevented from obtaining. With respect to the remedy, he still adhered to

his former opinion of the necessity of fixing some positive period at which the Bank should be compelled to resume their cash payments. Until that was done, we should continue to pay one fourth more of foreign expenditure than in a different state of the currency. But it was not only the disadvantages under which Government itself must labour in making those future exertions which might be necessary in the maintenance of our proper character abroad that ought to weigh with the Legislature. Let them also attend to the manifest shame of defrauding the public creditor, and of impoverishing the annuitant. Let them remember the obligations of public faith, the sanctions of parliamentary virtue, and all those principles on which the industry of the people, and the confidence between man and man so essentially depended. If the restriction had been necessary originally as a strong but salutary medicine to a diseased state of the circulation, it must infallibly prove a poison, if the application should be continued long after the disease had been removed. He was convinced, that if the House should content itself with a remonstrance on the negligence of the Bank Directors, in not sufficiently adverting to the appearances in the foreign exchanges in regulating their issues, it would not have the effect of checking the career which they were pursuing, and which threatened with the most formidable consequence, the most substantial interests of the empire. The Hon. Gentleman, after a variety of further observations, concluded a very able speech, to which the lateness has prevented us from doing justice, by moving the first of his series of Resolutions.

Mr. ROSE began by complimenting the Honourable and Learned Gentleman on the remarkable eloquence of his speech, and on the knowledge he had displayed of the subject, which was infinitely superior to that which was shewn in the Report on which his propositions were founded. He differed entirely, however, from the Honourable and Learned Gentleman in a variety of facts, and in the greater part of his conclusions. In his opinion there was no depreciation of the circulating medium of this country, nor was the present high price of gold occasioned by an excessive issue of the paper of the Bank of England.—If he had the power to go through the Report, he had no doubt he should be able to shew the present Committee that never had a more fallacious document been submitted to their consideration by any Select Committee of that House. He should shew that the Committee by whom this Report was framed, desired of the Bank what it was impracticable for them to comply with, and what, if they could comply with, it would not have the effect of putting a guinea more into circulation. The Honourable and Learned Gentleman had begun by observing that there were two descriptions of persons in this country who entertained very opposite opinions on the subject of a circulating medium, one of them going the full length of thinking that there was no occasion for any other circulating medium but paper, and the other going to the opposite extreme of contending that no other medium ought to be employed but gold. If there were any such persons in the country, he (Mr. Rose) was not aware of their existence. He confessed that he was of neither of these two opinions, but inclined to a medium between the two, preferring that our issues should be in specie, where that could be done without danger, and that where there was a deficiency of specie that deficiency should be supplied by paper. He was satisfied if the measure recommended by the Hon. and Learned Gentleman was adopted, that we should soon cease to have the assistance of the Bank. The Honourable and Learned Gentleman had said that gold was at 4*l* 10*s*. an ounce. He (Mr. Rose) could not conceive where he had received this information, for, from the evidence on the table, it appeared that, at the time of making the Report, the price was from 4*l*. 4*s*. to 4*l*. 5*s*. The Honourable and Learned Gentleman alledged that there was a depreciation in the value of Bank notes. For every transaction in life, however, Bank notes were equal to money in every respect. That there was a drain of gold in the year 1797 he did not deny; but that was the cause of the suspension. The Honourable Gentleman observed, that the price of corn had risen greatly, but he questioned much if the rise was to be attributed to the cause to which the Honourable and Learned Gentleman assigned them. He thought the increase of price was rather to be traced to the prices fixed for importation. If the rates at which these prices were fixed had had the effect of raising the rents generally throughout

the country, the landlords had not greatly benefited by the circumstance, as every thing else had risen almost in an equal degree. In this way we must either have submitted to the difference of exchange, or to the chance of a scarcity. If there had not been an importation of grain, the quartern loaf would have been at half a crown. He himself did support this system, and he still thought it right. The Honourable and Learned Gentleman had stated the amount of the exports and imports, and, from a comparison of the two, alledged that there was an excess of exports to the amount of 12 millions. Nothing, however, could be more false. On a fair comparison of the two, the balance would be found to amount almost to nothing. The exports of 1810, however, were not to be taken as the exports of other years. The Hon. and Learned Gentleman had blamed him (Mr. Rose) as if he had deceived the House with false statements of those exports. He, however, was not liable for the amount of our foreign expence, nor for the actual produce of our exports.—By the present state of things they were liable to great losses, and to be totally destroyed by the burning and other decrees of the Tyrant of the Continent. It was impossible, therefore, to have made an estimate of what might be the amount. The Honourable and Learned Gentleman had also referred to the Portuguese exchange, and to the exchange of other countries. This, however, had nothing to do with our circulating paper here. The Portuguese paper had lately risen in value, in consequence of the French having been driven out of that country, it having formerly been at enormous discount. The Honourable and Learned Gentleman brought in to his aid the opinion of the great capitalists of this country. His (Mr. Rose's) intercourse had been with the great capitalists, and with them only, and he could take on him to assert, from every thing he had heard and could learn, that not one of them agreed in the opinions of the Honourable and Learned Gentleman, as he had expressed them to night. He had referred to a Gentleman, who was unfortunately now no more (Sir F. Baring). That Gentleman he (Mr. Rose) had known from his earliest public life, and there was no man more ready to declare than he was that a man of higher honour, or one who had acquired a larger fortune more creditably to himself, never existed. The opinion of that highly respectable capitalist, however, would not support the Honourable and Learned Gentleman through the whole of his doctrine. That Honourable Baronet had declared, that in the event of such a measure being resorted to, there would be occasion of a great increase of the circulating medium. As to the idea of the time of war being no less favourable for the passing such Resolutions as those proposed by the Honourable and Learned Gentleman than a time of peace, he had no objection on this head. Let such circumstances occur as seemed to render the measure practicable, and he should think the period of war or peace a minor consideration; no notice, however, to the effect now proposed, he was of opinion, ought to be given by Parliament to the Bank, till there was a prospect at least of the near approach of such a favourable crisis.—He should proceed to the Report, and should refer to parts of it which he deemed of extreme importance. Such a train of errors and mistakes, from first to last, he ventured to assert, had never yet been exhibited in any document submitted to that House. He should endeavour to point out some of them, beginning with the first paragraph, and proceeding on to the end; and should then ask of any Honourable Gentleman how the Committee could be called on to adopt any Resolutions founded on a Report so extremely fallacious in every respect? The first paragraph in the Report makes the market-price of gold, in the year 1809, to be from 4*l.* 9*s* to 4*l.* 12*s.* per ounce. Now, in the year 1809, the price of gold paid at the Bank was from 3*l.* 19*s.*; 4*l.*; 4*l.* 4*s* and 4*l.* 6*s.* 0*d.* at the highest. The Report goes on to state the price in 1810 to be nearly the same, namely, from 4*l.* 10*s.* to 4*l.* 12*s.* whereas the price paid at the Bank was, in the earlier part of the year 4*l.* 5*s.* and fell in December to 4*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* It was to him perfectly inconceivable where the authority came from to warrant these statements in the Report; there was nothing in the Appendix which went in the smallest degree to support them. The Report then went on to state a variety of circumstances, suggested by all former experience; but these he should not dwell on. It was natural for Gentlemen to be best pleased with their own reasonings; and from first to the last of those Gentlemen who had written on the subject, there were some of them who differed from

themselves—there were none of them who did not differ from each other. He should, therefore, proceed to facts. On looking into the state of our paper issues, and of the rate of our exchange, from the year 1718 down to the year 1797, our paper had been increasing from one million to 12 millions, and the rate of exchange was at 12 per cent. In July 1800 our paper amounted to 14 millions, and there was a rise of 15 per cent. on the exchange. In 1809, the price of gold fell four shillings per ounce, notwithstanding there was a coinage of 4 millions of foreign gold, and the exchange fell 15 per cent. These were facts which put at a distance all the theory now held on the subject. So the increase of the bank paper, it appeared, had no effect on the rate of exchange. The issue of paper had nothing to do with it, and the alteration in the rate of exchange arose from circumstances unconnected with any extraordinary issue of bank paper. By the addition of 11 millions to the bank issues, no effect had been produced on the rate of exchange, which was often favourable; and no advance had thereby been made on the price of gold. The unfavourable state of exchange, so far as regarded this country at present, and the advance in the price of gold, were attributable to a variety of other and different causes from those to which it had been attributed by the Hon. and Learned Gentleman. We were now in a very different situation from that in which we were last war. The situation of the Continent, and the risks and means of exporting articles to it were different. Formerly when a merchant sent a cargo thither, he could draw at once for part of the price. Now the only mode of proceeding was to send it round in a circuit; and if a bankruptcy took place among any of the various hands through which the cargo itself, or the proceeds of it must naturally pass, the party here must sustain the loss thence arising. Besides this, there were a variety of other causes which contributed to the same end. The foreign expeditions which we were obliged to undertake had turned the balance against us. Last year, the money sent abroad on this account could not be less than 11 millions; for corn about 8 millions; foreign trade $5\frac{1}{2}$ millions, with some trifles, amounting in the whole to about 25 millions, and a considerable part of it was gold. In page 4 of the Report, there was another erroneous view of the cause of the dearness of gold, as arising from its scarcity. Mr. Merle, the person on whose testimony this part of the Report is founded, having spoken only of the home market; and Mr. Goldsmid, in his evidence, stating that the home market was not even as the twentieth of the whole. In the next page, the Report went on to state the rise in all other commodities, and that gold had only risen with them. The price of all other articles had doubled, and it continued uniform; and yet the Report told them that it had risen along with them. He believed that the prices of commodities in every other country had risen in the same proportion. In page 7 of the Report, reference was made to the evidence of the same respectable character to whom he had already alluded (Sir F. Baring), as proving that there had never, at any former period, been a great scarcity of gold, or any measures taken to prevent a drain of the gold coin out of the country. In the time of the American war, however, when Lord Lansdowne was in office, and Sir F. Baring had the whole management of money concerns between this Country and America, he recollected to have had frequent conversations with him on the best mode of preventing gold from being withdrawn out of the country; and he (Mr. Rose), in consequence of these communications, wrote to the Custom-house, calling upon them to prevent coin from being carried out of the country, thereby to take care that a drain should not take place. Looking back to the evidence of Sir F. Baring, he observed that the whole of it went to this, that there never was, at any former time in this country, a want of Bullion. If the Honourable Baronet, however, was mistaken in this respect, this must cease to avail the Honourable and Learned Gentleman as an opinion on which to ground that part of the Report, and of his own argument. The Honourable Baronet, however, did admit in his evidence that there must be a representative of the circulating medium, in some shape or other, equal to the demand.

(To be continued.)

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IT was an observation, long ago, by Thucydides, that men are much more passionate for INJUS-"TICE than for VIOLENCE; because, says he, the one, coming as from an equal, seems rapine; "when, the other, proceeding from one stronger, is but the effect of necessity."——CLARENDON.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

LIBEL.——FLOGGING SOLDIERS.—DRAKARD.——The reader has been before informed about the publication, (respecting the FLOGGING OF SOLDIERS) in the STAMFORD NEWS, which was prosecuted, by an EX OFFICIO Information, and of which the printer, Mr. DRAKARD, was, some little time ago, found GUILTY, at Lincoln, by a Jury of the county of Lincoln, Judge WOOD being the Judge.——We have now to see what passed, when Mr. DRAKARD was brought up to the King's Bench Court to receive judgment. ——He put in an affidavit, in which, amongst other things, he swore, that he had always been a most dutiful and loyal subject, and had always been most devoutly attached to the constitution; as proofs of which he cited, amongst other things, that he had, upon a certain occasion, *animadverted with severity on the conduct and character of Buonaparté* and EXPOSED his TYRANNY and OPPRESSION. Poor soul! And, he thought this would save him, did he! Poor lambkin; how innocent he must be!——But, this exhibition is too curious to be let pass without full notice. It is a thing that will live for a great while. The times will come, when all these transactions will be looked back to; and become objects of nice examination. Therefore, we must neglect no opportunity of putting them upon record, and in such a way, too, as that they may be completely understood. To this end, I will here insert the report of the proceedings, upon this occasion, as far as I conveniently can; and, when I have so done, I will offer some remarks thereon. ——First we have the substance of the *Affidavit* of Mr. DRAKARD; next of the speech of his advocate, Mr. BROUGHAM; next of the speech (in answer) of the Attorney General, SIR VICARY GIBBS; and, last of all, the laconic command of the Judge.——The reader will, I hope, go through the whole with attention. Next to that of the *paper-money* it is the subject the most important to the people of England. As to what is passing in Spain and Portugal, those must be little better than beasts, mere senseless beasts, beasts of burden, who can look upon these wars as of any consequence at all, when compared with transactions like that, which we are now about to put upon record ——The *time* was the 9th instant; *place* Westminster Hall, to which place Drakard had been commanded to come up to be judged.

The Report, which I take from the COURIER news-paper, is given in the following words.——"The defendant put in "an affidavit, stating that he was the "printer and proprietor of the Stamford "News, but that he was *not the editor*, "though he was in the habit of exercising "a controul over the articles published in "his paper; that he had ever supported "the character of a man of the *strictest* "FIDELITY TO THE LAW, *and* LOY-"ALTY TO HIS KING; that he had "given publication to the article in ques-"tion without any wish or intention to "create disaffection in the soldiery; that "he meant only to publish an exposition "of the consequences arising from the "practice of flogging in the army, as in-"jurious to the feeling and character of a "soldier; and he considered it a topic "into the discussion of which he might "fairly and freely enter; that he had "always been ATTACHED TO THE "CONSTITUTION AND GOVERN-"MENT OF THE COUNTRY; and "that, only eight months before, an arti-cle had appeared in his paper written by the editor, who was the author of the libel complained of, in which he ANIMADVERTED WITH SEVERITY UPON THE CONDUCT AND CHARACTER OF BUONAPARTE, AND EXPOSED HIS TYRANNY AND "OPPRESSION; [the article was quoted "at length in the affidavit]; that upon "various occasions he had published ar-"ticles tending to uphold and maintain "the government of the country; that "those were the true sentiments and feel-"ings of his mind, and that he thought himself at all times at liberty to express

"them; that he had been charged with "publishing this libel at a time when a "corps of local militia was collected in the "town of Stamford; but he denied most "positively any such fact, for he had "cautiously refrained from publishing it "until a regiment of such local militia, "which had been in Stamford, was dis- "banded; that he felt it a public duty to "animadvert on the system of punish- "ment; that he had never been in the "habit of publishing libels; that *upon the "question of Parliamentary Privilege*, al- "though he admired the principles and "conduct of Sir Francis Burdett, he yet "took that part which at the time was "unpopular, AND LEFT HIMSELF "OPEN TO THE FURY OF THE "MOB; that he had ever entertained "and upheld the principle, that THE "KING CAN DO NO WRONG; and "that he was *in every respect a dutiful and "loyal subject.*"——Good soul! And, so he was a supporter of the "*Parliamentary "Privilege,*" was he? He *approved*, then, of the *sending of Mr. Gale Jones to jail* by a vote of the House of Commons, without any trial at all? Much good may it do him!——But, let us proceed. The speech of his advocate is, to say the least of it, quite equal to the Affidavit.——"MR. "BROUGHAM set out with saying, that, "after the verdict, he was BOUND to "say that his client was GUILTY; "that he was further BOUND to consider "the publication as a LIBEL; and, that "he was also BOUND to consider the "INTENTION, with which it was pub- "lished, as not only not justifiable, but "HIGHLY CRIMINAL." After this he said a great deal in order to soften the sentence; and, "amongst other things, "he said that it was a JUST remark, "that there were, in this country, *whole- "sale dealers in libel*, men who made a "*trade* of injuring the constitution, or of "insulting private feeling; but that his "client was not one of that number. He "said, that, upon the question of *Parlia- "mentary Privilege* his client opposed him- "self to the *opinion* of the public (if ever "the *multitude* can be said to have ANY "OPINION), to the OUT-CRY rather of "the multitude, and thereby exposed him- "self *to the summary justice of the* MOB. "He [illegible] at his client not only was en- "amoured of the Constitution himself, but "constantly laboured to impress upon his "readers his sense of its PECULIAR "BLESSINGS; and that, amongst those "blessings, if any one stood eminently "above all others, it is that which had "NEVER BEEN ASSAILED: the *Ad- "ministration of Justice*, which, as POWER "HAS NEVER REACHED, so slan- "der had never touched."——The ATTORNEY GENERAL said, that the meagre passages quoted in behalf of the defendant made nothing at all in his "favour, and "that they appeared to have been con- "trived for the purpose of *introducing a "sarcasm*, in which," said he, "the writer "tells us, that there is not *quite* so much "liberty in France as there is in England. "But," added he, "what have I, in ad- "dressing you upon the measure of pu- "nishment to be inflicted upon the de- "fendant, to do with these loose obser- "vations scattered over the paper *for the "purpose only of being used as they are used "to-day?* But if the defendant had no "such studied purpose; suppose he dis- "approves of particulars in Buonaparté's "conduct; suppose he allows us *some be- "nefits* which Buonaparté's government is "without; is it the wishes the defendant "entertains towards France that is the "present consideration, or what he has "done *towards England?* What is the im- "putation upon him? That he has pub- "lished an article for the purpose of ex- "citing disgust against the army, and pre- "venting the *populace* from entering it. "Whose province was to decide upon this "article? The jury's; and I have only "one word to answer to all my learned "friend's observations, that the defendant "has been found guilty. In considering "the design of this libel, will your lord- "ships be called off to other papers, in "which Buonaparté is treated with cen- "sure? Have your lordships *any thing to "do with this?* At one time, it may an- "swer the defendant's purpose *to abuse the "French systems*; but is it only when they "are brought into comparison with the "English that they are to be commend- "ed? Because that was the only time "when preference was given to France, "is the defendant's crime the less? Your "lordships will look to that upon which "only you can form a judgment of his "punishment; the tendency and design of "the writer, not what *on other occasions* "he has said when treating of other sub- "jects. Your lordships have not to decide "whether he has acted laudably or other- "wise in exposing himself to the summary "justice of the mob, by not taking the popular side on another question. I

" *don't believe he would have been in any dan-* " *ger*; nor if I did, should I have called " such danger *justice*. Your lordships will " not decide with a view to that, but to the " publication before you. What is its " tendency? Is there any thing like fair " reasoning in the libel addressed to those " whose duty it is to give their free opinion " upon the subject? No; it is only cal- " culated to inflame; it is full of aggra- " vated statements of the hardships to " which soldiers are exposed, with a stu- " died comparison between our service and " the French; and *the preference given*, not " by implication, but in terms, *to the lat-* " *ter*. Is that the language of a cool " reasoner on a system? To whose un- " derstanding is the libel addressed? " Look at the cases which it puts; look " at its taunts, its contempt of superiors. " Why is the case of J. Chinnery put, " which is probably the case of a great " many exposed to this punishment? Why " is it stated that he was subjected by " violence to military discipline? Why, " that he would rather prefer hay-mak- " ing than arms as a profession? Why " that he committed his offence in a " moment of drunkenness? Why is that " offence stated to be the disobedience of " the orders of a superior officer, whom " he saw in a very different situation in " the morning? Why is obedience always " subjected to ridicule? Is that fair dis- " cussion? Is not an attempt to inflame " the minds of the common people, to " render them dispirited and disaffected, " and to prevent them from entering into " the military service? Is not that the ob- " vious tendency of every line of the libel; " and will your lordships be misled, by be- " ing told, that *in other publications* of the " same author, there was to be found an " abhorrence of *Buonaparté's conduct*? " These are considerations surely deserving " weight. *I am not desirous* of pressing " severity *beyond its measure*; I would not " stir a single step further than *the safety of* " *the public* requires. But as far as the " good requires that such publications shall " be prevented; so far, and no farther, do " I desire to punish the present defendant." —— LORD ELLENBOROUGH. — " Let the " defendant be committed to the custody " of the Marshal of the Marshalsea, and " brought up to receive the judgment of " the court on Friday, the 24th instant." ——Now, reader, I hope that you have gone through all this carefully; for as I said before, you may be assured, that it is a million times more important to us, than are all the sieges and battles and victories and conquests of General Graham and Lord Talavera.——This is *our own* concern. It comes to our very doors. It touches our purses, our liberty, and our lives; and, in comparison to these, what are foreign wars? What are the causes of Ferdinand and the Queen of Portugal or that of the King of Sicily?—This is a matter that really concerns us; and, again and again I say, that, while he has a subject like this before him, that Englishman must be little better than a brute beast, who can suffer himself to be amused with what is passing in Spain, Portugal, or the Baltic.——I cannot help pressing this upon the reader; for, if we look into history, we shall find how fatal it has been to England, when the people have been amused with foreign objects to the neglect of what was passing at home.

—I was eager to finish my letters upon the Paper Money, and had nearly prepared the 24th for insertion here; but, this subject drew me away from it in spite of myself; and I shall now offer such remarks upon the proceedings as they appear to me to call for.——Upon Mr. DRAKARD's affidavit there is not much to say. His censure of Napoleon, and his endeavours to expose what he calls his *tyranny* and *oppression*, were, it seems, very meritorious in his own eyes; but, the Attorney General told him, we see, that that had nothing to do with the matter before the court; and he further observed, that such passages might have been written and published with the view of their being at hand to be *brought forward upon such occasions as this*! Here was what Mr. Drakard did not, in all human probability, expect.——Besides, said Mr. ATTORNEY, it may sometimes *suit the defendant's purpose to abuse the French government*. Very much deceived, indeed, then, was Mr. Drakard in supposing, that his *abuse* of the French government would stand him in much stead. He little expected, that his conduct would have met with this kind of criticism. He now sees, that there are more ways than one of looking at a matter.——Besides, was it not a little ill-advised to come into court and make a merit of having abused Buonaparté, when it must be in the recollection of every man, that, in this same court, and before this same Judge, Mr. PELTIER was, upon an Ex-Officio Information of Mr. Perceval, convicted of a libel *for having abused this same Buonaparté*? I ask, whether under such circumstances,

it was not rather ill-advised to come into court and make *a merit* of having abused Buonaparté; make a merit of having accused him of *tyranny* and *oppression?* Upon that trial, this same judge said, in his charge to the jury: "I lay it down *as law* "that *any* publication which tends to degrade, revile, and defame *persons in considerable situations of power and dignity in* "*foreign countries* may be taken to be "and treated as *a libel;* and particularly "where it had a tendency to interrupt "the amity and peace between the two "countries." He said further on, that he was sure that "no memory of *past*, or expectation of *future injury*, would warp "them from the *even course of justice;*" and he concluded in these remarkable words:——"I trust your verdict will "*strengthen the relations* by which the interests of this country are connected "with those of France," (where Buonaparté was then First Consul), "and that "it will illustrate and justify, in *every* "*quarter of the world*, the conviction, that "has been long and universally entertained, of the *unsullied purity* of British Judicature, and of the *impartiality* by which "their decisions are *uniformly* governed." ——We will not stop here to ask how it is that the MORNING POST and the COURIER now find courage to accuse the same Buonaparté of boasting of unnatural crimes; how it is they find courage to call his son a *bastard* and his Empress a w——. We will speak of that matter another time. But, surely it was a little awkward to make *a merit*, in this same court, before this same judge, of having *abused* this same Buonaparté. It was, however, a curious thing to see the expedient resorted to; and I beg my readers to *bear it in mind*.——Mr. Drakard swore it seems, that he took the part of the House of Commons against SIR FRANCIS BURDETT. Now, if he did this from a sincere conviction, that Englishmen are and ought to be liable to be sent to jail, and to any jail, and to be kept there *during the pleasure* of those who send them, without any oath made against them, and without ever being brought to trial from first to last; if this be the real opinion of MR. DRAKARD, if this be one of those "*peculiar blessings* of the constitution," which he so "constantly laboured" to impress upon the minds of his readers; why, all that one can say is, that he is a man, whose way of thinking must be extremely well adapted to his present circumstances; for, I can hardly believe him to be so unjust as to feel any very strong objection to be made subject, after a trial, to what Mr. Gale Jones suffered without any trial at all. Oh, no! he must be quite comfortable in that respect; and will, at any rate, let what will be his fate, have the satisfaction of reflecting, that he has done all that lay in his power in support of those "peculiar blessings of "the constitution," in the inculcation of which his advocate declared him to have constantly laboured, having now, at last, made his public protest, upon *oath*, against the Burdettite *mob*, and having done all that lay in his power to excite a prejudice against a cause which SIR FRANCIS BURDETT is, at this hour, bringing into the same court where this protest was made.

But he swore, too, it seems, that he had "always upheld the principle, that *the King* "*can do no wrong*."——Well! and what of that?——What of that! Who attempts to uphold any other doctrine? Why mention this? Why *swear* any such thing? What had this to do with your article about the *flogging of Local Militia men?* There was nobody that charged you with accusing the King of that. This seems to have had no connection at all with the matter; and why it was introduced I cannot imagine.——We now come to the speech of MR. BROUGHAM, which is full of interesting topics.——As to Mr. BROUGHAM's being *bound* to say that his client was guilty, and further *bound* to say, that his *intention* was not only not justifiable, but "*highly criminal;*" as to this part of the Learned Friend's speech, Mr. Drakard must be the best judge, as he must know best what he feed Mr. Brougham to say; but, as far as I can form an opinion upon the matter, I would rather have left it to be said by MR. ATTORNEY, who would not be likely to fail in the performance, and who would do it without any fee from the "*highly* "*criminal*" party.——But, with another part of the reported speech of Mr. BROUGHAM we have more to do. He is stated to have said: It was a *just* remark, that there were wholesale dealers in libel in this country, who made a *trade* of *injuring the constitution*.——*Who* are these, MR. BROUGHAM? Name them. Are there men of no other calling, who make a TRADE (aye, and a most vile trade too), of *injuring the constitution?* Are there no set of persons, think you, ten million times more base than the basest of the news-

paper proprietors of the preseut day? Answer me that, Sir. The very basest of the periodical publications that I know of is the *Edinburgh Review*, notwithstanding it sometimes contains excellent articles; for, you see through all its pages, an uniform design, on the part of the writers, to get into place; that is to say, to get to pocketing of the public money; to live upon the labour of the people of England; to fatten upon the cowardice and credulity of the nation. But, even these men are by no means the basest description of persons in the kingdom; there is one description a great deal more base; and, never will there be good times in England, till that description of men are greatly diminished in number.——Mr. BROUGHAM seems to think that there is room for a doubt, whether the *multitude*, who were for Sir FRANCIS BURDETT, could have *any opinion;* and he talks about the summary justice of the *mob* in the same style that his client swears about it. But, what had this to do with the matter? And why did he not tell us his *reason* for supposing, that his client was exposed to the *summary justice of the mob.* Was he touched by them? Did they attack him upon any occasion? This is, then, a pretty story to hatch up, that he was exposed to the rage of a *Burdettite mob,* and has that to plead as a set-off for his "*highly criminal* intention" in publishing an article about the *flogging of the Local Militia.* MR. ATTORNEY scouted, and very justly, the idea of any *merit* of Drakard upon this score; and observed, that he did not believe him to have been *in any danger at all* from the violence of the mob in the case of SIR FRANCIS BURDETT. Who was in any danger, in any part of the kingdom? I heard of no violence committed against any body. This, therefore, was, in my view of the matter, an act of gratuitous self-abasement on the part of Mr. Drakard. If, indeed, he had said, or instructed his counsel to say, that he had the merit of detesting the principles for maintaining which in the manner that he did SIR FRANCIS BURDETT was sent to the Tower, and that he was firmly resolved to act upon that detestation as long as he was able to publish a news-paper, there would have been some sense in what he said: some of us should have not been very nice in our appellations of him; but, still, there would have been some sense in his words: all the world would have understood him. But, to talk of his being exposed to the summary justice of a Burdettite *mob* was what nobody could endure for a moment; and, while he finds the idea scouted by his prosecutor, he will find that it will gain him very little favour with the public; so that he will soon feel that he has verified the old maxim respecting the consequences of temporizing.——We now come to a part of Mr. BROUGHAM's speech, which is of more consequence than all the rest: that part, where he speaks of the *Administration of Justice* in this country, a subject in which every man, who is not a slave in soul as well as in body, must feel a lively interest, and upon which, therefore, I shall speak somewhat at large.——Mr. BROUGHAM said, that his client had "constantly laboured to impress his readers "with his conviction of the *peculiar blessings* of the British Constitution; amongst "which, if any one, said he, stands eminently above all others, it is that, which "has NEVER BEEN ASSAILED, the "*Administration of Justice,* which, as "POWER HAS NEVER REACHED, so "slander has never touched."——Now, I do not clearly understand what is meant by the phrase "*power has never reached;*" but, I suppose, that it means, that the Administration of Justice has never been rendered partial, that it has never been rendered what it ought not to be, by the influence of the ministry, or men in power: or, to speak plainly at once, that the Judges have never been corrupt tools of the court or ministry.——If I am right as to this point, and if the words "*has never been assailed,*" mean that the Administration of Justice in England has never been found fault of, censured, and condemned. If these be the meanings of these two phrases, then, I say, that the two propositions are *false.* I do not know that Mr. Brougham stated them. I was not present when he was speaking. I find them in a report in the COURIER news-paper. I find them contained in a widely circulated publication; so finding them, and knowing them to be *false,* and regarding them as falshoods tending to *a mischievous public deception,* I shall spare no pains in the exposing of them.——It is asserted by this gentleman, in the name, it would seem, of his client, (but that is no matter), that the *Administration of Justice,* in this country, "*has never* "*been assailed,*" and that it has "*never been* "*reached by power;*" and, the manifest object of such a declaration is to inculcate, that it is an act little short of *blasphemy* for any one to dare to entertain a doubt of the

justice of *any* decision or any sentence in any of our courts; and this doctrine is, too, applicable to the *past* as well as the *present;* and thus is every man, who has ever been punished by any court in this country, to have his memory loaded with infamy; history is all to be set aside, and according to this "Learned Friend," the *punishment* of every one is to be the measure of his *guilt*. PRYNN, according to Mr. Brougham, *deserved* to have his ears cut off and his nose split and his cheeks burnt; and Sydney deserved to have his heart torn out of his body and his body torn in quarters.——But, these assertions, published under the name of Mr. Brougham, are *false;* as false as any thing that his poor client can have published, and tending, in my opinion, to infinitely greater mischief.——We will now see, whether the Administration of Justice, in this country, has *never* been *assailed,* that is to say, whether Judges have *never* been accused of injustice.——I have lately given my reader a description of what I suppose those men to be, whom the *despotism* in *Holland* chooses to call by the name of *Judges;* but, bad as I dare say they are, detestable *tools* as they are, vile instruments as they are in the hands of the Despotism there, I much question whether they come up to some that I shall now exhibit.——Don't start, reader! Never tremble, man! I hate those tools of Despotism full as much as you do or can; but, I tell you, I can match them from the English list.——I shall go back no further than LORD BACON, who was, in the reign of James I., *Lord Chancellor,* having been before *Attorney General,* and who was convicted of *taking bribes.* He was sentenced to be fined, imprisoned, and was turned out of his seat in the House of Lords. He is called by POPE, "the *meanest* of mankind." But, his taking of bribes was not the worst of his acts. For, a man having, some years before his disgrace, accused him of having been bribed, the unfortunate creature was brought by the then *Attorney General,* into the Court of Star Chamber (of which the Chancellor himself was a member), where he was tried for an alledged *libel,* was sentenced to stand twice in the Pillory; to have one ear cut off at each time; to ride backwards upon a horse to all the courts of justice, with a label upon his breast and his back denominating his offence; to *beg pardon* in every one of the courts; and then to be *imprisoned for life.* He perished from his sufferings in prison, and his wife and family became beggars. All which this bribe-taking Judge could stand by and behold without remorse. He who was guilty of the crime which this poor man had charged him with, could see him thus murdered by inches! Could see the poor soul perishing under the scourge, so unjustly laid upon him.——So much for the "*Great* Lord "Bacon," as he is called by unprincipled men of the present day.——We will next take a look at the Judges of the Court of Star Chamber, who, I verily believe, were the most atrocious tyrants that ever disgraced the earth, but whose proceedings were all *in due form,* and who talked about *law* and *justice* as much as, I dare say, the Dutch Judges do at this day.——This court consisted of the *Lord Chancellor* for the time being, the *Chief Justice of the King's Bench,* and the *Chief Justice of the Common Pleas,* to whom was added a Bishop and a Temporal Peer. It is well known that this court was abolished by act of Parliament, in the 16th year of the reign of Charles I.; but, while it was a court, it was guilty of every species of oppression. The *Attorney General* for the time being used to bring people before this court by *information;* all sorts of tyranny was exercised under pretence of administering Justice; 'till, at last, the King, in the hope of pacifying the people, gave his assent to the Act for its abolition, upon the express grounds of its being *the means of introducing arbitrary power and government.* ——Here, then, we have an act of parliament, in which the Administration of Justice is ASSAILED. It *has* been assailed then. It is false, then, to say, that it has *never* been assailed.——This court, in which, as the reader will see, were *the two Chief Judges* and the *Lord Chancellor,* was guilty of cruelties such as never were attempted by the wildest "*mob*" that England ever saw assembled. In the case of Mr. PRYNN and BURTON and Dr. BASTWICK, they caused their ears to be cut off, their noses split; and because Mr. PRYNN had had his ears cut off by them before, they now cut them off still closer to his head, and burnt him in both cheeks. They then imprisoned them all three *for life,* forbidding them books to read, forbidding them pen, ink, and paper, and forbidding any human being to speak to them; and, finding, that they could get no keepers in England cruel enough to execute their hellish purpose, they had

these victims of their barbarity conveyed, one to Jersey, the other to Guernsey, and the other to Scilly, whence they were brought by the Parliament, who afterwards abolished this infernal court. And, yet, Mr. BROUGHAM coolly tells us, that the Administration of Justice has *never* been ASSAILED; and would, apparently, mark out as a reprobate wretch any man who dares to suppose it possible that injustice has ever been done in any of our courts.—— Recollect, reader, that the *Lord Chancellor* and the *Two Chief Justices* always belonged to this Court. They were here left without juries. They and the *Attorney General* for the time being carried on the work. ——In the same reign, the Court of King's Bench kept a pretty fair pace with that of the Star Chamber; and, indeed, it was the corruption of the Judges and Lawyers that finally brought the king to the scaffold. Mr. PRYNN was punished the first time by the Court of Star Chamber for writing a book against *lewd plays*, which the king's foreign wife had introduced into England along with the harlotry manners of the then French court; and, the Benchers of *Lincoln's Inn*, of whom Mr. PRYNN was one, in order to convince the court, that *they* did not side with him, humbly besought their Majesties that *they* might be permitted *to act a play before them!* This is an instance of baseness that has seldom been equalled; and, yet, I do think, that I have, in our day, seen something very little short of it.——The case of JOHN HAMPDEN brought out the Judges of that reign in their true colours. Hampden, as all the world knows, refused to pay a tax of *twenty shillings*, because it was imposed upon him without his consent; that is to say, without the consent of a parliament freely chosen, as the then parliament was. It was a tax called *Ship-money*, the short history of which is this. The parliament consisted of men who really loved their country. They were *gentlemen* of England, not to be bought or sold. They were not to be made a mere tool in the hands of any man whom the king was persuaded to make his minister. They were really the guardians of the public purse; they actually held the purse strings; and they were not to be tempted to let them loose by any offer of a share in the expenditure. ——The king wished, however, to get money from the people; and an *Attorney General* bit upon the scheme. The pretence of the tax was, that the king wanted money to fit out *ships* to defend the kingdom; and his Attorney General, NOY, contrived a scheme by which it was to be got without the consent of parliament. He hatched up what he called *law* for the purpose; and, the tax was imposed. The country in general paid it; but JOHN HAMPDEN, a gentleman of Buckinghamshire, whose name ought to be held in veneration by every Englishman, refused the 20*s.* imposed upon him. The matter was brought to trial. It was, at last, argued before the twelve Judges, a *majority* of whom, in defiance of all *law*, but having a deal of *quibble* and *chicanery* at command, decided for the king.——But, here was the root of all the mischief that befel that "*Martyr*" to lawyers. We call him King Charles the *Martyr;* but we always ought to add the words, *to lawyers;* for, to *their* fatal advice and instrumentality he fell a martyr.——This NOY, the *Attorney General*, furnished the chicanery in defence of the tax; but, CLARENDON, though a great enemy of public freedom, says, that the king lost greatly by this decision; for, that the people now saw, that they had *nothing left to call their own.* He says, "that the damage is not to be expressed "that the crown and state received by "the *deserved* reproach and infamy that 'attended the Judges by *being made use of* '*in this and like acts of power.*"——The *whole of the twelve Judges* told the King, that he had a right to levy the money; they said that he was the sole judge of the manner of doing it for such purposes; and, in short it was they and the *Attorney General*, who caused his ruin and his death.—— Here, we see, that "*power*" did "*reach*" the Administration of Justice, though Mr. Brougham says it has *never* done so. Here we see, in short, a whole set of corrupt Judges, and we all know what was the sort of support that the kingly government received from them.——CLARENDON (whom I quote because he was an *enemy* of liberty) says, upon this subject, in another place, that men bore the *violences* of the kingly power with some degree of patience; but, says he, "when they saw, "*in a court of law*, reason of state urged as "elements of law, JUDGES AS SHARP-SIGHTED AS SECRETARIES OF "STATE, and in the MYSTERIES OF STATE; judgment of law grounded upon matter of fact, of which there was neither inquiry nor proof; it is no won"der that they cared little about any al"teration that might take place." It is upon this occasion, that he uses the words

taken for my motto; and the sentiment expressed in which I have often expressed, in speaking of *tame cheaters*, by which I have always meant, *robbers unarmed*, in many of the countries of Europe, and whose robberies have facilitated the conquests of the French, because, I have said, a man will rather yield to *open force* than submit to *be robbed under the forms of law and justice*.——How often have I said this; and this is precisely the idea which Clarendon quotes from this Latin or Greek author. And, it is very certain, that men resent nothing so bitterly as they do robbery or injury of any sort, committed against them, under the forms of law and justice. When they are assailed by *bare-faced* tyranny, they know what they are about. *Open* tyranny has something of honesty about it. It is violent and unjust; but it does not *insult* as well as *oppress*. There is, in the breast of every man, a love of power, that pleads in apology for the open tyrant; but, the base oppressor, who tyrannizes in the name of law, is despised while he is obeyed, and, at every step, he kindles revenge that never can be quenched. This opinion has been expressed by me some scores of times, and I am not a little pleased to see that it corresponds with the opinion of men eminent for their discernment and their wisdom.——I have not room to continue the remarks much further; but, if MR. BROUGHAM wants more proofs of the falsehood of the assertions imputed to him, let him look into the proceedings against SCROGGS and his associate Judges. This man, who was Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench, was accused by the House of Commons of being an insolent and arbitrary man, and, in short, of violating his oath in all possible ways. SIR FRANCIS NORTH, the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, was accused along with him, and also two other of the Judges. Scroggs was particularly charged with arbitrary proceedings against the printer of a certain Weekly Publication; but, indeed, the main charge against the whole of this set, was their tyranny, their perversion of the law, their base partiality, respecting the *press*.——If this is not enough for MR. BROUGHAM, let him look into the history of JEFFERIES, who, from being *Recorder of London* and *Attorney General*, became *Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench*, and afterwards *Lord Chancellor*. This was a famous murderer in the name of the law. Amongst other murders he committed, with the help of a PACKED JURY (without which such a judge is like a blunderbuss without a trigger), was that of SIDNEY, while his "brother" Pemberton, murdered Russel. The sentences passed upon those gentlemen were afterwards reversed *by Act of Parliament*, declared to be null and void, their trials declared to be illegal, their juries packed, their judges perverters of the law, and their deaths murder. JEFFERIES was, at last, taken while endeavouring to escape to Hamburgh, and put into the Tower by the Lord Mayor of London, where he died in great misery. ——In speaking of this man, we generally call him *the bloody*, and we have the notion of his being a very daring and *violent* man. But, this does not appear to have been the case. He seems to have been a most PROFOUND HYPOCRITE, and to have had as much of *purr* about him as any pussy of them all. A very smooth, canting, cold-blooded scoundrel he appears to have been. When he was trying Sydney, and taking every means, step by step, to entrap him, and to put a colour upon the murder so as to make it look like justice, he was as *smooth as oil*, and "*prayed God*" that the prisoner might "*escape*, if not "guilty." His co-adjutors upon the Bench appear to have been of just the same stamp as to principle, only they had, I suppose, less cunning. They appear all to have been selected for their *base subserviency to the court, or ministry*, much more than for their *understanding of the law*. In short, they seem to have wanted nothing but genius to make them the most consummate scoundrels of the age.——As the *Attorney General*, Noy, and the corrupt Judges of his day were the principal cause of the overthrow of Charles the First (the Martyr to Lawyers); so the *Attorney General*, Sawyer, and the corrupt Judges of Charles the Second's reign had well nigh overthrown him; they would have done it, if he had lived much longer; and, they did cause the total overthrow of James the Second and the expulsion of his family from the throne, as was very evident at the Revolution, when amongst the first acts that were passed, were those for reversing the sentences against Russel and Sidney, and declaring them to have been illegal and corruptly obtained.—— Thus, then, have we seen a little of what "*Learned Friends*" have been in *former* times. Of the *later times*, I will not speak any further than to observe, that if Mr. Brougham recollects any thing about LORD

MANSFIELD; if he has read MR. HORNE TOOKE'S Trials; he will not say, that, even of late, the Administration of Justice has *never* been ASSAILED. Nay, and as for the *present times*, how could he say, that it had not been *assailed*, if he recollected that Messrs. WHITE and HART have passed a fourth part of the average life of man in jail in consequence of a conviction upon a charge of having *assailed* it? One would think, that he could not have been ignorant of this fact; how, then, could he look the Judges in the face and say, that the Administration of Justice had never been assailed? He will say, perhaps, that it had, in this last case, at any rate, been *unjustly* assailed. Aye, aye; to be sure! I am not at all disposed, I can assure him, to contradict him upon that point; but, this is not the point that we are upon. He said, that the Administration of Justice had *never* been *assailed;* and I say that that assertion was false; and, I also say, that it is a falshood of a very injurious tendency; because, if it were to be believed, the measure of every one's *punishment* would be the measure of his *guilt;* and, truth requires that the world should know and bear in mind, that many persons have suffered innocently through the corruptions in our courts of Justice, and from the vindictiveness and tyranny of Judges. Truth requires this, and truth is not to be sacrificed to the taste of MR. BROUGHAM. If, indeed, he had said, that the Administration of Justice, *at the present time*, had not been assailed *justly;* I should not, and I dare say no other writer would, have thought of contradicting him; but, to say, that it had *never* been assailed was what I could not suffer to pass uncontradicted, when I recollected that our history was full of the proceedings against corrupt and overbearing judges, and when I know that Messrs. Hart and White have for years been wasting their bodies in jail for having assailed the Administration of Justice under the present Judges. Yes, yes, "they assailed it *unjustly.*" I understand that well enough. Why do you ply me with that? But, they *assailed* it. That is what I say. That is what nobody can with truth contradict; and that being true, MR. BROUGHAM'S statement is false. They are in jail for having assailed it; and, while that was notoriously the fact, it was a little too much to tell the Judges to their faces, that the Administration of Justice had *never* been assailed; and, to say to the people of England, that they had *never* had any corrupt or tyrannical Judges, was too much for any body to bear with patience.——There was some years ago a work published, called "A DISPLAY OF TYRANNY," which was filled with accounts of robberies, oppressions, and murders committed by English Judges. A catalogue of blacker crimes never appeared in the world; and, they seem the more detestable for having been committed under the shew, and with all the forms, of *law* and *justice.* Seeing that such has been the case in England, then, does it not become us to detect and expose endeavours, such as are made in this Speech of Mr. BROUGHAM? What right has he to publish to the world, or any body to publish for him, a falshood tending to produce so much mischief in the country? I insist upon it that a more mischievous falshood cannot be devised; for, it not only writes infamy upon the tomb of every man who has been punished by any of our courts, however innocent he may have been since proved to have been; but, it tends to make people afraid even to *think;* afraid, not only to say that their soul is their own, but to think that their soul is their own, when they approach the person of a Judge, and especially the scene of his power.——After all, however, the COURIER may possibly have totally misrepresented the Speech of Mr. BROUGHAM. I call it his Speech because it is so called in print; and, indeed, as it has come forth under that name, as his Speech it must be commented upon.——I am aware, that lawyers may have motives for this species of praise, which other men have not; and, as long as they keep it *amongst themselves*, let them indulge in it; but, if they *publish*, or any body publishes for them, then they *come before* us, and must expect to be fully examined without favour or affection.——I now dismiss this subject with a promise to Mr. BROUGHAM, that, as often as he, or any one of his "*Learned Friends*" shall treat the public with such assertions as the above, I will, if the assertions fall under my eye, give them an answer.

WM. COBBETT.

State Prison, Newgate, Tuesday, May 14, 1811.

BULLION DEBATE.

(Continued from page 1184.*)*

..............................The Report, in page 11, states, as an indisputable fact,

what he (Mr. Rose) asserted to be indisputably untrue—and it went to this, that specie sent from one country to another must always be subject to a loss equal to the freight, insurance, &c. This he illustrated by supposing two cases of 1,000 oz. of silver or of a proportionate quantity of gold, sent from this country to the continent, on which, according to his calculation, there would be a clear profit of 16 per cent. on the one, and of 20 per cent. on the other, after paying all charges. Lest there should be a mistake in this, he sent to Mr. Goldsmid for a similar calculation, and it was as nearly as possible the same. In page 12, the inference of the Committee relative to Exports and Imports was directly contrary to the fact. In page 13, too, there was an assertion relative to Exports and foreign Expenditure, for which there was not the slightest foundation, it being a fact, that in the two highest years of foreign Expenditure there was a short-coming of three millions in our Exports, instead of an excess. There was a Continental Gentleman, on whose evidence the Committee who framed the Report seemed greatly to rely; and how did he propose to remedy the evils arising from the present scarcity of Bullion? Why, by a free circulation, and liberty to export! This was his expedient; and, according to his view of the subject, it could answer no good purpose to allow the Bank to pay in cash, unless you also allowed a free circulation and liberty to export; in other words, unless you countenance fraud and perjury. The Honourable Gentleman next referred to page 17 of the Report, in which an account is given of circumstances which occurred in the time of King William, and where, speaking of the expences of the Bank, it is stated that their notes fell to a discount of 17 per cent. and stock sold at an advance. Where the Committee got the latter fact, if fact it was, he could not say. On the margin he saw the names of Dr. Drake and Mr. Godfrey. He suspected the one was no better authority than he should be able to prove the other to be.

Mr. Horner said, the information alluded to would be found in Lord Somers's Tracts.

Mr. Rose said, the Honourable and Learned Gentleman had found fault with the Governor and Deputy Governor of the Bank, because they did not wish to discount at 3 or 4 per cent. when the legal interest was 5 per cent. He confessed, however, that he was not surprised they should not wish to be cross-questioned on subjects of opinion for which they had not been prepared by some previous intimation. Let the Committee see what Mr. Godfrey said on this subject.—He told you that at a period when the Bank charged the public 6 per cent. they charged to those who kept cash with them only 3 per cent. Would the Committee who made the Report, have the Committee of the House to take this as a proof that the Bank was at that time well managed? The Right Honourable Gentleman then proceeded to notice what was stated by Dr. Drake, relative to the same period. The Doctor said that they could not effect a reduction in the price of guineas. Two Acts of Parliament, however, did reduce them. He stated too that bank-paper was then narrowed, but in fact it was not. Surely it was not excusable when Gentlemen were making Reports to be laid before that House, to do so in this extraordinary way, by misstating every fact! The Report then went on to shew, that at a particular period the trade was unfavourable to Ireland, and then refers to a paper to shew that the issue of bank-paper was the cause. Here again, however, the statement was unfounded, and the fact lay the contrary way. It did so happen that when the issues of the Bank of Ireland were at the lowest the exchange was 13¼ per cent.; and when the Bank issues were at the highest, the rate of exchange was at 9 or 9¼ per cent. being about par. He should not go the length of saying that this was occasioned by the larger issues of the Bank, but surely the fact was sufficient to repel the contrary inference. Mr. Rose proceeded to state, that the assertion that the conduct of the Bank Directors affected the exchange, and price of bullion, was the most unfounded that ever was uttered. To shew that there had been an excessive issue, the Report had adverted to the discounts since 1797. What they were from that period to 1802, he did not exactly know, but from 1802 to 1809 he knew that the Bank notes had only increased 397,000*l.* and the Learned Gentleman himself would confess that if discounts could be facilitated without any material increase of paper, it would be a benefit to the community by the accommodation it would afford to the manufacturing and trading interests. It appeared further, that Sir Francis Baring had admitted,

that if trade and revenue increased, an addition to the circulating medium would be required. The trade and revenue of the country had unquestionably increased greatly since 1798, and therefore a larger amount of Bank-paper became necessary. Besides, till the year 1797 not a Bank-note was paid into the Exchequer. Since that period they had been received, and sometimes considerable quantities were thus locked up. The increased trade then demanded a larger issue of Bank-notes; and one reason why he would not restrain the Bank in their issues was, that unless they furnished the requisite quantity of paper, the demand would be supplied by paper of a much worse description. A Gentleman had said that they ought to have another Bank. That might answer, perhaps, if he were to have the management of it; but then they did not know who the managers might be. They knew the managers of the present Bank, and could repose confidence in them. It had been justly stated, that a given amount of commerce required more circulating medium in time of war than in time of peace. Mr. Bosanquet had said that an addition was required in the present circumstances, owing to the long credit necessarily given to the continental purchasers. He next adverted to the quantity of coin brought into circulation from 1773 to 1798, making nearly 44 millions altogether, subject to whatever drains might be made upon it during that period. But then it would be observed that except in the year 1783, gold was not in all that time above the Mint price, so that there was little temptation to melt or export. Allowing, however, eight millions for these purposes, which was much beyond the mark, there would still remain in circulation in 1798 upwards of thirty-five millions of coin. He wished this to be noticed, because he had found that Mr. Blake and others had stated it at much less. This circumstance the Learned Gentleman did not appear to have considered—and indeed there could hardly be an instance of a stronger love of theory than what he had displayed in opposition to facts. The misfortune was, that when Gentlemen had formed a strong theoretical opinion, they shut their eyes to facts and evidence, and would see nothing but what favoured their own view of the subject. The Right Honourable Gentleman then called the attention of the Committee to the present scarcity of specie, and as a proof of it, adverted to the very small comparative quantity received by the Revenue Collectors. In the collection of a revenue of 3,640,000*l.* in the county of Lancaster, only about 11,000*l.* of specie had been procured. From this circumstance, the Committee must be aware, how very necessary it was, that the paper currency should be large enough to supply the drain of specie. In 1797, the circulating medium, including coin and bank-notes, was about 46 millions. At present, the amount of specie in circulation could hardly amount to 3 millions. Taking the bank notes at 24 millions, the whole circulating medium was only 27 millions instead of the 46 millions, which must have been in circulation in 1798. The Committee then must be aware of the incalculable inconvenience that would result to trade and manufactures, from checking the issue of bank-notes. Such a measure would, besides, injure the exports, and occasion a most pernicious reduction of the exchange. (*Hear, hear! from Mr. Perceval and others*). Let the Committee then consider whether it could be justly said, that there was an excess of bank paper? Whether it would be wise policy to fetter the Bank Directors in their issues of notes? If an excess had been made out, then there would have been some foundation for the remedial measure recommended in the Report. But so far was this from being made out, that the very reverse was the real truth of the case. Instead of being surprised at the large amount of bank notes in circulation, his wonder was that the issues had not been much greater. Considering the previous extent of the circulating medium, and the increase of trade and revenue that had taken place since 1798, one would rather be tempted to conclude that the Bank had not been so liberal in its issues of paper as the circumstances required. Notwithstanding then his high opinion of the Learned Gentleman's talents, he could not help saying, that such a Report as this, so directly in the teeth of facts and evidence, he had never known. How could the Learned Gentleman imagine that they could adopt his resolutions, founded on such erroneous opinions as he had taken up? They were not to proceed upon the credit of the very able and eloquent speech which he had just delivered. They were to look at the Report, and see how far the evidence supported the allegations. These allegations were not sup-

ported by the evidence; and he had proved, from undeniable facts, that the issues of bank notes had nothing whatever to do with the exchange, or price of bullion.—The Report was against every syllable of the evidence, except that of Sir F. Baring and the continental merchant. But even the continental merchant had given it as his opinion that the Bank Notes had nothing at all to do with the fall of the exchange. He had been pressed upon this point, but had always persevered in his opinion. But he said that the large amount of Bank-notes had some effect in preventing the rise of the exchange; for if the Bank issued gold it might be exported, and thus render the exchange more favourable. So that the way in which the exchange might be prevented from rising was to export the gold as fast as it was issued from the Bank. The Committee had not sanctioned the fraud and perjury which this would have involved—but without fraud and perjury such exports could not be made. Then, as to Sir F. Baring's evidence, he said that it would be proper to resume payments in specie as soon as the Bank could conveniently do it. He did not say that a positive law should pass, compelling the Bank to resume the payments in specie, but only gave it as his opinion, that the issue of cash should be resumed as soon as it was in the power of the bank. If the committee turned aside from the evidence of the best informed witnesses, and considered it as extravagant nonsense, their Report could not form a proper ground for any proceedings in that House—but independent of the evidence of the rest, even upon that of Sir F. Baring, and the continental merchant, the Committee had not made out the allegations in their Report.—The Right Honourable Gentleman then adverting to the statements of an Honourable Friend of his (Huskisson), expressed his firm conviction, that in publishing those statements, his Honourable Friend had been actuated by no improper motive. His Hon. Friend, he was sure, had nothing in view but the public good, but though he gave him full credit for the purity of his motives, he could not help regretting that such a publication should have gone abroad. With the best intentions on the part of his Honourable Friend, it had, he was persuaded, done much injury to public credit.—To all those who had talked to him on the subject of the publication in question, he had always said that his Honourable Friend could have had nothing else in view but the public advantage; but still it had done much injury. If such a publication had come from an indifferent person, it would have signified little; it would have passed away without doing any mischief. But from the high character of his Honourable Friend, his great knowledge of financial concerns, and the confidence which many were disposed to place in his opinions, his statement had excited peculiar attention, and its bad effect had been more extensively diffused. His Honourable Friend had said that there existed a strong resemblance between the doctrine upon which the Bank Directors proceeded, and that of the celebrated Mr. Law. The Bank Directors might possibly be wrong in the notion, that they could never issue to excess as long as they discounted only on good commercial security. But what resemblance existed between their proceedings and those of Mr. Law he was at a loss to conceive. Mr. Law's Bank ended in not leaving a shilling to be divided among the holders of its securities. The Bank of England, as appeared by the examination before the Committee of Lords, had, in 1797, a very large surplus beyond all claims that could be made upon it. No two things could be more different, therefore, than this and Mr. Law's scheme. If the Bank Directors were to be examined to-morrow, he believed it would appear that they had 15 millions surplus property beyond all the demands against them. He could not, therefore, but say that the observation of his Honourable Friend had much better have been omitted. The Bank Directors did not deserve it. This was another proof that when Gentlemen had formed certain theoretical opinions, they could see nothing but what made in favour of their theories. If they once abandoned established law and usage, they got into inexplicable difficulties. The Right Honourable Gentleman then read some sentences from the publication of Mr. Wheatly, reflecting upon the financial doctrines of Mr. Pitt, who, as he said, having taken up wrong views of the subject, was consequently wrong in the measures which he adopted. Whatever difference of opinion might have existed on other points, he confessed his surprise that Mr. Pitt should be charged by any one with ignorance of the finances and resources of his country. He did not

stand there as the advocate of the Bank; his only object was the public interest. If the Bank Directors, had not done their duty he would have been as ready to censure them as any man. But as to their resumption of cash payments it was altogether out of the question. It was impossible for them to find specie to pay. If there existed a possibility of their resuming cash payments, he would be willing to compel them to do so at whatever expence. If they could find specie at any price, their profits had been so large that he thought they ought to pay in cash. *(Hear! hear!)* But the truth was that specie was not to be found.—The Committee in their Report proposed that the Bank Directors should reduce their issues of paper. How could they do this when gold was not to be had? In his opinion they could not possibly do so without the most material injury to trade and manufactures, and the most serious inconvenience even to labourers and almost every description of persons in the community. His Honourable Friend had said that gold might be had in exchange for other commodities. But every thing that the country could spare was sent out for other purposes. They could not send more, and how was the gold to be procured? His Hon. Friend said that it might be procured here, but it was well known that foreigners purchased it here at the rate of 4*l.* 15*s.* per ounce, and one of them had a commission to take it at any price.—Whatever the price might be, his instructions were to give a shilling more, but to get the gold. It was impossible, therefore, for the Bank to procure it—and if the Bank could not procure it, what did they propose? He had seen an order under the administration of the Earl of Oxford, by which a ship was directed to proceed in search of gold. This order had appeared to him sufficiently whimsical; but he protested that he did not think it more extravagant than the proposition now made to compel the resumption of cash payments by the Bank within a certain period, when gold was not to be had. Mr. Locke had stated, that the only way to procure gold was by the surplus of trade. If more commodities were exported than imported, gold must be imported in order to equalize the balance. But at present the balance of trade was against us. If the issues of bank notes were not checked, our difficulties might be surmounted *(Hear! hear! from Mr. Perceval and others)*—but if they should be checked, the worst consequences would follow. Gold could not be procured. The balance of trade was not only against us, but the system of tyranny prevalent on the continent prevented the payment of money there even when it became due. This was so monstrous, that it could hardly continue. One would hope that it would soon find its own end. But even if the Bank could find gold, would the country be the better for it? How long would the coin issued remain in this country? The price of gold was 4*l.* 16*s.*; but supposing it only 4*l.* 14*s.* or 13, or 12, it would be melted and exported. Unless then they could reduce the price of gold, it would be perfectly nugatory to call upon the Bank to pay in the precious metals. If the public were to derive any advantage from it, he would have no hesitation in diminishing the profits of the Bank; but when no advantage could be gained for the public by the measure, he had no inclination to interfere. He would only farther say, that under this system of Bank Restriction, the country had flourished for 14 years, with the exception of the two last years, as far as concerned the exchange. That had fallen, but it was owing to the unexampled tyranny under which the Continent at present groaned. Were they to assist the enemy in this monstrous work by checking the issues of bank-paper, at a moment when the scarcity of the precious metals rendered them essential to the commercial and manufacturing industry of the country? In the whole history of Parliament he had never heard of a Report so totally contradicted by facts as this. Having prospered so long under this system, he hoped they would not now put an end to it, at a time when it became of the greatest consequence to continue it. He trusted Gentlemen would take care that whatever mischief was done us, should be the work of the enemy; and that we should not madly assist his schemes, by bringing that destruction upon ourselves in which he vainly attempted to involve us. *(Hear! hear!)*

Mr. Henry Thornton said it was impossible at present to follow the right Honourable Gentleman, who had just sat down, through the variety of calculations which he had submitted to the House. Neither would he attempt at present to decide upon the accuracy or the inaccuracy of the Bullion Committee Report.

The question had been certainly ably and fully opened that night by the Learned Chairman of that Committee; but however ably and fully he might have opened the question, there were some parts of his speech which, perhaps, required farther amplification. The main question, it was to be observed, was not whether cash payments were to be resumed at the Bank of England, within a limited time? or whether this resumption should at all take place? but it was, whether they ought to agree to the sentiment of the Learned Gentleman on this particular point; namely, that the present high price of bullion was to be attributed to the quantity of paper circulated in the country? It is necessary, therefore, that the House should decide as to this point between the Bank Directors and the Bullion Committee. He himself had already given an incidental opinion in the House on this subject; but it was a subject which could not be too fully canvassed in the House; because when they gave the Bank an unlimited and discretionary power to issue out paper, it was their duty carefully to guard against any excess in that issue. It became necessary then in the first place, to enquire in what manner quantity had an influence on exchange. He had to shew what, in his opinion, was as plain as any point could well be, nay, that was demonstrable; that the quantity of paper must necessarily influence the price of commodities. The Irish Bank Directors, though they denied that the Exchange was anywise affected by the issue of paper, did not deny that the price of commodities was affected by it. One of the English Bank Directors said something to the same effect. Indeed, he had never met with any one who denied that the quantity of paper influenced the price of commodities. The same effect was produced by the quantity of gold. Indeed, the general principle of quantity was admitted the other day in the House, when a certain amount of Exchequer bills was voted to prevent some persons in Scotland, engaged in manufactures, from experiencing a fall in the price of their commodities. They had heard that the paper of all the Banks of Ireland had been diminished. The consequence of this measure was a fall in the price of commodities, but it was also a rise in exchange. Here he wished to be understood, that he did not mean to say that a great diminution of paper might not be a great evil, but at present it was to be kept in mind, they were searching for principles—they were inquiring whether the augmentation of the circulating medium of the country did not diminish the value of that circulating medium. Of this principle he could no more doubt than he could doubt of his own existence. On the 31st of December 1795, the exchange was unfavourable to this country. The Bank immediately limited their paper. He found at that time a general refusal to discount. It would have been very convenient to himself at that time to have received an accommodation from the Bank. He had goods which he was compelled, in consequence, to sell at a loss. He found, when he went to the Bank, a sugar baker in the same predicament with himself, who was compelled to have recourse to the same remedy. Now if this fact be established, that the augmentation of the quantity of paper increases the price of commodities, was it possible to deny that bullion shared the fate of all other commodities? Why should not the produce of the mine be affected as well as the produce of the earth? What was exchange but the relative value of the circulating medium of one country compared with the value of the circulating medium of all other countries? Now this country had taken a different relative value in her circulation to that of other countries, and therefore the exchange with those countries identified itself with the price of bullion in them. This, it was to be remarked, was the great fundamental question. It was like a primary law of nature, and ought to be constantly kept in mind. Not that he meant to say an invariable proportion was maintained between the price of bullion and the issue of paper. *(Hear! from the Ministerial Benches)*. He could suppose that on any great alarm the proportions might be doubled—even tripled. There were indeed a variety of causes which might operate more strongly at one period than another. But to this point he wished to call the attention of the House, that they had never on any former occasion had any thing like so great an excess as now. If at any time the balance of trade was against us, and the value of gold rose in consequence, the temptation to export occasioned a drain on the Bank. The Bank then drew in their issues. He wished to call to their recollection three periods illustrative of this. The first of these periods was 1782, when, as appears from

the evidence given before this House in 1797, there was a considerable fall in exchange, and the Bank refused to make any payments on the loan of 1782. The second of these periods was 1795, when the exchange was also unfavourable. The Bank began immediately to restrict thei loans. The third of these periods was 1797, when there was a drain on the Bank from another cause, not connected with an unfavourable exchange. To have then extended their issues, would have been highly liberal, but the fact was, that they on the contrary drew them in. It was necessary then to inquire how they would be freed from this drain of gold, and not permit the evil to go on enlarging, in the same manner as if the present period were antecedent to the restriction. If there were no restriction at the Bank, and no law against the exportation of gold coin, no Parliament to interfere with the course of proceeding, how would nature act? Supposing that the stamp of the coin merely ascertained the quantity and quality of the metal contained in it; supposing an unfavourable trade and an unfavourable harvest. If people from abroad send articles hither, something in return must be sent to them, commodities as far as they go, and if any gold in the country, some of it must also be sent, but just so much as would put the gold on the footing at which it might be in the exporting country. This might be very inconvenient; but he was merely shewing the course that would be taken. The gold going abroad would occasion it to be cheaper there, while the high rate of interest here would gradually restore the balance between this and foreign countries, so that the standard would still continue to be the same, as if all was but one country. He asked, whether in such a case there would not necessarily be a limitation of the circulating medium? Surely there would. The law, no doubt, would prove some obstruction to the exportation of coin; but the value of that difficulty was known. How did this stand antecedent to 1797? It was necessary to examine the principle of the thing. They knew for a hundred years back there had been a constant tendency to excess in the issues; but that excess had always been prevented by limitation. He had already stated three cases where the Bank had limited their issues. When the Bank felt an alarm, they very naturally reduced their issues. It was altogether out of the question to think of ascertaining the excess from the quantity; for there were a variety of circumstances which made the quantity elude their discovery. The situation of Europe might make a diminution indispensibly necessary. The war had such a tendency. Between 1783 and 1792, years of peace, the exchange was always in favour of this country; and accordingly it would be found, the years of excess were during the war in 1795 and 1797.—Gentlemen might consider what a low rate of interest five per cent. was, in time of war, and what a temptation it afforded to apply for discounts. The legal rate of interest was, no doubt, five per cent. and it might be imagined that all the money that was borrowed during war was borrowed at that rate; but no man could borrow money, except from the Bank, without paying additional sums, in name of commission, which really went to increase the rate. A person who borrowed at 5 per cent. would find, on balancing his books, that, independent of the profits of trade, his goods were, from time to time, worth more and more in value, so that in time, by the mere rise in stock alone, he would be enabled to pay off the debt. In the same manner, a person who in 1790 laid out 100*l.* in the purchase of land, if it were traced back, would be found soon to have got the whole into his own pocket. It was easy to see then what a great temptation there was for borrowing. It was well known in the banking business, that nobody lent to the full extent of the demand, for it would be perfectly impossible to equal the measure of the demand. The borrower pays more than 5 per cent. interest to any other person than the Bank. It may easily be magined then, that if the Bank with such a low interest measure their issues by any hink like demand, they must run into excess. In the Hamburgh Bank the limiation against excess is found in the rate of interest; and it may be said, that the Bank of England will be constantly in danger of excess, if the rate of interest be ever so little higher than the legal rate. Since 1797 there had been no limitation whatever on the Bank; and this was the urning point. The Right Honourable Gentleman, (Mr. Rose) was displeased at he comparison between the Bank of England and the Mississippi Scheme of Law; and he agreed with him, that nothing could be more opposite in general than hey were. But though, in many points,

they might be opposed, it was no less true that there might be certain points of similarity between them, and that this country may be in danger of suffering from the same calamity which befel France, from Law. Mr. Law looked to security, and the Bank looked, in 1797, to security. Law did not issue paper for more than two-thirds of the value of the land. The rate of interest fell to 3 per cent. Many good things resulted at first from this; but he got at last more than all the circulating medium of the rest of Europe. He thought he could not issue too much, while he lent at low interest on good security. In the same manner—let the Bank look that they do not lend too much at low interest. Another case applicable to the present was the Bank of Paris. The Bank of Paris was not the Government Bank. It lent out money on moderate interest, and was founded on good security. In 1785, the Government, wishing for money, contrived to borrow from the Bank, and to interfere with the paper currency. The Bank having furnished loans to Government, augmented their paper. This again produced a run on the Bank: at last the Bank stopt. But the Bank immediately limited their paper; and though the exchange had fallen 10 per cent. the Bank felt no difficulty. This example was made for the instruction of this country. A Committee was appointed to inquire into the business, and they stated three things as particularly to be attended to. The first was, that Government should not borrow from the Bank, very different from the practice in this country. They next stated that the Bank Funds should only be laid out on short securities, that they might always have it in their power to restrict their issues; and in the third place they stated that the Bank should draw in their discounts in case of a drain, for the meaning of a drain was, that more notes had been issued than were required. This could not be difficult if attention were paid to the first symptoms of superabundance. Gentlemen would perhaps say that this case was not similar to ours. But he would maintain that drain was a proof of superabundance. The paper of the Paris Bank amounted only to ninety millions when it stopped, while 100 millions at another period was not found too much; but then there arose circumstances, such as war, which totally altered the relation of the sum wanted. He protested, therefore, against the laying down a particular maximum: The only rule of guidance was necessarily the drain. They were exactly like the Bank of Paris. There were a variety of other circumstances to the same point, and he believed Sweden was one. The Swedish Bank, like the Bank of Paris, lent at interest. It had been said that the difference between this country and the Continent made all these foreign instances inapplicable; but were there no limits to this proposition; were there no countries on the Continent situate like ourselves? The Swedish Bank, he was persuaded, was of that description—they lent at interest; but they lent somewhat too largely, and stopt at a depreciation of 70 per cent. They also say a great difference in the price of commodities is highly inconvenient, that trade would suffer, they wish to temporize, and are indisposed to reduce their issues of paper. The excess of America was also in point. Their paper was also issued on very good security. Demerara and Surinam were also in point. It was very natural for us to think that we were the centre of our own system; in the same way as was supposed that the sun kept running round the earth, and not the earth round the sun, we always imagine that the bullion keeps on rising, and not that our currency goes on depreciating. He said he understood that in Sweden also bullion was said to rise. He remembered when he was in a Russian counting-house, he had no ideas how the exchange, now down to 11, and now up, was continually against that country, in the same manner as a leading tide, though it appears for a little to go back, keeps gradually gaining more and more ground. The general unfavourable exchange was to be attributed to the paper money issued by several successive rulers of Russia, and these variations had their origin in causes that might somewhat reduce, but could never substantially effect that unfavourable exchange. Will it be said, that the same measure may be favourable here and unfavourable there? It appears from Marshall's Life of Washington, how unwilling the Americans were in 1791 and 1792, to own the depreciated state of their currency.

(To be continued.)

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"Sauce for the Goose is Sauce for the Gander."——OLD PROVERB.

PAPER AGAINST GOLD:

BEING AN EXAMINATION

OF THE

Report of the Bullion Committee:

IN A SERIES OF LETTERS

TO THE

TRADESMEN AND FARMERS IN AND NEAR SALISBURY.

LETTER XXIV.

Injury to Commerce by Buonaparté — He is said to have caused the Gold to leave England—The Fault is with our Government—Our Appeals to the French People absurd—Forged Bank Notes sent into Kent from France—Forged Assignats — Decision in the Court of King's Bench.

GENTLEMEN,

We have now to discuss the question of *Depreciation.* We have now to inquire, whether the Bank of England Notes have, or have not, *depreciated;* that is to say, *fallen in value.* After what we have seen in the former Letters, and particularly in that immediately preceding, it is, indeed, nearly useless to *put* this question to any man of sense, and much more so to make it a subject of serious discussion. Nevertheless, it will be right so to do; seeing that these Letters are intended to treat of every part of this great subject, and to put upon record all the material facts and arguments appertaining to it.

In the House of Commons, during the Debate on the Bullion Report and on the Resolutions thereon proposed, by Mr. FRANCIS HORNER on the one side, and Mr. NICHOLAS VANSITTART on the other, it was contended, by those who were for Mr. VANSITTART, that is to say, by the MINISTRY, and their adherents; by this part of the House it was contended, that the Bank paper had *not depreciated,* or *fallen* in value; and, being asked, how they then accounted for the fact, that a guinea was worth *26s.* or *27s.* they answered, that it was very true, that Gold and Silver had *risen;* but, that the Bank paper had *not fallen.*

They were then asked, how, since they would insist upon it that it was a *rise* of Gold and Silver, it had come to pass at this time above all others. Allowing, for argument's sake, that it was a *rise* in the value of *the guinea,* they were asked how the value of the guinea came to rise. Their answer to this was, *that it was owing chiefly to the injury done to our commerce by the extraordinary, the cruel, the savage measures of the inexorable tyrant Buonaparté,* whom they designated by every appellation characteristic of a despot, and even a fiend.

Gentlemen, we will stop here and make a few observations upon these charges against the Emperor of France; for, it would be very foolish in us, who call ourselves "the *most thinking* people in the world," to suffer ourselves to be amused with charges against Napoleon, when we should be considering of the real cause of the mischief that is now come upon us, and of the greater mischief that is still coming, and will come with most dreadful effect, unless we take timely measures for preventing that effect; this would be selling ourselves to laughter indeed, making ourselves an object for the contempt of Europe, not excepting the Dutch and those other nations, whom, with empty insolence, our hireling writers and others affect to *pity.*

We call upon the Bank for Gold and Silver in payment of their promissory notes. They have no Gold or Silver to give us; or, at least, none do they give. They are protected by law against our demands. Some persons propose to remove this impediment to our demands. The men in power and a great majority of the House of Commons say, *no;* and, they, in objecting to the proposition, say, that the Bank *have not the gold and silver;*

that *they cannot get it*; and, that it is, therefore, *impossible to make them pay*. This is a sorry answer enough; but, when we complain, we are told, that the *fault* is not with the Government or with the Bank, and that it is wholly with Buonaparté, by the means of whose laws, edicts, and workings of one sort and another, the Gold and Silver have been drawn out of England.

What should we think, Gentlemen; what should we "*thinking* people" think of a General, who was to write home word, that he had been beaten and routed and lost half his army; but, that the fault was none of his, and that it was wholly the fault of the enemy's General, who had adopted against him a series of extraordinary, cruel, and savage measures? What should we thinking people say to such a general? What would Mr. Quin, the editor of the Traveller news-paper, in his sublime orations, in the Common Council, say to such a general? Would he vote him thanks and a sword? I do not say that he would not; but, I think, that you will agree with me, that such a general would, amongst most men, meet with but a cold reception; and, that he would be told, that it was the *business* of the enemy to beat him, to route him, to break him up, to ruin him; and that it was *his business* to prevent the enemy from so doing, and also to beat and break up and ruin the enemy.

Just such, must, if we have a grain of sense left, be our answer to the ministers and their adherents, when they blame Buonaparté for having deprived us of our Gold and Silver. It was *their business* to prevent him from doing us this mischief. It was their business to protect the country against the fatal effects of the enemy's measures; and, if they found themselves unequal to the task, they should have said so; and, I warrant them, there would not have been wanting others to take the labour off their hands. These ministers and their predecessors, for the last twenty years, have had the complete command of all the means, all the resources, of this kingdom, of every sort. They have carried all the measures that they proposed. They have found out the way of putting down all opposition, or, at least, of rendering all opposition quite inefficient; and, therefore, to them, and to them alone, the nation is to look for responsibility for whatever mischiefs exist, or are likely to exist. If, indeed, all be well; if there be nothing to complain of; if the nation be in no danger; if there be no evil; then, they have nothing to be blamed for; but, if there be any thing in our situation, the existence of which we have cause to lament, to whom are we to look, for responsibility, but *to them*?

But, to take another view of the matter, what, let me ask, has Napoleon done against our commerce and our currency, for which he will not easily find a justification in *our example*? Have we neglected any means in our power to injure the commerce and the finances of France? Did not Pitt, from the very outset of the war against the French Jacobins and Levellers, call it *a war of finance*? And, were not all our efforts bent down towards the beating of France through her finances? This is notoriously the fact; and, as to her commerce, it must be well known to every one, that we risked a war with the American States for the purpose of intercepting *provisions* in their way to the people of France, *when they were menaced with famine*. Was this fair and honourable warfare? I shall be told that it was. I will not discuss the point. But, if it was so, what reason have we to complain now, when France prevents us, *not from receiving corn from her dominions*; but, merely from *sending our products to those dominions*. This is the utmost that Napoleon does, or that he can do; and, I put it, then, to any reasonable man, whether we have real cause of complaint. We may be *sorry* for what Napoleon is doing; and we must be sorry for the individuals who suffer from his measures; but, can we complain *of him* for not receiving our goods *now*, when we recollect, that we would not suffer the people of France to receive *flour* from America when we thought them in the midst of famine, and when we further recollect, that we openly avowed the *wish* and the *endeavour* to prevent their receiving *Jesuit's Bark*, a drug so necessary, in many cases, to the preservation of life? This was *fair* in us, I shall be told. Very well. That I am not questioning; but, if this was fair; if a state of war tolerated this, have *we*, I ask again, any reason to complain of him, any reason to call him *tyrant* (as George Rose did) because he will not now permit any part of his people to receive goods which are our produce or our property?

Oh, no! We must expect that the people of France have the same sort of feelings that we have; and, gentlemen, *mark it well*, I pray you, we intercepted the flour on its way to France long before Napoleon's name was known to us. We, or, at least, our venal writers, now affect a vast deal of *compassion* for the *people* of France. These writers appear to lament that the French *people* are subjected to so terrible a despotism. But, either the people of France hear what our writers say, or they do not: if they do not hear it, then it cannot possibly produce any effect upon them; and, if they do hear it, they cannot fail to call to mind, that *we have been at war against them through all their forms of government;* and, that while they were under a *republican* form, or *name*, our hostility was much more decided and bitter than at this moment; for, we then declared war against the principles of their constitution; we declared that no relations of peace were to be maintained with them; and, now that they are under a *monarchy* (for that means a government by the will of *one* person,) we affect to feel a great deal of *pity* for them; we sigh to see them *free;* and call upon them, as loudly as our venal writers can, to rise against their *tyrant*. Had we begun war with them only when their revolution had worked itself into a monarchy, then, indeed, our appeals to them against their ruler might have been of some avail; but, how is it possible for them to believe, that we are now desirous of seeing them free, when they recollect our conduct at the outset of the war; and for many years during its continuance? All our appeals, therefore, from Napoleon to the *people* of France are absurd; and only bespeak the desperateness of our situation.

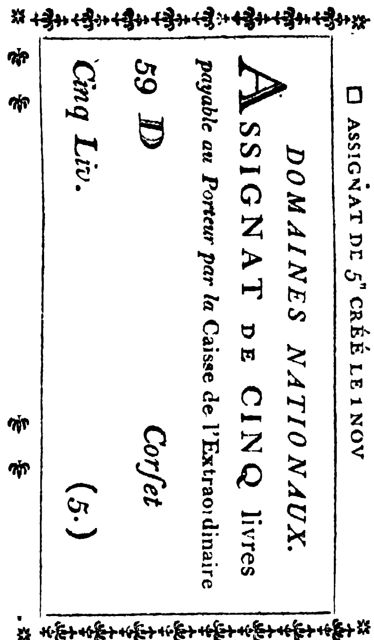
To return more closely to our subject; it appears from the report of the Bullion Debate, that LORD CASTLEREAGH said, that the tyrant of the Continent had, thus far, been defeated in all his attempts against us; that he at first attempted *invasion*, that he next endeavoured to excite *rebellion*, that he then assailed our *commerce;* and, that having failed in all these, he was now endeavouring to ruin our *currency*.

Now, how far this statement was true, I shall not pretend to say; and, indeed, except as to the last point, it is beside my purpose to make any remark upon what is reported to have been said by this Lord. That that part of the statement is true, there can, however, be little doubt; for, it has been stated in the public prints, that there have been great quantities of forged Notes, purporting to be Notes of the Bank of England, *sent into this country from France and Holland*. This interesting fact has been very carefully kept out of the London daily papers; but, the country papers have been less cautious, owing, I suppose, to their being at too great a distance from *good advice* and *powerful arguments*. The following article, which I take from the OXFORD MERCURY of the 4th instant, will be quite sufficient to explain the nature of what is going on. "Kent.—We are sorry to learn that a vast "number of forged notes, purporting to "be those of *the Bank of England*, are in "circulation, particularly on this coast, "to an alarming extent; we have heard "to the amount of 200,000*l.* having been "*recently imported into this county*, from "France and Holland, where it is said "they are manufactured! We know not "to what extent the evil may extend. "Several 5*l.* 10*l.* and even 20*l.* of those "notes *have already been detected;* and "numerous 1*l.* of the same description "are in circulation,—indeed, at Folkstone, and some other places, the notes "of the Bank of England are almost generally refused in payment from this circumstance; and we hope some steps will be immediately adopted to put a "stop to them. Two 5*l.* were recently *passed through the Dover Union Bank;* and a 20*l.* note was remitted to town by a respectable tradesman in Dover, a few days since, which proved to be a forgery. We should recommend every person to keep the number of the notes which pass through their hands, or have them previously indorsed by the person who passes them; we look upon this to be a very necessary precaution, as it is a matter of the most serious consequence to tradespeople in general; for if the Bank of England notes can be so readily imitated, how easy must it be to forge the Provincial Notes of this and other counties."

This is a *war of finance* with a vengeance! But, even this I am not disposed to call an *unfair* and *dishonourable* species of warfare. I am not disposed to call this a cheating, swindling, base and cowardly mode of attacking a nation: indeed, I

should not dare to call it so, if I were disposed to it, seeing that *we did the same towards the French when they had a paper-money.* It is well known to us, but, it ought also to be known to *our children* (some of whom will, I dare say, read these Letters), that, in the year 1791, the French people made a revolution in their government; that they chose representatives to frame a new constitution for them; that they changed their absolute monarchy, or despotism, into a limited monarchy; that they declared freedom to be their birthright; that the nobility, not pleased with the change, left the country; that the princes of the blood did the same; that the fugitives met with protection and encouragement from foreign governments; that these governments afterwards made war against the French; that England joined in that war; that, sometime after this war began, the French put their King and Queen to death, and declared their country a republic; that the French had, at that time, a paper-money, called *Assignats;* that upon this paper-money, it was thought, depended the fate of the French revolution; that, from the Speeches in the English Parliament, it will clearly appear, that the government of England looked upon the debasement of those *Assignats* as the sure means of subverting the new order of things in France. All this should be known to our children as well as to ourselves; and, when they have a thorough knowledge of these facts, they should be told, that *false Assignats,* that *forged Assignats,* that *counterfeit French paper-money;* that these things were fabricated in England in quantities immense. They were intended, of course, to be sent into France, there to undermine the French finances, and to produce the overthrow of the Republican government. The former of these objects they did effect, or, at least, assisted to effect; and, they, in all probability, contributed towards those causes, which finally led to the re-erection of the absolute monarchy in the person of Napoleon.

I was always, after hearing of these forged *Assignats,* very desirous of seeing one of them; and, some time ago, a gentleman gave me nine or ten, which, with many others, were given to him at the time that the fabrication was going on. He gave me an *Assignat* for 90 Livres, one for 50 Livres, one for 10 Livres, and several for 5 Livres. We cannot have this fact too strongly imprinted upon our minds and cannot make the impression too strong upon those of our children. It is a great point, not only in the history of paper-money, but also in the political history of the world. I will, therefore, give here, as nearly as I can, a copy of one of these forged *Assignats,* but not of so large a size as the original, from which I take it.



The translation of this is: "Assignat of 5 Livres, created 1 Nov. 1791.——National Domains——Assignat of Five Livres, payable to the bearer by the Extraordinary Chest." And the word Corset" was the name of the Cashier, I suppose, who signed the Assignats in France.

Such were the means, which *we* made use of *towards the French nation;* and, therefore, I trust, we shall not now hear of any *complaints* against *them* for their endeavouring to send *us* an ample supply of Bank notes. "Sauce for the goose is "sauce for the gander," all the world over.

But, was this; do I *know* that this was, the work of the government? That it was actually done by the order of "the *great* "*statesman* now no more," and *paid for out of the people's taxes.* It was not a

trifling sum that these *Assignats* cost in the forging. They were wrought with great care in France. There was a very ingeniously contrived *dry stamp* upon them. The engraving was of most exquisite workmanship. To have effected the imitation the most ingenious artists in England must have used their talents. But, how do I *know*, that this forging work was carried on under the authority of the government? Suppose it was not? What do we, the nation, get by that in the argument? If it was not the government who ordered the thing to be done, it was *the people of England* who did it of themselves; and, therefore, they have, in that case, still less reason, if possible, to complain of the French for sending over forged Bank Notes to England at this time.

Whether, however, it was, or was not the act of the English Minister and Government, you, Gentlemen, shall now have a fair opportunity of judging for yourselves. I could here relate to you what I have heard many persons say upon this subject; I could state to you names and transactions upon what I deem, and upon what you would, I dare say, deem very good authority; but, as to matters of this sort, I always love to deal in *undeniable evidence*; proof positive; facts that leave no room for shuffle. So I shall do here.

It happened, some time after this forging work had been going on, that there was a *law-suit* between two of the parties engaged in it. Law-suits are apt to lead to exposures. So it happened now, as you will see by the following Report, which I copy, word for word, from the Law-Books, which are daily cited as authorities in all our courts of justice.——"STRONGITHARM AGAINST LUKYN.—*Case on a Promissory Note.*—The Note was drawn by the Defendant, payable to one Caslon, and by Caslon indorsed to the Plaintiff.—The Plaintiff proved the Defendant's hand-writing and the indorsement by Caslon.——ERSKINE, for the Defendant, stated his defence to be, that Lukyn was a stationer, and the Plaintiff an engraver; and that the Note upon which the Action was brought was given to Caslon, for the purpose of paying the Plaintiff for the engraving of Copper-plates upon which FRENCH ASSIGNATS were to be FORGED; and contended, that as the consideration of the Note was *fraud*, that it contaminated the whole transaction, and rendered the Note not recoverable by law.—Caslon, the indorser, was called as the witness. He proved that Lukyn, the Defendant, having it in contemplation to strike off impressions of a considerable quantity of Assignats, to be issued abroad, had applied to him for the purpose of recommending an engraver, for the purpose of engraving the necessary plates; and that Lukyn represented to him that they were *for the Duke of York's army.*—He said that he applied to Strongitharm, the Plaintiff, who at first declined the business totally; but that, being assured by the witness that it was *sanctioned by government*, and was for the use of the Duke of York's army, he then consented. The witness further denied that it was ever communicated to the Plaintiff that they were to be circulated for any other purpose than as he had represented. —— LORD KENYON said, that if the present transaction was grounded on a fraud, or contrary to the laws of nations, or of good faith, he should have held the Notes to be void; but that it did not appear that there was any fraud in the case, or any violation of positive law. Whether the issuing of these Assignats, for the purpose of *distressing the enemy*, was lawful in carrying on the war? he was not prepared to say; or whether it came within the rule, *an dolus an virtus quis in hoste requirit?* But let that be as it might, it did not apply to the present case. It was not in evidence, that the Plaintiff was a party in any fraud, or that it was ever communicated to him that the Assignats were to be used for any improper purpose: on the contrary, he supposed that they were circulated by the authority of the *higher powers of this country;* and, therefore, did not question the propriety *or legality of the measure.*—His Lordship declared his opinion, therefore, to be, that the consideration was not impeached, and that the Plaintiff was intitled to recover.—The jury found *a verdict for the Plaintiff.*—MINGAY and MARRYAT for the Plaintiff.—ERSKINE and LAW for the Defendant."——Having read this document, Gentlemen, you will want nothing from me to enable you to decide *who* it was that *caused* the Assignats to be forged; nor will you want any one to assist you in forming a correct opinion as to the conduct of either the *Plaintiff*, the *Defendant*, or the *Judge*. The thing is before you; and it speaks for itself much too plainly to be misunderstood.

Well, now, after this; with this before our eyes; knowing that the world is well acquainted with this fact, is it not a little too impudent in us to pretend to find fault with the French for supplying our coast with Bank Notes? I do not know any thing that is more disgusting than this species of injustice, which proceeds from self-conceit. It is the worst kind of insolence, and, whoever has paid attention to its effects, must have perceived, that it never fails to excite contempt in men of sense. What, I should be glad to know, is there in us that we should be justified in forging French paper-money any more than the French should be justified in forging English paper money? Upon what ground is it that we claim the *exclusive* right of forging the paper-money of our neighbours?

After what we have seen above, you will, I am persuaded, agree with me, that it is *childish* in the extreme, to say the least of it, for us to *complain* of the Emperor of France for having, as LORD CASTLEREAGH said, set about a scheme for the *ruin of our currency*. And, it is equally childish in us to suppose, that he will not *now*, when we have proclaimed the effects, persevere in his hostility to our *commerce*. He is now told, by a majority in the House of Commons, that it is *his system*, which has *produced all our pecuniary distress*. We now say that it is he who has filled the Gazette with the names of Bankrupts; which has made one of the two "pillars of the Stock Exchange" blow his brains out; which has raised the paper price of the Dollar ten per centum at a slap; and which now makes the fund-holder tremble. He is now told this by our Minister of finance; aye, and by the vote of a majority, and a very great majority too, of the Honourable House, upon whose Journals it now stands declared and recorded, that the commercial system of Napoleon has produced the very effects that he intended, and that he vowed, it should produce. And, yet, there are men amongst us to call Napoleon a *madman!*

I have taken up too much of your time to enter now upon the subject of *Depreciation*, which, therefore, I must postpone till my next, begging you, with reference to the above related facts, always to bear in mind, that, at the *outset of our war* against the Jacobins of France, we had plenty of gold and *the French* had nothing but paper, and that *now the French* have plenty of gold and *we* have nothing but paper.

I am,
Gentlemen,
Your friend,
WM. COBBETT.

State Prison, Newgate, Friday, 17th May, 1811.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

PORTUGAL.—THE WAR.——It must be peculiarly flattering to the COMMON COUNCIL to read the news that is now reaching us from this scene of glorious exploits. They "*hallooed*" as the old saying is, "*before they were out of the wood.*" They should have waited, till they saw Massena *beaten;* for, then there would have been little danger of his again becoming the assailant. Now, they will naturally to be full of doubts and fears; and, to the mortification of seeing their fond hopes disappointed, they may have to add that of becoming the means of putting in motion the risible faculties of millions of people.——The TIMES newspaper, which appears to be striving hard *to work out its salvation*, and which deals in praises the most nauseous of the Lord Marshal Talavera and Marshal Beresford, seems to be a good deal puzzled about a *stop* that Massena seems to have made in his flight, at a moment when it was expected that he and his brother generals were drawing together from all parts previous to their flight out of Spain, as the swallows do before they take their autumnal departure.——The TIMES seems to think, however, that this *halt* argues nothing at all of an adverse nature. "It *may be,*" says that print, "that Massena has *faced* "*about* on his pursuers, though without "any intention of a *serious* attack; as an animal, meaning to *escape*, but finding his *tail* caught in a *trap*, on the domain whereon he has been *prowling*, suddenly turns round and *snarls* at the offensive object."——This is very well; but, it sounds rather odd to hear it admitted, that it is *possible*, that a serious attack is in the contemplation of Massena. What! attack our "distinguished warrior" at the head of 100 thousand men? If this should be the case, the Common Council will have to meet again to *vote* against this French army, seeing that it appears they are to be beaten in no other way; that is to say, so beaten as not to be able to rise and fight

again.——One would have thought, that these men would have been ashamed of the word *trap;* that they would have shunned it as a sailor shuns the rocks. *Trap,* indeed! As if it were customary for any one, who is in a trap, to menace with a *serious attack* those who have caught him! But, this is, perhaps, no more absurd, no more insulting to common sense, than the rest of what we have been compelled to hear upon this subject.——*What* will be said, however, if Lord Talavera should be again put upon the retreat; if he should again set about the plan of *drawing Massena after him?* This, one would suppose, to be quite out of the question. There does not seem to be force enough with Massena to enable him to attempt an attack upon our army; but, if such a thing *were to be,* what would be said? What would be hatched up to tell this "most "*thinking* nation in Europe?" Let not the reader imagine, however, that nothing would be found out to tell us; let him not suppose, that these venal writers would be at a loss for a story; for they would come out to the public with just as much unconcern as if nothing at all of an adverse nature had happened; and they would, even in the case of a re-entering of Portugal by the French and another retreat by our army, find grounds, not only for consolation, but for boasting; yes, they would discover new triumphs, new glories, in the precise reverse of that which they have lately been extolling to the skies.——It is a very strange thing, that, after all our experience; after all our numerous expeditions; after all that we have seen in Holland, in Flanders, in Naples, in Egypt, in Hanover, in Denmark, in Walcheren, at Ferrol, at Quiberon, and every where else, where we have attempted to gain and keep a footing; it is very strange, that, after all that we have seen in this way, we should still be as credulous as ever; that we should still hope to beat France by land upon the Continent of Europe; and that we should still talk of the *deliverance* of nations. In this hopeful work of delivering nations, we spent two hundred millions in one war, and now we have spent four hundred millions in another war; that is to say, we have *borrowed* that much, and have spent it, besides twice as much in taxes. We have long been giving a tenth part of our income for the *deliverance of Europe* in addition to all our other taxes; and still there are men, who believe, that Europe is to be delivered by us, though every year puts her more and more completely into the power of our enemy.——As to the war in Spain and Portugal, I am of opinion, that it is the intention of the Emperor of France to *drawl it out* for some time longer yet. It is a swallow hole of Englishmen and money. It will take away, if it be kept up for a year or two longer, another hundred thousand men, and perhaps, thirty or forty thousand horses. It will take stores and arms in quantity immense. In short, it is so near at hand, and so accessible at all times of the year, that it will drain us as dry as Dr. Rush (the American Sangrado) used to drain the veins of his patients: it will make us, as he used to say of them, as *white as veal.*——The cost to Napoleon will be very trifling. He does not want his armies to lie idle at home. It will be a very easy matter for him to keep up in the Peninsula a force sufficient to induce us to be continually sending out reinforcements and supplies; and, when he looks upon us as being sufficiently drained, what is to prevent him from sending 150 thousand men against us at once?——In the mean while, our debt, taxes, and paper will increase at a dreadful rate. This year there will be in all probability, 30 millions of new debt contracted, in one shape or another. Perhaps more. Next year will, if the war go on in the Peninsula, demand a greater increase; and, those commercial means, that make so essential a part of the resources, will become every day less and less. The increase of the debt and the taxes will cause a proportionate increase in the paper-money; 'till, at the end of a couple or three years, the Dollar will, in all human probability, pass for a pound.——This is so clear to me, that I think it must be equally clear to others. I may be deceived; but, if I am not, the policy of Napoleon is to *protract the war in Spain and Portugal;* to keep it on in such a way, that we shall be constantly tempted to be feeding it with troops and provisions; TO SELL US (as he has done all the last year) CORN FOR US TO SEND TO PORTUGAL, and to take our remaining gold and silver for the use of the Farmers of France.——He, in the meanwhile, is growing rich. The war costs him little. Our money goes to encourage the agriculture of his people, and indeed to establish amongst them those manufactories, which he is rendering useless here. So that at the end of a few years he must, if

he keep up the war in Spain and Portugal, reduce us to a state such as very few men seem to be aware of.——Some people think it incredible that he should prolong the war in the Peninsula from any other motive than *want of ability to drive us out.* This may be the only motive. I do not say that it is not; but, I am quite satisfied, that, if it be, his love of military glory gets the better of sound policy; and, while we are confessing, in the most explicit manner, that he has beat us in a *commercial* warfare, why should we reject the idea of his being equally wise as to warfare of another sort?——I am aware that to hold out nothing but cheering prospects would be pleasanter; but, these are my opinions, and I will not disguise them. I saw *no good to England* likely to result from the retreat of Massena; I see none now; and I do not think it will be long before the public will be of my opinion, if they are not so already.

Irish and English Militias.——I have no time to say more than a few words upon the intended Act for an *interchange* of the Militias; but, I cannot let it pass wholly in silence.——Mr. Ryder, in introducing this Bill is reported to have said: ——"It had been observed to him, that "this measure was not necessary, because "on emergencies the Militia of each country have always volunteered their services, and no doubt they would again do "so if the same circumstances again occurred: but still he thought it proper to "place this matter on a permanent footing. He referred to the campaign in "Portugal, and observed *how great would "have been our advantage, if, instead of sending to Sicily, Halifax, and other distant situations, for troops to reinforce our brave "army, we had been able to send off immediately a portion of that fine army that was "locked up in Ireland, by sending over an "equal number of English militia, and bringing the same number of Irish militia here.*" ——Now, what does this mean? Why, that there was a fine army of regular troops in Ireland; but that, *for want of legal power to send to Ireland some of the English Militia to supply the place of regulars,* those regulars could not be sent to Portugal. And *why?* Why could they not be sent to Portugal? *Why* was it necessary to keep them "*locked up* in Ireland?" *Why* should they be kept *there?*——The answer of Mr. Ryder is, that we were not able to send over *English militia* to supply the place of the regulars. Then, it follows, that those regulars, or the English militia in place of them, are *necessary in Ireland.* And, for *what purpose* are they necessary in Ireland? Is it to *defend* Ireland? If so, against *whom?* And, at any rate, if necessary for defence, why should not the *Irish* militia be as efficient as the *English* militia? Are not the former as brave as the latter? Irishmen have always been as brave as Englishmen; and, upon a recent occasion, they have given a signal proof of their bravery. If, indeed, Mr. Ryder had said, that the regulars could not be withdrawn for want of more troops to defend the country against the French; there would have been no questions to ask, except as to the number of troops wanted for that defence; but, he tells us, that the regular troops could not be spared, because we were unable to send English militia to be *exchanged for an equal number of Irish militia to be brought to England.* So that, the regular troops might, it seems, have been spared, if their place could have been supplied by English militia, without adding to the number of militia in Ireland. There were militia troops enough in the kingdom; but, they were not, it seems, of the *right sort*——I take this extract of Mr. Ryder's speech from the Morning Chronicle. I do not pledge myself for its correctness; but, if it be correct, this that I have given is the meaning of it. And, it is a meaning, which I am very sorry to give to it; because it implies, that the Irish militia are not thought to be so likely to act efficiently in the defence of Ireland as the English militia; and this is an idea, which is at war with all those notions which we have heretofore been taught to entertain respecting the motives which animate men in defending their country.——It is our custom to talk of men fighting in defence of their country, because they are *attacked to it;* because they love the laws, the liberties, the rights, the blessings which they enjoy in their country. These are the motives which we ascribe to our allies in Spain and Portugal. What would be thought of a proposition to bring the Spanish troops into Portugal and sending the Portuguese troops into Spain? And, why, then, should we bring Irish militia men into England and send English militia men into Ireland? The cause is the same, the enemy is always the same; and, it does, to me, at least, appear very strange indeed, that the militia of *the one country*

should be regarded as most likely to be efficient in the defence of the *other country*. ——I shall say no more about this at present, but shall resume the subject another time.

WM. COBBETT.

State Prison, Newgate, Friday, May 17, 1811.

BULLION DEBATE.

(Continued from page 1216.)

They were all inclined to impute their unfavourable exchange to an unfavourable state of trade. It was true, that there were continual variations of trade, which produced minor changes in the state of exchange. But the Bank must take the hint given by nature, and limit their issues.—This was the gate which they should open for the evil. When the question was with regard to so great a body as the Bank of England, it became of immense importance to look to the general principle.—If they did not calculate this operation of nature, they would bring the greatest danger on the country.—He did not think the Bank of England guilty of any particular excess; but what he blamed them for was, that they did not lately look to the exchange, taking a hint from it, and act as they would otherwise have done.—But they felt no pressure on themselves —Supposing the Bullion Report contained all the blunders imputed to it by the Right Honourable Gentleman, still if it had done nothing else but call the attention of Parliament to the subject, it had done immense service to the country. Mr. Adam Smith said, that if any man had an exclusive power of supplying the currency of a country, it was in his power to give any price he pleased. He granted, a great deal of distress would arise from the removal of the restriction, but he merely wished to put this question: Would they rectify the exchange? *(Hear!)* He did not say that distress might not follow; but he said, that the Bank of England would do great mischief. One of the objections was, that no gold was to be had. Nobody felt more than he did, the difficulty of procuring gold. It might be true, that gold was dear all over the world, and was likely to remain so, and that might be an argument for altering the standard; but if they had 20 per cent. above paper they had taken leave of gold. If gold is dearer all over the world, then depart from the standard.—He wished to concede something to the Bank. If, with increased issues, the commerce and prosperity of the country had increased, it was well; but when the exchange became unfavourable, it was to be considered, whether to maintain our currency at its standard at home, we have to suffer a depreciation in its foreign relations.—He asked, whether it were better to wait under an idea that some chance should relieve us, or to act like men who understood the subject, and seek a remedy for our danger? He said the Bank Directors seemed to be ignorant of certain principles. He derived some hope when he saw how we had recovered our exchange in 1801 and 1802, but it was to be remembered that in 1801 and 1802, there was much gold in the country, and that by the subtraction of that the country was benefited, though the bank notes were not reduced. But the departure then was only 7 or 8 per cent. It is now 20 per cent. It has also remained so for two or three years. It was then peace, and it is now war. It seemed, therefore, a matter of prudence to submit to the only means of guarding against a greater evil. He adverted then to the state of our trade; and according to the shewing of the Right Honourable Gentleman last year, being the most favourable balance of trade ever known, the exchange ought to have been favourable, while it was, on the contrary, as was well known, so very unfavourable.

Tuesday, May 7.

Mr. VANSITTART regretted that a Committee, consisting of such respectable Members should have come to a conclusion so far different from his. But he was more surprized at the manner in which this had been brought before the country; for a bolder experiment on public and private credit he had never known. He was surprised, too, at the mode in which the Gentlemen had acted on their own Report. They had suggested a remedy for the evil, the application of which was deemed of the last importance. Yet they had allowed a long interval to elapse; and, from this, he could not help concluding, that they had trembled at the effects that might result from their own proposition. There were two circumstances which strongly tended to corroborate this idea. When they stated that the state of the exchange might be altered by a repeal of the restriction, how was it that they did not, in the first

place, propose to repeal the statutes against the exportation of coin to foreign countries? As to foreign nations, the exchange would remain the same, while the gold continued here. But then he would be told, that the coin would find its way abroad in spite of law. That might be; but still he could not imagine that they could willingly connive at what must have its foundation in fraud and perjury. Another circumstance was the line which they adopted with regard to the late issue of Exchequer Bills for the relief of trade. That issue was large, and must have added considerably to the amount of circulating medium. If it was of so much importance to restrain this, how was it that this was not strongly urged in opposition to the measure? The question had not come upon them by surprize, and he could only suppose that they themselves were so well aware of the danger of acting on their own principles to the utmost extent, that they yielded to the sense of the country, and refrained from pressing them on that occasion.—He himself was desirous that cash payments should be resumed as soon circumstances would permit.—*(Hear! hear!)* But he was far from agreeing that the suspension was attended with the injurious effects ascribed to it. His Honourable and Learned Friend measured bank notes by a standard by which it was never intended they should be measured. It was never intended that they should be measured by gold. The Sovereign had the power of fixing whatever standard was found most convenient for the public; and beyond this he knew of no standard. The bank notes might not conform to the standard set up by his Honourable Friend. —He himself had said that there was now no standard, and yet he would ask how often he had found a bank note pass at a fair current value? The bank notes, as he had stated in his Resolution, had suffered no depreciation in current value, as far as depended on public estimation and general acceptance.—He (Mr. V.) and those who thought with him contended that paper had not depreciated. It was for his Learned Friend, and those who concurred with him, to prove the contrary. But there was almost positive proof that they had not really depreciated. It was well known, that though the tender of bank notes protected from arrest, they were not a legal tender. Any individual might be compelled by process to pay his debt in coin, and yet he would ask whether such a process had been ever pursued? He was not aware of a single instance. But even if an instance or two could be pointed out, he could build nothing upon it without inquiring into the circumstances. The cause might be very different from a depreciation of bank notes. It might be a wager, or any other capricious motive. He still said, therefore, that the notes held in public estimation an equivalent value to coin.—They distinguished depreciation into two sorts:—first, what arose from a debasement of the coin, and what arose from excess. When the ordinary currency was below the appointed standard of the coin, there was a failure of confidence in it among foreigners, and thus the exchange was depressed. But an excess of paper would not affect the exchange at all, unless the imports were large and the exports small. Such was the opinion of Sir Francis Baring, to whose memory he paid a high compliment.—The Committee had referred to the case of the Bank of Ireland as a proof of the depreciation. He had been a Member of that Committee, and there it had been proved that the paper was current at a different value from the coin. But that was not owing to excess, but to the want of confidence in the paper, arising from the previous disturbances in that country, and also from the circumstance, that a want of confidence in the several inferior establishments had extended even to the Bank of Ireland itself. An increase of currency might undoubtedly produce a rise of prices, as the Committee had said. But that principle, he apprehended, had been stated in much too broad and general a way. A rise of prices from this cause could not suddenly take place all over the world, or in any extensive country. Great experiments of different kinds had lately been made in several countries, and among others, experiments on circulating medium.—He referred to the prices in France and Prussia at different times, both with a paper and a cash circulation, and stated that the effects were very far from corresponding with the principle laid down by the Committee. This clearly proved that the principle was subject to be circumscribed by circumstances. With regard to the exchange, he contended that it was perfectly absurd to reason on that point at present, as one might fairly do in ordinary times. The exchange was the last of the commercial refinements of civilized nations. It de-

pended on free, uniform, and uninterrupted intercourse. But the state of commerce was the reverse of all this. It had been disturbed by the despotic measures of the Tyrant of the Continent, and in some places entirely annihilated. The practices of barbarous ages had returned —and commerce was carried on through the medium of armed depôts, as on the coasts of Africa and some parts of America. The wonder was, not that the state of the exchange had been unsteady, but that it should retain any thing approaching to a fixed character. That it did so, he was convinced was owing to the integrity and high character of the London Merchants. When the profits upon other articles sent abroad were so high, was it surprizing that 15 and 16 per cent. should be made on bills of exchange?—Before he entered on a short review of the Resolutions of his Honourable Friend, he would just touch upon the subject of the temptation to which the Bank was said to be liable to issue notes to excess in consequence of the profits derived from the practice. He wished to distinguish between the profits made in a fair commercial way by the Bank and those arising from the restriction. It was well known that of late years 15, 16, and 18 per cent. profit had been made by capitalists upon pecuniary transactions. The Bank had almost an unlimited command of capital, and it was natural that their profits should be large. Let Gentlemen consider what profits must have been made upon deposits to the amount of eight millions. Yet these were all fair commercial profits, and the Directors would not have done justice to the Company if they had neglected to avail themselves of their advantages. He could not allow that the Bank profits were of an invidious nature, unless it appeared that they issued notes with a view to profit from their excess. It was true that the amount of Bank notes had increased, but then other currency had diminished in a much greater proportion. As his Right Honourable Friend, the Treasurer of the Navy, had stated last night, the increase between 1802 and 1809 was only somewhat beyond 300,000*l*. Could this be considered as more than the public necessity called for? The state of the funds and floating securities, together with other circumstances, proved that there was rather a scarcity than redundancy of circulating medium. The Right Honourable Gentleman then proceeded to comment upon the Resolutions of the Learned Gentleman (Mr. Horner). To the 10th Resolution he objected, in so far as it went to set up a standard for measuring the value of the Bank of England notes in bullion. He would affirm, that these notes were intended as a representative of the legal coin, and nothing else; and so long as the Bank of England notes did not fall below the value of that coin, the Bank had completely fulfilled every engagement. To the 11th Resolution, though he of course could not but object, he would observe, that with respect to country bank paper there were many instances in which it had been carried to excess; but yet he could not think the excess was of the nature of that described in this Resolution, nor was to be cured in the way there pointed out.—Much individual distress was no doubt occasioned by the facility of country banks, and by the partners of these banks themselves engaging in trade. The consequences of these indiscreet adventures were indeed frequently to be deprecated; but still nobody would say that any thing like depreciation took place. It would be found that one kind of paper supplied the place of another; and that an over-issue was replaced by another currency, or was returned upon the issuer. Some restraint, no doubt, ought to be imposed on the issues of country banks; but it was to be kept in mind that this was a point of extreme difficulty. Perhaps the best measure would be to prohibit country banks from entering into any other speculation; but still this would be so easily evaded, that no great good could be expected from it. To the 12th Resolution it was not necessary to advert. That the exchange was at present unfavourable would be admitted by every body, though he could not see any necessity for entering this circumstance on the Journals. The 13th was somewhat extraordinary. It admitted that there were other causes co-operating in the present state of the exchange; while the main part of the Resolution turned on the loss of the relative value of our currency. But he denied that the currency had lost its relative value. With respect to the 14th Resolution, he would admit that if the Bank could, by any limitation of their issues, produce an alteration in the exchange, then it would be their duty to attend to this; but the fact was that the issues of the Bank had no effect upon the exchange. This circumstance was illustrated by such a great va-

riety of instances last night, that it was now unnecessary to enlarge further on it. It was seen that the rise and fall of exchange had no connection with the augmentation or diminution of issues, frequently rising when the notes were augmented, and falling when they were diminished. With regard to the 15th Resolution, he had to say, that the only adequate security against the effects of alarm in such a situation as ours was a restriction. What would be the effects of a resumption?—Unless coin could be exported, no beneficial effects could be experienced on exchange; and no effect, at any events, would be produced on our internal relations. But he wished the House to consider what the state of things would be in the intermediate interval between the resumption of cash payments, and the time when that resumption was resolved on. The Bank would have to provide a quantity of Bullion, by every means possible; and the exchange would be depressed still farther by these large purchases of Bullion. In the mean time these purchases would be locked up for two years in the coffers of the Bank, without any advantage to the country. By this the Bank must sacrifice its profits and incur great expences. Now in such a case he wished them to consider what other currency would remain. Either some other worse currency must supply the place of the Bank, or the country would be deprived of every other circulation whatever. He wished to refer them to the opinion delivered in 1797 by a Member of that House; that if any very considerable proportion of the Bank paper were to be drawn in, for instance, five millions, it would be necessary to have its place supplied by some other substitute of paper. Now he would ask, if any thing could be apprehended in the case of such a reduction without an equivalent, but a general bankruptcy—of bankruptcies there had been already enough to make the heart ache.—The Right Honourable Gentleman then proceeded to illustrate his own propositions. With regard to the first, whatever might be the prerogative, he thought that without a breach of public faith, no change could be made in the currency. In his second he proposed to the House, that the engagements of the Bank of England to the public, were to pay their value in the legal coin, and nothing but the legal coin; and that the Bank had always, without the intervention of the Sovereign authority, been willing to pay their value in the legal coin. In the case of the Bank restriction in 1797, it was the principles of foreign policy alone by which it was dictated. From our foreign wars, and the prospect of invasion, it became exceedingly important to guard against the danger of alarm. Whenever, upon the cessation of hostilities, circumstances should admit of calling upon the Bank, it would then be allowed. So far from any thing in this Resolution going against this principle, it admitted that whenever the relations of this country might render it expedient, that the resumption should take place. The third Resolution was proposed to Parliament, to declare that the Bank of England notes had been always hitherto accepted and held as coin. It appeared to him consonant to the wisdom of Parliament, to declare their opinion on this subject. The following proposition states, that exchanges were in many former instances unfavourable, while there was no excess of paper currency, and while there was no depreciation, because the paper currency could be convertible into specie. This appeared from the documents on the table. He then went on to declare, that there were circumstances now affecting our commercial relations with the Continent, which rendered our situation so different from what it was on former occasions, that the same effects could not follow. While the Continent was open, he admitted, that there was a continual tendency in things to correct themselves; that the exports and imports would bring things about to their regular channel; and that the exchange could not fall below a certain degree, because the profit on importing would gradually tend to raise it. But these circumstances were now altered. And here it might be observed, that nothing formerly was like the present importation of coin. He had finally proposed, that the situation of the country was sufficient, without any alteration in our currency, to affect the rate of exchange. Under the present circumstances, could we foresee what events might happen during the three years to come? (*Hear! from Ministerial Benches.*)—Would our military operations be finally triumphant? Would our trade flourish? Would our internal state be the same? Would we be in a state of greater prosperity than that in which we were at present?

Mr. HUSKISSON declared, that considering the present state of the discussion, and the circumstances attending its progress, he could not content himself with a silent vote on this occasion. The right Hon. Gent. had indeed called on him in a manner somewhat unusual, as if he could have any right to claim an immediate answer from him on any new and intricate point, and reserve to himself the privilege of reply. He should, however, direct his attention to the plain question before the Committee, and state his views on the subject of the existing state of the currency of the country. No person could be more sensible than himself of the disadvantage of following so many able speakers; but adhering, as he did, to those established principles on which our financial policy had till lately been maintained, he could not have heard without surprise the doctrines of the Right Honourable Gentleman—doctrines which shook those principles to their foundation. He had thought proper to charge the Bullion Committee with having made an experiment of the boldest description, with having led the Bank to the verge of a precipiece, from which they now betrayed a wish to save it. He begged leave to remind the Committee that when the House of Commons appointed a Select Committee to inquire into the causes of the high price of bullion, it was done with the full concurrence of all sides. He was himself absent when he was nominated a Member, and proceeded therefore to discharge the duty of the appointment with no other view or motive than should influence the conscientious feelings of a Member of Parliament. The consequences therefore of the Report, whether good or evil, ought not to be visited on the Committee, who had only acted in obedience to the orders of the House. But was there any thing like fairness or justice in any part of the charge? Must not the discussion at all events have taken place out of doors, and was it possible that the public could have remained blind to the new appearances in the state of our currency?—He would call the recollection of the House to the period of 1696, when the Lords of the Treasury directed their Secretary, a man of great ability, Mr. Lowndes, to make a Report on the state of the currency at that time. The Report was made, and what was the conduct of the Lords of the Treasury? Far from being influenced by the apprehensions now expressed, they ordered the Report to be published, they invited discussion and that publicity and that discussion led to the complete refutation and overthrow of the principles on which it was founded. He should now proceed to define, and he trusted to establish, the legitimate principles on which our circulating medium was founded. It would not, he conceived, be denied that the legal currency of the country consisted of gold and silver—and secondly, that its standard was quantity of ascertained weight and fineness. It followed from this statement, that the coin must be deteriorated in proportion as it departed from that standard. What abundant testimony did our history furnish of the vigilance which the Legislature had always exercised in preserving that standard as the only fixed criterion of value. If we turned back to earlier times, we should find that the names of coins were all derived from the names of particular weights and measures. The pound, the shilling, and the penny, all originally signified certain standards of weight. There was a statute of Henry the Third, which enacted that the loaf of bread, weighing *6lb.* should be sold at the rate of one farthing, i. e. one fourth of one pennyweight of silver. He might quote several antient proclamations directing an abatement to be made in tale for all defects arising from wear and tear in the weight. But the Right Honourable Gentleman surely had not overlooked many modern Acts of Parliament, and yet his doctrine of the current value of the debased shilling seemed to argue an utter forgetfulness of the 14th Geo. 3, and the provisions there made for securing the true standard of our currency. The guinea was now the legal measure of value, and the great instrument of commerce, although the law had certainly always intended that the standard of silver likewise should be measured by its weight. The gold currency passes in the same manner by tale, but by tale constantly referable to its weight. Our shillings he could not call, in their present state, currency, and would therefore denominate them counters. It had often been said that money was merchandize, and he agreed that the true definition of price was the value of one commodity measured by the value of another. Money might therefore consist of any commodity. The precious metals were generally used in consequence of their peculiar advantages. He differed with his Honourable

and Learned Friend who opened the discussion last night, in supposing that this preference was derived from conventional selection; he believed it to be the effect of their natural qualities and aptitudes, and that they, in fact, constituted money before they were coined. Being, however, once a common measure, price was nothing more than the value of every other commodity, in reference to the value of the precious metals, while their value was measured in reference to each other. *(Hear! Hear!)* If he made himself understood, it must be evidently absurd to suppose, that any numerical amount of circulating medium could ever be fixed on to suit the varying wants of society. In proportion to the quantity, must be the rise or the fall of prices; there could be no absolute limit to the amount of currency. He knew that some had promulgated opinions, importing that there never could be any excess of currency, because nobody would ask for money who did not want it. He did not see how this affected the question; if the denomination of the half-guinea were raised to a full guinea, men would be still desirous of the half-guinea, but prices would be certainly doubled. We never heard of the increase or diminution of the circulating medium, or of the amount of issues of the Bank previous to the restriction. It is only since that even that some gentlemen had contrived to furnish themselves with a scale for guaging, Excisemanlike, the contents of the country. He would endeavour to explain what he understood by excess. Our coin had no value but in reference to the gold contained in it; our paper currency had no value but in reference to the coin which it represents, and the necessary inference was, that a currency consisting both of coin and paper ought not to exceed in amount what it would be if it consisted only of coin. *(Hear! hear!)* Any excess above that amount must be at once the proof and the measure of the depreciation of that currency. The value of the circulating medium must be in the inverse ratio of its quality. Coin, the standard of the value of which was weight and fineness, could not be depreciated, and the excess of the paper was necessarily the only cause. *(Hear! hear!)* He would here strengthen his argument by the authority of the late Lord Liverpool—an authority eminently entitled to respect from the talents and experience of that Noble Person, but still more worthy of attention, since it exhibited the result of a long and official inquiry which he had been directed to make. In the letter addressed by the venerable Peer to his Majesty, on the subject of the coins of the realm, he states, that the circulation consisted of paper and coin, that the price of all commodities was in reference to the standard value of the coin, that is, the quantity of gold for which they would exchange. When the Right Hon. Gentleman talked of paper having a current value, he contradicted all the authorities of law, and published a doctrine infinitely more novel than any which had proceeded from them who had been accused of poisoning the public mind. If the paper was not convertible into gold, where was the measure of its value to be found? It was undoubtedly true, that fresh supplies of the precious metals would have a tendency to depreciate their value, but this effect must be slow, it had great and natural limits. These metals could not be imported without great labour and expence. The present depreciation was of a very different kind, it was a depreciation of the currency compared to its standard, a deterioration of its value compared to itself. *(Hear!)* If our metallic currency were so debased as to cause a depreciation of 25 per cent, at the present period, then this inequality could not exist, and paper would be a fair equivalent for coin. In William's reign the silver coinage was depreciated by debasement 30 per cent. below its standard value, and the notes of the Bank, which were payable in silver, were equally depreciated. He was at a loss to conceive what was meant by the current value of bank notes. What value could the creditor get from the Bank? The law had indeed given them its sanction, and the Exchequer received the notes at par, a circumstance which probably served very materially to sustain them in circulation. A most able Report was prepared in 1776 by direction of the Lords of the Treasury, on the subject of the difference which then took place, of half an ounce of silver in the relative value of that metal and gold. In that Report several very important facts were stated. This difference operated to send the coin out of the country, and a fall of only one farthing in the value of the Louis d'or in Paris had been the cause of their being brought to a large amount to our Mint and coined into guineas. We have now two currencies, one of them

depreciated twenty-five per cent. below the other, and for the statement of this fact and its necessary consequences they were almost charged with holding out encouragement to perjury and fraud *(Hear, hear!)* The truth was that the existence of the law on this point was itself the encouragement of fraud and perjury. *(Hear! hear!)* A sound currency needed no such laws, and an unsound one rendered them useless. The statute of 1774 constituted weight the ultimate criterion of the soundness of our currency; how nugatory then must be those penal laws applied to a period when we had a currency not referable to weight! *(Hear! hear!)* Notwithstanding all the well-understood opinions of the most eminent accountants, and the practical experience of ages, the denomination of the dollar had been lately raised. Its intrinsic value by assay was 4*s*. 6*d*. Thus while our own coin was subject to certain conditions of weight and fineness, foreign silver might be sold in the market for 6*s*. 6*d*. and foreign gold for 4*l*. 15*s*. *(Hear! hear!)* Could any man then expect or conceive our own gold can under such circumstances, remain in circulation? Had his Majesty's Ministers by Proclamation raised the denomination of the 7*s*. piece to 9*s*. and left guineas at the present rate, would it be believed that the guineas would not be immediately bought up? Perhaps he should be told that the dollar was not current coin; but what were Bank-notes? If a stranger were to ask him, what was the currency of this country? he should probably reply, guineas, divisible into certain aliquot or multiple parts of silver coin, and that the relative value of gold and silver being as 15 one-fifth is to one, in general the proportion between our gold and silver currency, by a reference to the legal standard weight. But when he should also be informed that we have introduced a foreign coinage worth 4*s*. 6*d*. and passed it current at 5*s*. 6*d*. then it would be necessary to confess that our own silver currency is so debased that the gold has disappeared, and in its place we have a paper circulation at par with our debased and depreciated silver. *(Hear! hear!)* If an English Merchant had a debt to discharge at Amsterdam, of 500*l*. and purchases a bill that enables him to discharge it in one hundred ounces of gold, how is this transaction accomplished?—In what manner but by the purchase of guineas?—He would read the Committee a few extracts from a correspondence between a person in Paris and a person resident in this country, whose names he was not at liberty to mention. They stated that the latter had succeeded in purchasing for his correspondent the several sums of 10,829 and of 5,000 guineas, which he had shipped, and hoped would go safe to hand, that the charges were ½ per cent. for commission, and another ½ per cent. for guaranteeing the bills, and offering afterwards to provide them to any amount which might be desired.—*(Hear! hear!)* The balance of trade could not possibly account for this state of things. In the reign of William, about 1696, the real value of the guinea, compared to the debased silver currency, was 25*s*. or 26*s*., but the gold was permitted to pass at its intrinsic worth; notwithstanding the then unfavourableness of the exchanges, the gold never disappeared. Lord Liverpool observes in his publication, that if the gold coin at that period had not been suffered to pass at its sterling value it would doubtless have been all melted down. It was certainly well worthy of consideration what might have been the condition and financial difficulties of this country, then engaged in exertions not less arduous than those of the present period, and what might have been the fate of the liberties we enjoy, had not this wise proceeding been adopted. He was indeed well apprised of the difficulty which must be felt if the gold and the bank note were admitted to an equal competition, in any longer supporting the assertion that the paper was not depreciated. *(Hear! hear!)* He was well aware what would then become of that current value and public estimation by which the advocates of the restriction endeavoured to support their argument; a current value and a public estimation which were in fact derived only from the rigorous prohibitions of penal enactments. *(Hear!)* Was this then a proper state of the currency of the country, was it one in which it was the duty of Parliament to suffer it to remain? The fact was undeniable that guineas were sold in every street. The evidence of a respectable goldsmith stated that he had continual applications made to him for their sale and purchase. What was this public estimation of bank paper in Ireland, where landlords often insisted on receiving their rents in gold, and their tenants were obliged to pay 2*s*. 6*d*. premium for gui-

neas accordingly. *(Hear! hear!)* [The Right Honourable Gentleman here made some allusions to the compulsory alterations of the standard value in coin during Henry 8, and Edw. 6, but in so low a tone of voice that we could not distinctly hear him.]—After having thus laid before the Committee precedents from the earlier period of our history, shewing from the statutes enacted in former reigns, so far back as the reign of Henry the Eighth, the rigorous jealousy with which the Government looked to the preservation of the legal currency, and having endeavoured in what he had already said, to shew that the criterion of the existing state of that currency was to be judged of with reference to a fixed and unvarying standard. *(Hear! hear! from the Ministerial Benches.)* He repeated it—a fixed standard.—What! was there then no standard? He put a plain and distinct question. He begged of those Gentlemen who differed from him in their views of this question, to answer him as plainly and as directly. Was there, or was there not a standard? And here he could not help remarking, that among the various pamphlets professedly written against the Bullion Report, this word "standard," which, in his view of the subject, comprehended every thing most essential to its discussion, seldom if ever occurred. Therefore, he was now the more anxious to ascertain the real opinion of Gentlemen upon this part of the question. If, however, it could not be denied that there was or ought to be some standard, he should then ask what this standard was? Was gold the standard? Were bank notes the standard? If bank notes were the standard, why not say so? and then they might argue with reference, to something known; they might then, if they pleased, announce, agreeably to such a standard, the guinea to be equal to the twenty-one-fortieths of a two-pound note; this, bad as it might be, would be still something, as it were, to measure by, and therefore certainly more tolerable than an abundance of indefinite talk about abstract currencies, and he knew not what else of unintelligible jargon. Abstract Currencies! What was meant by this odd union of two words that were never meant to be brought together? He would ask the Gentlemen who were so fond of using them, if they had ever heard of Abstract Payments *(a laugh)*; and if so, would such payments, made in this new sort of abstract currency, obtain for a man any other than an abstract dinner *(a laugh)*? The reputed authors of the publications most learned upon the subject of abstract currencies were said to be in office and he thought that his Right Honourable Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer could not more appropriately reward their ingenuity than by remunerating their official exertions with abstract payments in the abstract currency; where, though the injury might be virtual, the profit would be real *(a general laugh)*. The standard which had been attempted to be substituted in the place of the true one, seemed to rest itself upon this principle, that whenever there was an extraordinary increase in the price of gold and silver, that then they were to countervail the effects of that intercrease by a proportionate increase in the issue of paper. Admitting then this principle in its full extent, and preserving the due ratio between the price of gold and silver and the issue of paper currency, he asked if this principle would not apply to the doubling of the denomination of our currency? If the principle was to countervail the increase in the price of the gold and silver by the issue of paper, the sooner such a principle was generally known, the better. But here he could not help asking, though the price of gold was so encreased, was there such a scarcity of gold? *(Hear!)* Where were the proofs of this scarcity? He was aware of none; but of this he was confident, that where gold was scarce, other commodities must become cheap. Would gentlemen try it by this test? Was it the fact that other commodities had become cheap? But if they were to entrust this fearful discretion to the Bank, of countervailing the effects of the rise of the price of gold and silver, he thought that then the best criterion of the required standard, would be found in taking the average price of corn for a given period jointly with the average value of labour. Here he read a statement of the average prices of wheat, imported for the fourteen years, since the Bank restriction in 1797.

(To be continued.)

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SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

DISSENTERS.——At the end of this article, I insert the Resolutions recently passed at a Meeting of the PROTESTANT DISSENTERS, relative to the BILL, which is now before the House of Lords, and which has been brought in by LORD VISCOUNT SIDMOUTH, late Mr. Henry Addington, sometime prime minister of this country.——Thinking people as we are, I am disposed to believe, that the subject now before us is not very well understood; and, as I see, that the COURIER and other venal prints are complaining, that the *well-meaning* Dissenters are *deceived* respecting the object and the natural effects of the Bill, if it should pass into a law, I will endeavour, with my Lord Sidmouth's leave, to make the thing clearly understood.——The enactments of this Bill are stated to be as follows. I have not seen any copy of the Bill itself; but, I take it for granted, that they are correctly stated in the published Resolutions of so respectable a body as the Meeting above-mentioned.——" I. That such Ministers, upon " *being admitted* to the peaceable possession " and enjoyment of the peace of Ministers " *of a separate Congregation*, may, on a certificate in writing, under the hands of " *several substantial and reputable House-* " *holders belonging to such Congregation*, " signed in the presence of some creditable witness, who is to make proof of " their signatures upon oath *at a General* " *Sessions* of the Peace, be permitted to " take oaths and to sign the Declarations " previously required, and shall then, and *then only*, during their continuance to be Ministers of such *separate Congregation*, [b]e entitled to all the privileges and [ex]emptions which the former acts had [con]ferred.——II. That any other per[son] who may *desire to qualify* himself to [a]ct as a Dissenting Minister, must [obt]ain several substantial and reputable [Househ]olders, being Dissenters of the [same] Sect, and of *the same Congregation*, to [certify] on their consciences, in writing, [his] being a Protestant Dissenting [Minister] of their Sect, and of the same " Congregation, and to their *individual and* " *long knowledge* to his sobriety of conver" sation, and to his *ability* and *fitness to* " *preach*; and that such Certificate must " be proved as before stated, before he be " permitted to take the oath and subscribe " the declaration, before he be exempt " from the *pains, penalties*, and *punishments* " to which he would otherwise be liable " as a Dissenting Minister.——III. That " any person of sober life and conversation " admitted to preach *on probation* to any " separate Congregation, must produce a " Certificate from several Dissenting Mi" nisters, who have taken the oath (to be " also proved on oath at *a General Sessions*) " of his life and conversation, and to their " *long previous knowledge*, before he can be " admitted to take the Oaths and sub" scribe the Declaration, and that he may " then, during *a limited period, to be speci-* " *fied in the Certificate*, officiate as a proba" tioner to any Dissenting Congregation, " and be, *during a limited period*, exempt " from *prosecution* and *punishment*; but " neither of the two last-mentioned classes " of persons will be entitled to any *privi-* " *leges*, or to the *exemptions* from offices " conferred on Dissenting Ministers by " the Toleration Act."——Such is, it is said, to be the substance of the new Act; and, how it will affect the Dissenters, what an alteration it will make respecting them, we shall now see.——Previous to the first year of the reign of WILLIAM and MARY the Dissenters were liable to divers severe *penalties* and *punishments* for doing that which they now do by law; and their Ministers, or Teachers, were liable to be punished in a very severe manner. But, in the year just mentioned (1688) an Act was passed, which is generally called the TOLERATION ACT, and which is the 18th chap. of the first year of William and Mary.——This Act took away great part of the hardships, under which the Dissenters before laboured; but, it still left them subjected to a load of *oaths* and *subscribings*, and some of these they are still subjected to; so that, one would have wished for the abolition of these shackles, rather than the imposing of new ones.——There were also

certain *Exemptions* provided for by the Toleration Act, That Act not only did away *punishments* by created *exemptions.* The proposed Act would create the grounds of punishments, and would take away exemptions.——By the Toleration Act any man, be he who he might, could become a Dissenting Minister, upon the conditions there prescribed; namely, taking of an oath of *fidelity* to the King, of *abjuration of popery,* and *subscribing the Articles of the Church of England,* with some exceptions. These conditions were hard; for, why should they subscribe any of the articles of the Church, of the Episcopal Church? However, such were the conditions, and the only conditions.——In the 19th year of the present king's reign (1779) an Act was passed (Chap. 44) to do away the obligation *to subscribe the Articles of the Church of England;* and to substitute in lieu thereof, simply a declaration of the Person's being a *Protestant Dissenter,* of his being *a Christian,* and of his *belief in the Old and New Testament.*——Thus, then, as to qualification for the Ministry, stands the law at this hour.——Before a man can preach or pray or teach, or, in any way officiate, as a Dissenting Minister, he must obtain *a Certificate* of his actually being a Dissenting Minister; and, this is the way in which he is to obtain it. He is to go to a General Sessions of the Peace, held for the County or Place, where he lives, and there he is to take the oaths of fidelity and abjuration, and is to make the declaration last mentioned, and, when he has done this, the Justices present are to give him *a Certificate* of his having so done, and this constitutes him *a Dissenting Minister,* and authorizes him to officiate as such, *in any part of the kingdom where he pleases.* The Justices *cannot refuse* to admit him to take the oaths and to make the declaration; and, when he has so done, they cannot refuse him his Certificate. The Act is positive and peremptory; and, indeed, if it had not been so, it would have been a most wicked Act; for it would have given to the Justices the power of *selection,* which they might have used for the worst of purposes. It would have been much worse than to pass no Act at all.——Such is the mode of qualification; and, when a man is once qualified in this way, he is by the Toleration Act, exempted from serving upon any Jury, and from being chosen, or appointed to bear, the office of Church-warden, Overseer of the Poor, and all other Parochial offi[ces] the Hundred or Shire, and the like. And, th[e] year of the present reign emption to SERVICE IN TH[E] which is a very important thi[ng] especially since the passing of L[ord Cas]tlereagh's LOCAL MILITIA Act, makes every man in England, be[tween] the age of 18 and 30 (I believe it is) l[iable] to the operation of that *military disci[pline]* having written about which some people have such excellent reason to remember to the latest hour of their lives.——The reader will stop *here* a little and fix his eye well upon this. This is the main point to keep in view, as he will see sufficient proof of by-and-by.——We must now look back at the provisions of the proposed Act of Lord Sidmouth, which we shall not, I think, want much said to convince us, strikes at the very root of the two Acts of Toleration; for, if this Act pass, the obstacles to the Ministry will be so great, that very few men will have either the ability, or the inclination to surmount them.——The First provision in the intended law, relates to persons, who have actually become Ministers of separate Congregations; and, it is proposed to enact, that, any man being settled in this capacity, may go and take the oaths and sign the declaration before mentioned, and that h[e] shall then, and as long as he continue to be Minister of that specific Congregation, be exempted from *burdensome offices,* and from the *militia;* but, that, if he ceases to officiate as minister to that *particular* congregation, he then becomes again liable to the service in offices, and to MILITARY DISCIPLINE, which is a much more serious thing.——If the Act were now passed, any Dissenting Minister, not 45 years of age, not having a fixed Congregation, might be ballotted into the *old Militia;* and, if between the ages of 18 and 30, he might be drafted into Lord Castlereagh's Locals; And, if he has not money to pay the fine i[n] the latter case (where no *clubs* will ava[il] him), he *must go* and serve, and, of cour[se] leave his congregation.——This was no[t] before. When a man had once becom[e a] Minister, he *always remained so.* He enjoyed the exemptions attached t[o the] character, though he might, from [some] cause or other, cease to officiate, [as] our Church Ministers, who, wheth[er they] have livings or curacies, or not, [are] exempted from the *Militia* and [bur]*densome* office: other offices, so[...]

have no objection to. But, if this Bill become a law, there will be no security for the Dissenting Minister, who may be preaching one day, and fighting the next. ——There are many causes, whence a Dissenting Minister may cease to officiate. Illness may throw him out of his ministry, and cause his place to be supplied by another; and, when recovered from his illness, it may be impossible for him to recover his former situation, though he may be a very worthy man; but this circumstance at once subjects him to the Militia, and, as I observed before, if he be under 30 years of age, and has not money to pay the fine, he may be under the study of *military discipline*, in the Local Militia, the next day after his recovery ——Well, but, having lost his congregation, "he "may get another." Yes, *if he can*; but, how is he to get it if he be ballotted for the militia in the meanwhile, or compelled to become Overseer of the Poor, or Constable? How, in that case, is he to get another congregation? He is almost necessarily disabled from getting another by the consequences naturally flowing from his loss of the one he now has; and this, of course, must have a tendency to degrade these Ministers in general; because men of character and of education will not like to place themselves in such a precarious situation, while it would inevitably happen in frequent instances, that a man seen in the pulpit to-day, would be seen undergoing *military discipline* (that phrase is *delicate* enough I think) to-morrow.—— A Dissenting Minister may be settled in a place where he, or his family, have ill health. It is requisite for him to remove; but, if he does, he becomes liable to *military discipline*, unless he gets another Congregation immediately. And why should this be? The Ministers of our Church are not liable to *military discipline*, though they remove from *their* congregations for many years together. It is notorious that one half of those, who own the livings in England and Wales, do not reside upon them. They are elsewhere, and very frequently the excuse is, that the air of the place does not agree with them. And, is no allowance of this sort to be made for the Dissenting Ministers? Why are they to be exposed to the balloting for the militia the moment they leave their place of abode?——But, how is a man to *become* a Minister, if he be not one already? How is he, if this Act should pass, to obtain his *Certificate*?——We have seen, that, as the law *now* stands, he has nothing to do but to go to the Justices at their Quarter Sessions, and offer to take the Oaths and to sign the Declaration, and that, having done it, he has his Certificate of course, the expence being settled by law at SIXPENCE. But, what is he, if this Act pass, to do in order to get his certificate of *being qualified?* Not of being a *Minister*; for, he is not to be looked upon as such, nor to be entitled to any exemptions, until he has actually gotten a separate congregation of his own.——In order to be *permitted to qualify*, he must, before he can show himself to the Justices at the Sessions, procure *several* SUBSTANTIAL and *reputable* householders, belonging to the same congregation with himself, to certify, on their consciences, in writing, to his being a Protestant Dissenter of their sect and of the same congregation, and to their *individual* and *long* knowledge, to his *sobriety of conversation*, and to his *ability and fitness to preach*; he must bring credible witnesses to prove that such certificate was duly signed by the parties; and, until he has done all this, the Justices are not to permit him to take the oaths and sign the declaration, and, if he officiates as a Minister without it, he is to be liable to all the heavy penalties and punishments, which were in existence before the Toleration Act was passed.——Now, the reader will easily perceive the effect of this provision. The trouble, the expence, and the difficulties of many sorts. But, even after this; after all these difficulties are got over, a person of this description, who has *qualified* for the Ministry, but who has not actually got a congregation, is not to be entitled to any of the *exemptions* above-mentioned. He may still (though he has qualified as Minister) be balloted for the militia and may undergo the study of *military discipline*, whether he has a *taste* for such study or not.—— The remaining provision relates to the admitting of men to be Ministers on *probation*, or *trial*. And here the man, to be so admitted, must bring a Certificate from several Ministers of the same sect, who have taken the oaths, the signatures to which Certificate are to be proved to the Justices as in the other case. This Certificate, too, is to talk of *long* previous knowledge about life and conversation; and, when the Justices are satisfied, and have suffered him to take the Oaths and subscribe the Declaration; they may then, *for a limited time* to be *specified in the Certi-*

ficate, let him officiate as a *probationer* to any Dissenting Congregation, and, *during a limited time*, they may exempt him from prosecution and punishment under the old laws.——But, even during the time that he is in this state of *probation* as a Minister, he is *not to be exempted from burdensome offices, or from the Local or the other militia*; and, it may so happen, that his Captain or Serjeant will come and take him out of his pulpit and put him into the Guard-house or Black-hole.——What an alteration is here! As the law now stands, any man may become a Minister without any Certificate or Witness or any thing else but his own Oaths and his Declaration; and, the moment he does become a Minister, he is secured against being forced into the militia, or to become a constable or other peace or parochial officer.——It is very clear, that if this Act of Lord Sidmouth should pass, that the Justices will, in fact, have the *selecting* of all the Dissenting Ministers; for, there is so much placed in their power, that it would be impossible to avoid this effect.——The Act will not, perhaps, say, that they shall have it in their *discretion* to refuse Certificates; but, if it make provision for signatures of recommendation by *substantial* and *reputable* persons, it will, and it must, make them the judges of *whether the parties signing be of this description.* That's enough! Leave any one point wholly to them. Make them the sole masters of any link in the chain, and you do, in reality, put the whole thing in their power. You give them the selection of the *persons* to be Ministers, and you also enable them to limit the *numbers*; and, of course, the Toleration Act would be virtually repealed.——I shall be told, that this is not the *intention* at all; that nothing is further from the views of the Author of the Bill; and that I am quite mistaken as to the effect of it. As to what may be the *views* of the Author of the Bill, that is another matter. I am speaking of what the Bill would produce; and, if it be what it is represented to be, it would produce what I am now describing.——It will not, perhaps, *say*, that the Justices shall have it in their discretion to *reject* any man on account of their dislike of *him*, or *without any reason assigned.* The Act will not *say* this perhaps; but, as to the fulfilment of its own provisions relative to the *substantial* and *reputable* householders, it must give the Justices a *discretion*; they must be the judges and the *sole judges* of the recommendations they receive; it must be left to them to decide whether the persons signing the recommendation be, or be not, *substantial* and *reputable* people; and, we all know very well, that what one man may think *substantial* another may not, and that, with regard to who is, or is not, *reputable*, the difference in men's opinions may be still wider. Those whom Major Cartwright, for instance, would think very reputable people, John Bowles (who is a *Justice* by the bye) would be very likely to think just the contrary; and, if a flat *refusal* were not grounded upon such an objection, there might, at least, be delay; the applicant, together with his witnesses, might be sent away to seek more reputable vouchers for his character; when he came, he might be sent back again; his witness to the signatures might be questioned and cross-questioned; and thus the vexation and humiliation might become so great, and, indeed, the *expence*, that, what with one thing and another, it might amount to a very serious persecution. ——But, why should I suppose that the Justices *would* act thus. I do not say that they *would*. It is not necessary for me to say that they *would*. It is enough for me to know that they *could*. I am not saying what *would* be, but what *might* be. I am reasoning and not conjuring.——But, when one is reasoning upon probabilities; when one is endeavouring to ascertain what it is likely the Justices would do, it is worth while to ask what the Justices are.——In the country, more than two-thirds, I believe, of those who attend at the Sessions, are *Clergymen of the Church of England.* Where this is the case it surely is not too much to expect, that the road to the Dissenting Ministry will not be smoothed by the Justices. And, as to the other Justices, they must have taken the *Test* at any rate. There are very few, perhaps, who do not belong to the Church of England; but, at the least, they must have taken the *Test*; they must have done an act, by which they do, in fact, declare themselves to be of that Church, so that they cannot be expected to be favourable to the Dissenters.——But, what I look upon as of more consequence than all the rest, is, the *political influence* that might, and that inevitably would, prevail here. The Justices are all appointed, they are all selected, by the government. The Sheriffs are all selected and appointed in the same way. Every one, who will have power from this bill, does, except in a few

of the Corporations, derive that power from the same source. This being the case, can any one suppose, that, in a matter where there is *discretion*, the decision will not be on the side of the government, especially in cases where there is no apparent injury done to the party; for, to some persons it will always be difficult to make it out that a man is injured by a refusal to suffer him to preach; and, as to the public, I would fain see the man who would undertake to prove to a dozen of Clergymen and 'Squires that a well-set young fellow would not be better employed in the Local Militia, fighting for the preservation of their Tythes and Estates, than in preaching and praying to a Dissenting Congregation.——Such as were admitted as Ministers would, at any rate, have to pass review before the Justices, who would naturally have a leaning against all those whom they looked upon as *bad politicians.* If, for instance, I were to apply for a qualification. A thing by no means probable, to be sure; but, I put it as a strong case. If I were to apply to the Justices, does the reader not imagine, that they would *think* a little before they granted it? To be sure they would; and, indeed, no man can doubt, that, in every instance, political considerations would have great weight. The Act would, in short, give the government, or rather, the Ministry, through the Justices, the *selection* of the Dissenting Ministers; and, to suppose that they would select such as were not favourable to their own views, one must first see them in the habit of supporting at Elections those whom they expect to oppose them in the House.——Does any one imagine, that this was not seen clearly at the time of passing the Toleration Act? It was clearly seen, that, if there was any *discretionary* power lodged with the Justices, the Act would either have no effect in the way of toleration, or would cause toleration to be bartered for political purposes. Therefore it was that the Toleration Act left no discretion at all; but made it imperative upon the Justices to grant and to record the document constituting any man a Dissenting Minister, if he presented himself before them and offered to comply with the conditions specified in the Act.——But, there is a further consideration that must *now* have great weight given to it. At the time when the Toleration Act was passed, the custom of making Clergymen Justices did not, I believe, prevail to any extent worthy of notice; and, indeed, I believe, it did not exist at all. This custom, if it had existed, would certainly have been an additional motive for the imperative provision of the Toleration Act; for to conclude that a Clergyman, acting as a Justice, would, as far as possible, increase the obstacles to the Ministry of the Dissenters, it is not necessary to suppose him a bad man, but, on the contrary, to conclude that he would not increase these obstacles, you must first suppose him completely divested of every thing worthy of the name of *zeal* for the Church, to whom every *virtuous* and *able* Dissenting Minister must necessarily be a formidable enemy. Either, therefore, your Clerical Justice must be something very little better than a traitor to the Church, or he must be almost irresistibly drawn to raise obstacles in the way of good and clever men in their way to the Dissenting Ministry. This consideration, however, though weighty, is trifling compared to another arising out of the change in the magisterial part of our government since the time when the TOLERATION ACT was passed. I allude to that very material measure, the Appointment of Justices of the Peace with SALARIES, and REMOVEABLE AT PLEASURE. Such a thing had never been heard of in England in 1688. It has been heard of now, and seen too; and we now have in the Metropolis, twenty-four men, commonly called POLICE MAGISTRATES, who have all the powers of Justices of the Peace, not only in the Metropolis itself, but in all the four populous counties adjoining it, namely, Middlesex, Essex, Kent, and Surrey, for all which counties they have *Commissions of the Peace*, and, of course, where they are amongst the Justices sitting at the General Sessions for these counties. These men were first appointed under an Act of Parliament, passed in the year 1792, just upon the eve of the late, or Anti-Jacobin war. They are paid £.500 a year each, free of all deductions.——Amongst other provisions in the Act by which they were appointed, they were disqualified, as Excisemen are, to vote at Elections for Members to serve in Parliament. But, they are fully qualified by the Police Act to sit cheek by jowl with the Gentlemen of the Counties of Essex, Middlesex, Kent, and Surry, at the General Sessions of the Peace of those counties; and, of course, they would be fully qualified to hear, and to determine on, the applications of persons to become

Dissenting Ministers, if the proposed Act were to be passed. Here, in and round the Metropolis, are, it is well known, the greater part of the Dissenters. A fourth part, perhaps, of the population of England, if not more, live within the jurisdiction of these STIPENDIARY JUSTICES, who, from their numbers, are at all times likely to form a majority of the Justices present at the General Sessions of the Peace held in any of the above four counties; and who, from the very nature of their situation, must be disposed to do nothing hostile or displeasing to the Ministry of the day, *their places being held at the pleasure of the Crown.*——The nature of their situation, with regard to the Ministry, and the natural tendency of it to create an undue bias in *politics*, is clearly marked out by the provisions of the Act by which they were appointed, and which, as to *elections*, for Members of Parliament, puts them upon a footing with *Excisemen* and others, who are deprived of the elective franchise merely on account of the strong temptations of their offices. Yet, if the Act of Lord SIDMOUTH were to pass, these men would have the *discretionary power* that I have shown above in the licensing of one half, perhaps, or more than one half of all the Dissenting Ministers in England and Wales; because it is from the Metropolis chiefly that these Ministers start.—After what has been said, there is no one, I imagine, who can doubt, that the effect of the proposed Act would be to lessen the number of Dissenting ministers, and, indeed, if the Act could be enforced, to render the TOLERATION ACT, or, rather, ACTS (for the last is a very important one) of none, or, of very little, avail. Upon this point there can, I think, be very little difference of opinion: whether it be *right* to render these Acts a nullity is another question, but this is a question which I have not time to discuss here, though I shall not fail to do it in my next,

HOLLAND.—THE PRESS.——The Morning Chronicle of yesterday states, that, in Holland, the Printers are compelled to *enregister* their presses, and their *own names* and *places of abode* *. And then follows a commentary of *compassion* upon the *poor* Dutch!——Really one can hardly believe one's eyes.——Why, does not Mr. PERRY know that *his* press is enregistered at the great Taxing Office at the Place called Somerset House? Does he not know, that *his name* and his *printer's* name, and his *publisher's* name, and all their *places of abode*, are enregistered at the said Tax-Office; and, that the enregisterment is *sworn* to by him and by his printer and publisher? What does he mean, then? He does not tell us of the sort of Atonement that unfortunate printers make to *offended Bishops* in Holland, and how the poor Dutchmen manage the matter so as to bring themselves off upon such occasions; whether they cry up the Bishop's father and mother and brothers and sisters and wife and children and cousins and foster mothers and sisters-in-law and half brothers, nay, almost down to the very dogs and cats of the family. He does not tell us this; for which I am sorry, as I should have been glad to know how a *Dutch* printer would bring himself off in such an emergency.*——We hear

* "The Dutch *booksellers, printers, type-founders,* and *press-makers,* are by a late "decree, published at Amsterdam, to have "their *names* and *residences registered.*"

* As Mr. PERRY seems not to be aware of the laws in force in his *own country*, I beg leave to subjoin some of their provisions here for his information.

By the Act 13 Geo. II. c. 19, (to restrain and prevent the excessive increase of horse races, &c.) it is enacted, "That every person or person who shall make, print, publish, advertise, or proclaim any Advertisement or Notice of any plate, prize, sum of money, or other thing, of less value than Fifty Pounds, to be run for by any horse, mare, or gelding, shall forfeit and lose the sum of *one hundred pounds.*"

By the Act 25 Geo. II. cap. 36, (for the better preventing thefts and robberies), it is enacted, "That any person publicly "advertising a reward with 'No questions "asked,' for the return of things which "have been stolen or lost, or making use "of any such words in such public ad-"vertisement, &c. shall for every such "offence forfeit *fifty pounds.*"

The Act 39 Geo. III. cap. 79, (for the more effectual suppression of societies established for seditious and treasonable purposes), contains several provisions and penalties respecting *Printers, Letter Founders,* and *Printing Press Makers.*

Sect. 23 enacts, "That, from and after "the expiration of forty days from the "day of passing this Act, every person "having any *Printing Press,* or *Types* for

no more now about the *insurrection* in Holland and the *Judges* there, whence I conclude that all is quiet again. The MORNING POST, to be sure, tells us, that "there

"printing, shall cause a notice thereof, "signed in the presence of and *attested by* "*one witness*, to be delivered to the clerk "of the peace acting for the county, "stewartry, riding, division, city, borough, "town, or place, where the same shall be "intended to be used, or his deputy, ac- "cording to the form prescribed in the 'schedule hereunto annexed; and such 'clerk of the peace, or deputy respec- 'tively, shall, and he is hereby autho- 'rized and required to *grant a certificate* 'in the form prescribed in the schedule 'hereunto annexed, for which such clerk 'of the peace, or deputy, shall receive 'the fee of one shilling, and no more; 'and such clerk of the peace, or his de- 'puty, shall file such notice, and transmit 'an *attested copy thereof to one of his Ma- 'jesty's principal secretaries of state;* and 'every person who, not having delivered 'such notice and obtained such certificate 'as aforesaid, shall, from and after the 'expiration of forty days next after the 'passing of this Act, keep or use any 'printing press or types for printing, or, 'having delivered such notice and ob- 'tained such certificate as aforesaid, shall 'use any printing press or types for 'printing in *any other place* than the place 'expressed in such notice,' shall forfeit 'and lose the sum of *twenty pounds*."

Sect. 24 exempts his Majesty's Printers, and the Public Presses belonging to the two Universities.

Sect. 25 and 26 relate to the same Enregisterment and Certificate by Type Founders and Printing Press Makers.

Sect. 27 enacts, "That from and after "the expiration of forty days after the "passing of this Act, every person who "shall print any paper or book, whatso- "ever, which shall be meant or intended "to be published or dispersed, whether "the same shall be sold or given away, "shall print upon the front of every such "paper, if the same shall be printed on "one side only, and upon the first and last "leaves of every paper or book which "shall consist of more than one leaf, in "legible characters, *his* or *her name*, and "the name of the city, town, parish, *or* "*place*, and also the name (if any) of the "square, street, lane, court, or place, in "which his or *her dwelling house* or *usual* "*place of abode* shall be; and every per- "son who shall omit so to print his name "and place of abode on every such paper "or book printed by him, and also every "person who shall publish or disperse, or "assist in publishing or dispersing, either "gratis or for money, any printed paper "or book, which shall have been printed "after the expiration of forty days from "the passing of this Act, and on which "the name and place of abode of the per- "son printing the same shall not be print- "ed as aforesaid, shall, for every copy of "such paper so published or dispersed by "him, forfeit and pay the sum of *twenty* "*pounds*."

Sect. 28 exempts papers printed by authority of either house of parliament.

Sect. 29 enacts, "That every person "who, from and after the expiration of "forty days after the passing of this Act, "shall print any paper for hire, reward, "gain, or profit, shall carefully preserve "and keep one copy (at least) of every "paper so printed by him or her, on which "he or she shall write, or cause to be "written or printed, in fair and legible "characters, the *name and place of abode of* "*the person or persons by whom he or she shall* "*be employed to print the same*; and every "person printing any paper for hire, re- "ward, gain, or profit, who shall omit or "neglect to write, or cause to be written "or printed as aforesaid, the name and "place of his or her employer on one of "such printed papers, or to keep or pre- "serve the same for the space of six "calendar months next after the printing "thereof, or to *produce and show the same* "*to any justice of the peace*, who, within "the said space of six calendar months, "shall require to see the same, shall, for "every such omission, neglect, or refusal, "forfeit and lose the sum of *twenty pounds*."

Form of Notice to be given to the Clerk of the Peace, that any Person keeps any Printing Press or Types for Printing.

"To the clerk of the peace for——— [here insert the county, stewartry, riding, division, city, borough, town, or place,] or his deputy.

"I, A. B. of ——— do hereby de- "clare that I have a printing press and "types for printing, which I propose "to use for printing, within [here insert "the place where the business is to be "carried on,] and which I require to be "entered for that purpose, in pursuance "of an Act passed in the thirty-ninth year "of the reign of his Majesty King George

"can be *no doubt* of an explosion in Holland being near at hand; and, that the "Dutch are *merely* waiting till they hear "of the complete success of Lord Wellington over Massena." And, as luck would have it, here is that to its hand.

PORTUGAL.—THE WAR.——A few days ago, the accounts from this part of the world appeared rather gloomy; but, the last intelligence has quite changed the face of it. This intelligence, by the way of Bristol, says, that the French have been defeated completely; that Lord Talavera has killed 4,000 of them; taken 700 prisoners; that he has drowned great numbers of them besides; that he was in full chase of the remains of their army towards Salamanca.——This is LIE the fifty thousandth, perhaps, that this nation has been treated with since the beginning of the Anti-Jacobin war, or Assignat war, call it which you will. The monstrous falsehoods that are served out to this gaping public! Any thing; nothing is too gross. A falsehood of some sort or other, is served out every day; and sometimes twenty or thirty in a day.——Let us hope, however, that, for once, we have *some* truth in this intelligence. It is high time; for, we have had so many falsehoods of late, that it quite sickens one to think of them.

W^M. COBBETT.

State Prison, Newgate, Tuesday, May 21, 1811.

"the Third, entitled, "An Act for the "" more effectual suppression of societies "" established for seditious and treasona- "" ble purposes, and for better preventing "" treasonable and seditious practices."" "Witness my hand this——day of "——Signed in the presence of——

COPY OF A CERTIFICATE.

LONDON.—I Thomas Shelton, Clerk of the Peace for the City of London, do hereby certify that Thomas Curson Hansard of Peterborough Court Fleet Street, in the Parish of Saint Bride in the said City, hath delivered a notice in writing appearing to be signed by him, and attested by T. Martin as a Witness to his signing the same, that he the said Thomas Curson Hansard hath a Printing Press and Types for printing, which he proposes to use for printing within his House aforesaid, and which he hath required to be entered pursuant to an Act passed in the thirty-ninth year of his Majesty's Reign, intituled, "An Act for the more effectual "suppression of Societies established for "seditious and treasonable purposes; and "for better preventing treasonable and se- "ditious practices." Witness my hand this seventeenth day of August, one thousand eight hundred and five.

THOMAS SHELTON.

MEETING OF PROTESTANT DISSENTERS.

At a numerous and most respectable Meeting of Protestant Dissenters of various denominations, and other Friends to Religious Liberty, residing in different parts of the United Empire, held at the London Tavern, Bishopsgate-street, on the 15th of May, 1811.

SAMUEL MILLS, Esq. Chairman,

The following Resolutions were agreed too:—

1. That this Meeting believe that there are at least two millions of Protestant Dissenters in the kingdom of England and Wales, including persons of opulent fortunes, high literary attainments, and active benevolence; that their exertions have contributed to promote industry, knowledge, good morals, social order, and public prosperity; that they are not inferior to any fellow subjects in fervent love to their country, nor in ardent loyalty to their venerable Sovereign, whose early promise to "preserve the tolerations in- "violate," has made an indelible impression on their hearts, and that any means which might excite their discontent and enfeeble their attachment, would therefore at any time, and especially at this period, be inconsistent with the national interest, and with wise and liberal policy.

2. That although this Meeting consider the right to worship God according to individual judgment as an inalienable right, superior to all social Regulations; and although they have long anticipated a period when all Penal Laws for worshipping God according to their consciences would be abolished, they have been unwilling to agitate the public mind for the attainment of their hopes, and presuming that no persons would in this age venture to assail the Act of Toleration, after the ever-memorable declaration of the King, they have been content to regard it with grateful emotions, and to esteem it as an effectual protection from the recurrence of former persecutions.

3. That the persons assembled at this Meeting have received with great anxiety

the communications frequently made by the Right Hon. Lord Viscount Sidmouth, of his intention to propose legislative Enactments interfering with the laws relating to Protestant Dissenters; that they did hope the applications he has received, and the information communicated would have prevented his perseverance; but they have learned the disappointment of their hopes, and have ascertained the provisions of the Bill which he has at length introduced into Parliament with extreme regret, and with painful apprehension.

4. That this Bill declares that all the provisions relating to the Dissenting Ministers contained in the Toleration Act, and in the subsequent Act for their further relief, were intended to be limited only to Ministers of separate Congregations, and enacts, 1. That such Ministers, upon being admitted to the peaceable possession and enjoyment of the peace of Ministers of a separate Congregation, may, on a certificate in writing, under the hands of several substantial and reputable Householders belonging to such Congregation, signed in the presence of some creditable witness, who is to make proof of their signatures upon oath at a General Sessions of the Peace, be permitted to take oaths and to sign the Declarations previously required, and shall then, and then only, during their continuance to be Ministers of such separate Congregation, be entitled to all the privileges and exemptions which the former acts had conferred. 2d. That any other person who may desire to qualify himself to preach as a Dissenting Minister, must procure several substantial and reputable householders, being Dissenters of the same Sect, and of the same Congregation, to certify on their consciences, in writing, to his being a Protestant Dissenting Minister of their Sect, and of the same Congregation, and to their individual and long knowledge to his sobriety of conversation, and to his ability and fitness to preach; and that such Certificate must be proved as before stated, before he be permitted to take the oath and subscribe the declaration before he be exempt from the pains, penalties and punishments to which he would otherwise be liable as a Dissenting Minister. And 3. That any person of sober life and conversation admitted to preach on probation to any separate Congregation must produce a Certificate from several Dissenting Ministers, who have taken the oath (to be also proved on oath at a General Sessions) of his life and conversation, and to their long previous knowledge, before he can be admitted to take the Oaths and subscribe the Declaration, and that he may then, during a limited period, to be specified in the Certificate, officiate as a probationer to any Dissenting Congregation, and be during a limited period exempt from prosecution and punishment; but neither of the two last-mentioned classes of persons will be entitled to any privileges, or to the exemptions from offices conferred on Dissenting Ministers by the Toleration Act.

5. That the principle assumed as the foundation of the Bill is incorrect. That the Toleration Act authorized any persons to become Dissenting Ministers, who conceived themselves to be called and qualified to preach, upon giving security to the State for their Loyalty and Christian Principles, by taking certain Oaths, and by subscribing certain Declarations, and not only prevented their persecution under Laws made in times less favourable to civil and religious liberty, but conceiving their labours to be of public utility, granted to them exemptions from all parochial offices and other duties which might interfere with their more important exertions—that such construction of the Oath of Toleration has been sanctioned by the general practice of a century, and has never been impugned by any decision in a superior Court of Law—and that if even such construction be incorrect, and legislative exposition be required, such declaratory Bill ought to follow the intention of the only Act which has subsequently passed; and should extend, and not contract; protect, and not impair the relief afforded by the former, ancient, and venerable Statute.

6. That the Bill introduced into Parliament is not justified by any necessity, and will be highly injurious—that it is unnecessary because the evils presumed to result from the abuses of the existing laws by a few persons who may have improperly taken the oaths required from Dissenting Preachers and Teachers, do not exist but to a most inconsiderable extent, and because the extension of all such abuses has been anxiously and would be effectually discountenanced by every class of Protestant Dissenters, and that it must be injurious, because it will introduce forms unprecedented, inconvenient, or impracticable—will render itinerant Preachers, Students of divinity, Ministers on Probation, and many persons, to whose ardent

piety and disinterested labours, multitude are indebted for Religious Instruction, liable to serve all Civil Offices; and will expose all Ministers or the witnesses to the Certificates to be harrassed by repeated attendances at different Sessions, and to capricious examinations and unlimited expence, because by limiting the right of persons to become Dissenting Ministers in obedience to their consciences, it will impose new restrictions on toleration, and because it will create a precedent for future attempts at even more dangerous or fatal experiments against religious liberty.

7. That although most reluctant to interference with political affairs, they therefore cannot regard the present attempt without peculiar sensations of alarm, and that veneration for their ancestors, regard to their posterity, respect for rights which they can never abandon, and the sacred obligations which they feel will therefore compel them to disregard all doctrinal and ritual distinctions, and to unite, by every legitimate effort, to prevent the pending Bill from passing into a Law, and to oppose the smallest diminution of the privileges secured by the Act of Toleration.

8. That, from the noble declaration of the liberal-minded and illustrious Prince Regent of the Empire, that he will deliver up the Constitution unaltered, to his Royal Father, this Meeting are encouraged to indulge a confident hope, that measures so innovating and injurious can never obtain the sanction of his high authority, and that they also rejoice that it has not been introduced by his Majesty's Government; and that respectful application be therefore made to them for their wise and continued protection. That a Petition to the House of Lords against the Bill be signed by all the Persons present at this Meeting; and that all Congregations of Protestant Dissenters, and other Friends to Religious Liberty, throughout the Empire, be recommended to present similar Petitions; and that a Committee, consisting of Persons, resident in London, and in the Country, be appointed to effectuate these proceedings, and to adopt any measures they may deem expedient, to prevent the successful prosecution of this Bill; and that each Committee may increase their number; and that any three Members be competent to act.

9. That these Resolutions be communicated by the Committee now appointed to the Committee for guarding the Privileges of the Methodists, and to the Deputies and Ministers of the Congregations of Protestant Dissenters of the three denominations in or near London; and that their cooperation and assistance be respectfully invited.

10. That a Subscription be entered into to defray the expences which may be incurred; and that Friends to Religious Liberty throughout the Empire be invited to contribute; and that such Subscription be appropriated at the discretion of the Committee.

11. That Subscriptions be received by Messrs. Robarts, Curtis, and Co. Lombard-street; Sir James Esdaile and Co. Lombard-steet; and Down, Thornton and Co. Bartholomew-lane.

12. That Thomas Pellatt, Esq. of Ironmongers'-hall, and John Wilks, Esq. of Hoxton-square, be solicited to act as joint Secretaries to the Committee.

13. That the acknowledgements of this Meeting be presented to the Gentlemen by whom it was convened, for the vigilance meritoriously displayed, and for their prompt attention to every attempted infringement of the invaluable and long-established rights of the Protestant Dissenters.

14. That this Meeting present their ardent thanks to the Chairman, for the attachment to Religious Liberty which he has displayed, by consenting to preside on this occasion, and for the attention and ability which he has manifested.

15. That their thanks be also presented to John Wilks, Esq. for the ability and zeal which he has manifested as temporary Secretary, and for his eloquent and useful exertions at this meeting.

16. That these Resolutions be published in the Newspapers, signed by the Chairman, and that measures be adopted by the Committee, necessary to give them requisite publicity.

SAMUEL MILLS, Chairman.

BULLION DEBATE.

(Continued from page 1248.)

Throughout this period, the progressive rise in the average price of the wheat at stated periods, proved the gradual depression of our domestic currency. He did not mean to insinuate, that the power to which he had alluded could be vested in men who would use it with more prudence and wisdom than the Bank of England; but in looking at this

power as a Member of Parliament, he viewed it independent of any considerations respecting the persons in whom such power was to be vested; and viewing it in this light, it appeared to him as a power that enabled a single Corporate Body to change, at will, the relative proportion which the real money of the country should bear to all other commodities whatever. He should not stop now to consider the vast consequences that might one time result from the political effects of the exercise of such a power in bad or imprudent hands. The contract for the payment of money was a stipulation as to quantity fixed and invariable, altogether independent of the circumstances of the time at which it is so contracted to be paid. If he had not already wearied the Committee, he could cite to them various antient precedents of contracts, wherein it was stipulated, that if, owing to any intervention of untoward public events, the obligee could not be paid by money in tale, that he should be paid in so many ounces of silver in standard weight and fineness. There were two kinds of banks, banks of deposit and banks of discount. If the Bank of England limited its issue of paper to paper convertible into specie, it would then embrace in itself all the advantages of both kinds of banks; and however unjustly he might have been represented as an enemy to that great Corporation, he thought it, under such limitations, as one of the most perfect models of the banking system. He next adverted to what had fallen from a Right Honourable Friend (Mr. Rose) in the course of the last night's debate respecting the injuries likely to result from certain statements in a publication of his (Mr. Huskisson); his Right Honourable Friend had acquitted him of every culpable intention, and therefore it would not be necessary for him to enter into any vindication of his motives. But when his Right Honourable Friend spoke of some of the passages as having a tendency to degrade the national character, he thought that his Right Honourable Friend was bound in candour to have pointed ought those passages which struck him in so objectionable a point of view. This, however, he (Mr. H.) would say, however unwilling he was to provoke such a charge, that if such a currency could be made a legal tender, without reference to a fixed standard, it would amount to a breach of the public faith—it seemed, however, that he had given offence by his comparison in that publication between the Bank of England and the Misisippi scheme; but the principles avowed by Mr. Law were the same as those adopted by the Bank of England. Here he read several passages from Mr. Law's book, laying great stress on that passage, where Mr. Law laid it down as a principle, that "few, if any borrow money to lay by."—A Right Hon. Gent. had said, that the price of gold for the years 1809 and 10 had not varied from 4*l.* an ounce; but he forgot to add, that the Bank of England had come to a resolution not to purchase gold at a higher price than 4*l.* an ounce (*Hear!*) But this had nothing to say to the market price, which had been proved before the Bullion Committee to have been so high as 4*l.* 10*s.* an ounce at the same period. He gave it then, as his deliberate opinion, that if they did not raise the denomination of the gold, or approximate the currency more to the standard, no laws, no penalties, however severe, could put a stop to the exportation of bullion—it must go on progressively. He asked what could be admitted as a criterion of the depreciation, if the difference between the standard value of coin, and the price of the current paper, was denied to be that criterion? Were we to be told that our currency was not depreciated at a time when the exchange was against us to the amount of 25 and 30 per cent. and when there were so many trials and convictions for the sale and purchase of guineas? Here he begged leave to refer them to a recent instance scarcely yet generally known; an edict had been lately issued by the Emperor of Austria, declaring the value of the paper circulation in his dominions to be reduced 4-5ths from the day of the date of this edict, a debt previously contracted, to the amount of 500 florins, suddenly fell to the value of 100 florins, so that the national debt of 80 millions of florins was at once reduced to nearly 15 millions. This edict referred to a table at the end, stating the price at which all pecuniary contracts shall be liquidated, subject to the depreciation of the paper currency, month by month. The depreciation had gone on very gradually and slowly from 1799, when it had fallen 3 per cent. till 1801, when it fell to the rate already stated. The effect of this must be to lower prices and raise exchanges, and yet would it be said after this, that the quantity of paper had nothing to do with the price of bullion? With respect to the means of the

Bank to resume cash payments, he believed that they possessed a large quantity of gold, and it would be remembered that they were ready to resume their cash payments in the October of the year in which they had been suspended. If they looked at the great change in the scale of profits now made by the Bank, he thought that that increase of profit might open a way for enabling the Bank to resume their cash payments. When Parliament had given to them in the Restriction Act a letter of licence to suspend their engagements to the public, he thought that it was not asking too much of the Bank to require of them to make use of the profits arising out of that suspension so as to restore them to that situation which would render the continuation of that suspension no longer necessary. *(Hear! hear!)* If they make an extra profit, let them use it in replacing themselves in their former situation. The Honourable Gentleman then proceeded to shew that he had been singular in none of the opinions he had advanced upon this subject. These opinions might be wrong, but they were not new. If he was in error, he was in error with Burleigh—with Bacon—with Mr. Locke—with Sir Isaac Newton—and with Mr. Pitt; and if the Right Honourable Gentleman and the Bank were right, they were right with Mr. Lowndes and Mr. Law—for precisely the same principles, theory and doctrine, were maintained by both. It had been said by one of them, that at one period the price of standard silver had risen 77 pence per ounce. What was standard silver? He could not understand what was meant by standard silver—there was, in fact, no such thing—but it had been more than insinuated, that the wealth of the country depended on the continuance of this depreciated currency. This could not constitute the wealth of any country—it could never be the wealth of this. If every ninepenny shilling could be converted into coin of the first standard of weight and fineness, they could not make the wealth of this country. The wealth of a country consisted in the number of her industrious people, *(Hear! hear!)* in the wisdom of her laws, in the impartiality of their administration—in the security of her liberties, in the buoyant vigour of her public spirit, and the unfaded splendour of her national character *(Hear!)* These were, indeed, the sterling qualities of which the real wealth of nations was made up, and in which this country was then, and he trusted would continue long, proudly, and enviably rich *(Hear! hear!)* He concluded by an earnest exhortation to the Chancellor of the Exchequer to look again and again at this great and important question. For his own part, let whatever might be the present fate of the question, no adverse decision now could tempt him to despond; if the existence of the evil could not be disproved, the only object for dispute could be the propriety of the remedy.

Wednesday, May 8.

Mr. Baring thought it perfectly superfluous in him, after the able discussions which the principle and details of the Report had undergone, to enter at length into that part of the subject which had been so fully gone into. He begged, however, to throw out his opinion, and view of a question, which he conceived of the most extreme importance. His opinions as to the exchange, were certainly conformable to those stated in the Report, and detailed in the speech of the Honourable and Learned Gent. who had brought forward the question. He certainly agreed that there was a depreciation of our paper currency, for no other term except that of depreciation, could he find capable of conveying his meaning; his wish by the use of the term depreciation being to convey that it no longer bore that value which attached to the precious metals it purported to represent. He did not agree, however, that this depreciation was to be attributed solely to the excess of the circulation of paper, but to the state of trade, and the balance of exchange being against us. This depression, however, could not exist, if it were not for the state in which our paper had been placed. His mind was so firmly made up on this subject, that he did not feel it necessary to trouble himself in reading the publications of those who argued otherwise. If any person were to tell him that gold bore one price in London and another in Westminster, he should not believe him, convinced as he must be that he laboured under misinformation or misapprehension of the subject. That there must be an excess of paper he did not deny, and he also confessed that this excess of paper had raised the price of every commodity, and of gold with the others. The reason was obvious. Any country having a circulation of the precious metals, it naturally

corrected itself, but no such limit applied to paper. The grand origin of the rise of gold, however, was the state of trade, and balance of exchange being against us. As this point was disputed, and as it was doubted whether it was the excess of paper or the balance of trade which had turned the exchange against us, he should beg to read the opinion of the editor of Smith's Wealth of Nations on this subject, who says, "Hitherto notes answer our purpose, and so will they so long as there is a balance of trade in our favour; but the moment the balance of trade is against us, and there is not a circulation ready to meet it, that moment there will be a depreciation of our notes."—Now, though this was but the opinion of a writer upon this subject, still being expressive of his opinion as to what would happen, he was more inclined to give credit to it than to any of the 50 pamphlets brought forth since the thing has actually taken place. He did not deny that there was an increase of Bank paper; but this was occasioned by circumstances which rendered the increase necessary. The evil was not attributable, in a principal degree, to the paper, but to the state of trade, and if a change in trade took place, the exchange would in a great measure rescue itself. It had been said there was no difference in value at present between notes and gold in shops. If the system to which he should shortly allude, however, was suffered to go on, no doubt there would soon be a difference. We should see mutton to be sold for 8*d*. per lb. if to be paid for in gold; at 9*d*. if to be paid for in paper. If a remedy of a proper kind was not speedily adopted, the House must be obliged to make this paper a legal tender for debt; else we might see a person sent to prison for debt with his coffers full of Bank paper. A Right Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Huskisson) in his speech of last night had talked as if he was proposing what would be a proper circulating medium for a new country which had never yet had any political existence. He seemed as if he had slept during the last and present most calamitous and extraordinary of all wars, and told us what Sir Isaac Newton and Mr. Locke said on subjects. They, however, had argued only on speculation, and could have had no conception of such a country, or of such a state of things as that which we now witnessed. When the Right Honourable Gentleman came, however, to the time of Mr. Pitt, he told the House that he never had an idea, nor ever intended for a moment that there should be an alteration in the value of paper compared with gold. He (Mr. Baring) said it was impossible; Restriction itself implied a difference; and the only question that could remain must be merely this, should it be more or less? To what extent should this difference go? This implied a depreciation. Excess always found its own check; but the moment Restriction came all check ceased. No extent of trade could ever require a Restriction Bill; but when the people came to raise a fictitious property, they must give it a circulating medium, and as the circulating medium here selected could not support its value abroad, it must lose the requisite elasticity, and produce a balance of exchange against this country. An Honourable Gentleman on the bench beneath him (Mr. Vansittart) had said that the funds had nothing to do with this. He (Mr. Baring) on the contrary, thought they had a great deal to do with it. A comparative view of the money raised during the present war would shew this. In the year 1793, immediately previous to the war, the sum raised was 17 millions and a half. In the year 1794, the sum was 45 millions; and from this sum it continued to increase, amounting in one year to 96 millions; and in the present year, by taxes and the loan, the sum raised would be upwards of 90 millions! He, for one, entertained serious doubts if any circulation could be found, not leading the Country to ruin, to supply an increase of from 17 millions and a half in the year 1793, to nearly 100 millions in the year 1811. The Honourable Baronet opposite (sir J. Sinclair) might boast of his improvements in agriculture—of his highways and canals—and surely the Country was in a high state of improvement—but what degree of improvement would be necessary to feed such a system? To do so, we must put a fictitious value upon every thing in the country—Land let at 20*s*. must be supposed to be worth 40*s*. and so on in proportion. He recollected the Income Tax was calculated to be raised on a capital of 100 millions; but now we raised 90 millions within the year. The Income Tax produced about 12 millions, but we raised 90 millions, nearly to the extent of what was once dreaded as the extent of the whole National Debt, and to which when the National Debt should amount, it was thought the Country must be ruined. To

support such a system, we must give a fictitious value to property, and must have a fictitious medium of circulation for carrying it on. The first grand step taken by Mr. Pitt was an artificial system of finance. Suppose this to go on, and that instead of 90 millions, we must raise 180 millions.—Then that it should require to be raised to 360 millions. If it could last till we saw this, would the Right Honourable Gentleman say that all was right? Yet to this it must come, unless a change of system immediately took place. Yet when a depreciation of our paper was stated to have taken place, what said the Right Honourable Gentleman? "Oh, it is all through the Bank." He (Mr. Baring) said, it all arose from the system of finance. The Right Honourable Gentleman himself said last year, that every thing depended on a reform in our finances, and bringing our expenditure and income together. Here, however, he had begun at the wrong end. He should have begun first with finance, and from that have proceeded to paper. In this country every thing was done by funding. The mass of the evil was to be found in the National Debt, and not in the circulating medium. No person could look at 24 millions being the amount of Bank paper in circulation with any degree of apprehension; all we had any right to look to with apprehension was this mass of National Debt. Till he saw the attention of Parliament called to our finance system, he could not think the country safe; but if we set zealously about it, the object might yet be accomplished, with comparatively trifling sacrifices.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. PERCEVAL) observed, that he should feel himself guilty of an inexcusable neglect of duty, if, holding the situation which he had the honour to hold, he refrained from expressing his sentiments at some period of this important discussion; and he did not conceive that he could seize a more advantageous opportunity than that of following the two Honourable Gentlemen who had last spoken. The Committee were now in possession of the opinions of two highly respectable individuals, both of extensive knowledge and great practical experience. From the one they had heard a decided opinion that there was no remedy for the existing evil, but the adoption of the measure recommended in the Report of the Bullion Committee. From the other they had heard an opinion as decided, that if the measure recommended in the Report of the Bullion Committee were adopted, it would be impossible for the country longer to carry on those foreign exertions, which, until the present discussion, he was not aware that any one wished should be discontinued. The first of the Hon. Gentlemen to whom he alluded (Mr. Baring), gave it distinctly as his opinion, that the idea of making the Bank capable of paying in specie by new purchases of bullion, was impracticable; and that in the present state of the country, it was out of the reach of the Bank to substitute gold for paper currency. The other Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Sharp) said, that nothing but such a measure could save the country from the evils which threatened her. On this difference the question rested. For his part he agreed with both the Hon. Gentlemen that the subject was of the utmost importance, intimately connected as it was with the honour and interests of the empire. He was satisfied, whether Parliament did or not countenance that which he thought as absurd as the first Hon. Gentleman thought it was impracticable; that if they adopted the Resolutions of the Hon. and Learned Gentleman opposite, such an adoption would be tantamount to a declaration that they would no longer continue those foreign exertions which they had hitherto considered as indispensable to the security of the country. He begged to be by no means understood that he considered the question could be discussed without a distinct reference to the present circumstances of the country, and he had, therefore, felt great astonishment at the manner in which an Hon. Friend of his (we presume Mr. Huskisson) had divested it of all such reference. It was not his wish to go much into detail on the subject; but it was necessary that he should explain his feelings to the Committee, and reveal to them the real state of the question before them. He conceived that the proposition of those who advocated the Bullion Report, was, that the currency of the country was depreciated; that that depreciation was attributable to the excess of paper; and that the evil resulting was so great as to make it incumbent on Parliament to take immediate measures for averting it, which measure must be the reduction of the quantity of paper in circulation.—On the other hand it was contended that the supporters of the Report advanced no proof of the excess of the general circulation of the country, nor

any proof of the depreciation (in the sense in which they understood the word) of that currency; but that what they substituted for direct and legitimate proofs, was capable of being explained by other circumstances which the Bullion Committee had certainly not kept quite out of sight in their Report, but on which they had merely touched, and then affected to consider them as unimportant. Such was the state of the question which he would now proceed to consider. In the first place, he asserted, that there had been no proof given of our existing excess of currency. Of this term " excess," as well as of some other terms, it was necessary to know the precise meaning intended to be affixed to it. Excess beyond what? His interpretation was, that there had been no excess beyond what he conceived absolutely necessary for the circulation of the wealth and revenues of the country. No proof had been advanced of an existing excess of circulation beyond the circulation which existed at the period of the suspension of cash payments at the Bank. But even if the advocates of the Report could prove that there was an existing numerical excess of circulation, beyond the circulation which existed at the period of the suspension of cash payments at the Bank; yet if that increase was not beyond what the extended commerce and augmented revenue since that period required, then it was no excess. *(Hear, hear, hear!)* His Hon. Friend near him seemed to conceive that there was an existing excess beyond what would have been the state of the currency had that currency been confined to gold, or to paper immediately convertible into gold. Let the Committee consider after the drain of wealth which many years of war must occasion, what would be the state of circulation in a country in which no paper was issued to supply the deficiency. Unquestionably, if things could have gone on in this country without such a supply, the existing circulation would have been much less than it was at the present moment. But if for domestic purposes we had occasion for a circulation as large as the existing circulation, he then could not allow, situated as the country was in other respects, that the circulation ought to be diminished. He was prepared to expect that his Hon. Friend near him would admit that the circulation could not be excessive, as long as the paper circulated was immediately convertible into gold; and consequently that there was no excess in our circulation before the suspension of the cash payments at the Bank. But although this was the opinion of his Honourable Friend, it was not the opinion of all the Members of the Bullion Committee. The Hon. Gentleman who commenced the discussion of that evening (Mr. Parnell), contended that the circulation in the year 1797, before the suspension of the cash payments at the Bank, was excessive, and that it was indispensable to reduce our present circulation below the circulation of that period. In his (the Chancellor of the Exchequer's) opinion, however, any attempt to reduce the circulation, and still more to reduce it below what it was in 1797, would be productive of the greatest practical inconveniences. The advantages of a large circulation were the means which it afforded, of invigorating agriculture, commerce, and manufactures. Adverting to some of the arguments of his Hon. Friend near him, he would suppose a case in answer to them. He would suppose a country, possessing a circulation of 60 millions, all in coin, to enter into a war, that this war should continue for four years, and that the expenditure of wealth beyond the balance of foreign trade should be ten millions annually; the circulation would thus be reduced to twenty millions. He would suppose that during the four years an issue of paper was made to the amount of ten millions. The country would therefore possess at the end of the four years' war, a circulation (composed of 20 millions of coin and 10 millions of paper) of 30 millions instead of 60, as at the commencement. It was evident that but for the issue of paper this country would have possessed but 20 millions of circulation. According to the interpretation of the term " excess," therefore, by his Hon. Friend, this supposed country would have an excess of ten millions. His Honourable Friend's notion, therefore, of an excess was not always that it was an increase, but was compatible with the fact of a considerable decrease of circulation, even to a moiety. *(Hear, hear, hear!)* This appeared to him to be rather a novel kind of argument. He certainly had not the least doubt, that if paper had not been issued, the currency of the country would not have been so large as it was. In that interpretation of the term, therefore, there was an excess of circulation, though, for any thing that had been proved to the contrary, more gold had been taken out

of the circulation since the year 1797 than paper had been introduced into it and this he really believed was the fact The proposition came to this—whether in the existing state of affairs, having proceeded for four or five years in a course generally considered as essential to the security and independence of the country namely, the carrying on of the war by a foreign expenditure to a very considerable amount, it was advisable to supply the domestic deficiency in circulation, which that expenditure must occasion, by a paper *currency*. This was a plain question of policy. Nothing could be more clear to his understanding than that if the foreign expenditure were deemed necessary, the domestic currency must be considered inseparable from it; for where our foreign commerce was so circumscribed, and we had not the opportunity, as in ordinary circumstances, of bringing back the wealth which we expended, the only way to provide the means for a future re-purchase of the coin that now quitted us, was by giving a vigour to our agriculture and commerce, to which an increased internal circulation alone was competent. *(Hear! hear!)* If this was called an excess, he would say that it was an excess without which we could not carry on the great contest in which we were engaged, as we had hitherto done. In no former war had the expences of the country been so great, or the means of supplying those expences so limited. The question, therefore, for the Committee to decide upon, was, whether or not the country should continue to make the exertions in which she had hitherto persevered. Were the Committee prepared to say that the evil of not having the balance of exchange nicely adjusted was so tremendous as to make it necessary, and, Great God! to make it necessary at the present moment to withdraw from the contest which the country was so gloriously maintaining? *(Hear, hear, hear.)* The Hon. Gentleman who had last spoken, had done the Committee the favour of giving them a fine opportunity of contemplating what the situation of Great Britain might have been, compared with what it actually was. He had characterised the conduct which this country had pursued as absurd and timorous.—He had called upon the Committee to look at Hamburgh; to look at Holland. Happy Hamburgh! happy Holland! They, it seemed, had not had the cowardice to imitate the example of Great Britain.—"Sir," exclaimed the Chancellor of the Exchequer, "without any intention of denying that our present situation is one which demands the most serious consideration, I have no hesitation in declaring, notwithstanding the imputation of cowardice on the manner in which the finances of the country have been conducted, that I prefer that situation to the situation in which the prowess of Hamburgh and of Holland have placed them."—*(Loud cries of Hear, hear! from all parts of the House).* So much for the question of excess; now for the question of depreciation. And here again he begged leave to say something on the meaning of the word, as it applied to the currency of the country. Some, he conceived, by the term "depreciation," meant that the whole currency of the country was depreciated, gold and paper equally. This opinion had the sanction of high authorities. By the advocates of the Bullion Report the term was not so applied. They thought paper depreciated below coin. There was a strange confusion in the Report, in the reasoning upon which this opinion professed to be founded. The different members of their syllogism were unconnected with each other; and beginning in their premises with a reference to coin, they applied their conclusion exclusively to bullion.—*(A laugh).* This was not quite so logical as might have been expected in a performance affecting such minute accuracy. It was perfectly fair for Gentlemen on the other side to contend, for the purpose of maintaining their own propositions, that there was no difference between gold in coin and gold in bullion; but it certainly was not fair to commence the proposition by a reference to gold in coin, and then, without any notice, to substitute bullion in the room of it. If Gentlemen meant merely to maintain the self-evident truth that abstractedly speaking, an ounce of gold was worth an ounce of gold, he for one would have no difficulty in agreeing with them; but if they meant to say that gold neither acquired nor lost any thing in value, when it was stamped as coin, in comparison with gold in bullion, was an assertion to which he could by no means accede. *(To be continued.)*

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SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

DISSENTERS' BILL.——This measure, to the great mortification of the lovers of wrangling, has been abandoned.——The Bill, of which I took notice, and the substance of which I gave, in my last Number, was brought forth for a second reading, in the House of Lords, on Tuesday last, the 21st instant, by its author, Lord Viscount SIDMOUTH, late Mr. ADDINGTON, and sometime Prime Minister of this kingdom.——When he brought it out for a *second reading* there was, it appears from the Report of the proceedings in the House of Lords, not less than *five hundred petitions* against it, presented by different peers.——After these petitions had been presented, Lord SIDMOUTH moved that the Bill should be then *read a second time*. He complained of the *misrepresentations* that had gone forth about his Bill, and said a great deal in its justification; but, the tide was too strong against him.——The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY said, that no persecution was intended; but, he recommended the stopping of the Bill.——Several other Lords spoke; some, and especially the Lord Chancellor and the Earl of Buckinghamshire, defended the Bill; but, still thought it not adviseable to *press it* at that time.——When, therefore, the question was put upon the motion of Lord Sidmouth, it was *negatived without a division*. —— Thus ended this offspring of the statesman of Richmond Park; but, since the subject has been brought forward, there is something more to be said upon it than has yet been said.——In my last Number, ending at page 1259, I endeavoured to show the *effects* which the Bill would produce; and, my conclusion was this: that it would *lessen the number of Dissenting Ministers*, and, indeed, render, as to them, the Toleration Act of very little avail; but, whether it was *right* to do this was a question that I did not then enter upon, and that I reserved for the present Number.——In order to answer the question, whether it would be desirable to lessen the Number of Dissenting Ministers, we ought first to inquire a little into what sort of people they are and what is the nature and what the tendency of their ministry. For, upon the good or evil that they produce depends the answer to the question before us.——That men, that *all* men, should be allowed to worship their Maker in their *own way*, is, I think, not to be doubted; but, if the government once begins to meddle, it must establish somewhat of an *uniform creed*, and that this creed will not suit all men is very certain. Whether the government *ought ever to meddle* with religion is a question that I will not now attempt to discuss; but this I am not at all afraid to assert: that, without *a state religion*, a kingly government and an aristocracy will never long exist, in any country upon earth; therefore, when the Dissenters, as in the present case, came forward and volunteer their praises of kingly government, and boast so loudly, and so perfectly gratuitously, of their "*ardent loyalty* to their venerable Sovereign," whose goodness to them "has "made an indelible impression upon their 'hearts;" when they do this, they do, in effect, acknowledge the utility and the excellence of a state religion; because, as I said before, and as all history will clearly prove, *without a state religion a kingly government cannot exist*.——If this be the case, it must be allowed, that the government is bound to protect its own religion, which is to be done only by *keeping down others* as much as is necessary to secure a predominance to that of the state. And, then, we come to the question: whether it ought not, for this purpose, now to do something to lessen the number of Dissenting Ministers, who are daily increasing, and whose influence increases in proportion beyond that of their number. Indeed, *if we allow, that a state religion is necessary*, this is no question at all; for, in proportion as these Dissenting Ministers increase, the Church of England must lose its power.——But, in another view of the matter, in a *moral* view, I mean, it may still be a question with some persons, whether the increase of these Ministers be a good or an evil. I say, in a *moral* view; for, as to *religion*

without morality, none but fools or knaves do, or ever did, profess it.——Now, as to the moral benefit arising from the teaching of Dissenting Ministers, it is sometimes very great, and I believe it is sometimes very small indeed, and, in many cases, I believe, their teaching tends to immorality and to misery.——Amongst the Ministers of some of the Sects, there are many truly learned and most excellent men, and such there always have been amongst them; and, even amongst the Sects called Methodistical, there have been, and, doubtless, are, many men of the same description. But, on the other hand, it must be allowed, that there are many of the Methodistical Preachers, who are fit for any thing rather than *teaching* the people *morality*. I am willing to give the most of them full credit for sincerity of motive; but, to believe, that the Creator of the Universe can be gratified with the ranting and raving and howling that are heard in some of the Meeting Houses, is really as preposterous as any part of the Mahomedan Creed; and, if possible, it is still more absurd to suppose, that such incoherent sounds should have a tendency to mend the *morals* of the people, to make them more honest, industrious, and public-spirited, for this last is a sort of morality by no means to be left out of the account. ——I have heard it observed by very sensible and acute persons, that even these ranters *do more good than harm*; but, if they do any harm at all, the question is, I think, at once decided against them; for, that they can do any *good* appears to me utterly impossible.——I am clearly of opinion, that, to lessen the number of this description of Ministers (for so they are called) would be a benefit to the country, provided it could be done without creating *a new source of political influence*. And, as to the politics of the whole Sect of the Methodists, they are very bad. Never has any thing been done by them, which bespoke an attachment to *public liberty*. "Their kingdom," they tell us, is "*not of* "*this world*;" but, they do, nevertheless, *not neglect the good things of it*; and, some of them are to be found amongst the rankest jobbers in the country. Indeed, it is well known, that that set of politicians, ironically called THE SAINTS, who have been the main prop of the PITT system; it is well known, that under the garb of sanctity, they have been aiding and abetting in all the worst things that have been done during the last twenty years. These are very different people from the *Old Dissenters*, who have generally been a public spirited race of men. The *political* history of THE SAINTS, as they are called, would exhibit a series of the most infamous intrigues and most rapacious plunder, that, perhaps, ever was heard of in the world. They have *never* been found wanting at any dirty job; and have invariably lent their aid in those acts, which have been the most inimical to the liberty of England.——Their petitioning now, I look upon as a *selfish* act. If a Bill had been before the House to enable the government to bring 200,000 German soldiers into the country, not a man of them would have petitioned. They never petitioned against any of the acts of Pitt and his associates from the year 1792 to the year 1799; and, therefore, I give them very little credit for their alacrity now.——Seeing them in this light, I must confess, that I do not wish to see their numbers increase; and, at any rate, I cannot imagine any ground, upon which their Ministers can, without having congregations, claim *exemption from service in the Militia*. As the law now stands, *any man*, be he who he may, except he be a *Catholic* or an *Infidel*, can exempt himself from the Militia service for life, by only paying *sixpence*. An exemption from Militia service is now, to a young man, worth 100 pounds at least. But, he can obtain it for *a sixpence*. A carter, for instance, who is 25 years of age, is now liable to be drafted into the *Old Militia* and also into Lord Castlereagh's *Locals*, may obtain a security *for life* for sixpence. He has only to go to the Quarter Sessions and there take the oath of *fidelity* and that of *abjuration*, and to declare, that he is a *Protestant* and a *Christian* and that he *believes in the Scriptures*. He has only to do this, and pay sixpence, and he is secure against *military discipline* for his life. And, what *objection* is there to it? Who need object to take the oath of allegiance to the King, to abjure the Pope, or to declare himself a Christian? This is all; and thus, you see, as the law now stands, *any man* but a *Catholic* or an *Infidel* may, without any perjury or falshood, exempt himself from all militia service. So that, really the project of our good old Richmond Park Minister was not wholly destitute of reason in its support.——He is reported to have given some instances of the abuse of this privilege. He mentioned an instance, in Staffordshire, of a

man's having taking out a license, who could neither *write* nor *read*. And, *why not*, as the law now stands? The man, in all likelihood, did not relish MILITARY DISCIPLINE, and, being told that there was a law to exempt him from it for life, if he would but take a couple of *true oaths* and make one *true declaration* and give a *sixpence*, he, of course, betook himself to these cheap and simple and infallible means. There is many a young man, who is prevented from marrying by this dread of *military discipline*: here is the remedy at hand: here is the law comes in to his aid. Our old friend of Richmond Park seems to have taken it for granted that his man in Staffordshire actually became *a Preacher*. *Why* should he? The law does not require it. It gives him a *license* to preach, and protects him from the Militia *discipline*; but, it does not compel him to preach, nor does it require of him any declaration that he *will* preach, or that he *intends* to preach, or that he ever had such a thought in his head. The man need not be a *Dissenter* at all. A Church goer may take out the license as well as any other man; and, indeed, any man but a *Catholic* or an *Infidel* has this protection at his command. ——Now, surely, this is not the way in which it was intended the law should stand? We see, that it is *possible*, for the militia to be left without any body to fill its ranks, except *Catholics, Jews, Turks, Heathens*, and other *Unbelievers*; for, every *Christian Protestant* may excuse himself if he will, and that, too, without any perjury, falsehood, or deception. For, suppose *John Stiles*, who is just coming 20 years old, and who has a stronger liking for some milk maid than he has for what the soldiers call the *Drum-Major's Daughter*; suppose he is a church-goer; what is that to him or to the Justices? They have no authority to ask him whether he can write or read, or what he means to do with his *licence* when he has got it. His licence is to show to a constable, when he comes to warn him for militia duty. He has *paid* for his licence, and has, of course, a right to use it for whatever purpose may appear most beneficial to himself. ——It is something curious, that the law should be so made as to leave the country to the chance of being defended solely by Catholics, *Jews, Turks*, and *Infidels*; that the law should enable every one to exempt himself from the service of defence; *except those only, in whom the government will not put trust!*——It is, too, not much less curious, that the *Catholics* should, in this respect, be put upon a footing with the *Jews* and *Turks*; and, I must say, that, when I hear the Dissenters complaining of persecution, I cannot help reflecting on the behaviour of some of them towards the *Catholics*, with respect to whom common decency ought to teach them better behaviour. But, whether I hear in a Churchman or a Dissenter abuse of the Catholics I am equally indignant; when I hear men, no two of whom can agree in any one point of religion, and who are continually dooming each other to perdition; when I hear them join in endeavouring to shut the Catholic out from political liberty on account of his religious tenets, which they call idolatrous and damnable, I really cannot feel any compassion for either of them, let what will befall them. There is, too, something so impudent; such cool impudence, in their affected contempt of the understanding of the Catholics, that one cannot endure it with any degree of patience. You hear them all boasting of their *ancestors*; you hear them talking of the English Constitution as the pride of the world; you hear them bragging of the deeds of the Edwards and the Henries; and of their wise and virtuous and brave forefathers; and, in the next breath, perhaps, you hear them speak of the Catholics as the vilest and most stupid of creatures, and as wretches doomed to perdition; when they ought to reflect, that all these wise and virtuous and brave forefathers of theirs were *Catholics*; that they lived and died in the Catholic faith; and that, notwithstanding their Catholic faith, they did not neglect whatever was necessary to the freedom [and gr]eatness of England.——It is really very stupid as well as very insolent to talk in this way of the Catholics; to represent them as doomed to perdition, who compose five-sixths of the population of Europe; to represent as beastly ignorant those amongst whom the brightest geniuses and the most learned men in the world have been, and are, to be found; but still, the most shocking part of our conduct is to affect to consider as a sort of out-casts of God as well as man those who have, through all sorts of persecution, adhered to the religion of *their* and *our* forefathers. There is something so unnatural, so monstrous, in a line of conduct, in which we say *that our forefathers are all in Hell*, that no one but a brutish bigot can hear of it with patience.——Why, if we

pretend to talk of toleration, should not the exemptions from *military discipline* extend to *Catholic* Christians as well as *Protestant* Christians? What good reason can be found for the distinction? None; and, while this distinction exists, and while I hear not the Protestant Dissenters complain of it, I shall feel much less interest in any thing that concerns *them*. Why do they petition *now* any more than at any other time? Because *they* were now the object of attack. They were quiet enough while none but the Catholics were the object of attack; and, indeed, they have not now noticed it at all; they have not even glanced at the hardships on the Catholic, who was expressly shut out from the benefit of the TOLERATION ACT. They could, and still can, see him treated in that way, without uttering a word in his behalf. He is in the very state they were petitioning not to be placed in; and yet they say not one word in his behalf,——Lord HOLLAND is reported to have said, that "every "man had a right to preach if he pleased "to any body that would hear him." Agreed, my lord, but, surely, every man ought not to have a right to *exempt himself from the militia service?* Yet, this right he has, unless he be a *Catholic*, a *Jew*, a *Turk*, or an *Infidel* of some sort or other. This is what I should have dwelt upon, if I had had a bill to bring in on the subject. I do suppose, that the greater part of those who take out licenses actually go a preaching; but, if they do, is there to be *no limit* to their number? Is every broad-shouldered, brawny-backed young fellow that chooses to perform what he calls preaching, to be excused from service in the Militia? Who is there that would not much rather sit and hear a score or two of young women sing at a meeting-house two or three times a week than be liable to be a hearer, much less a *performer*, at a military circle, though it were but once in a year? It is easy enough to TALK about *carrying the Cross* and *mortifying the flesh*; but, when it comes to the pinch, when the hour of *performance* comes, we find men disposed to act by a figure of rhetorick, rather than to do the thing in their real, proper, natural person.—The Dissenters may, indeed, say, that it is not their fault, that the militia laws have been passed, and that so many thousands of men are liable to these laws; and this is very true; but, there are such laws, and, as they have said nothing against them, we may suppose that they approve of them.——We are now, however, to look at the matter in another light. I cannot help thinking, that one of the reasons, if not the great reason of all, for the bill that has made all this noise, is, the great increase of the congregations of the Methodists in particular, and the consequent diminution in the congregations of the Church of England. This has long been subject of alarm to the Clergy of the Church, who imagine, that, in time, people, from so seldom seeing the inside of a church, will begin to wonder why the *tythes* should be given to the Clergy of that Church; and, we may be very sure, that the *Dissenting teacher* will put himself to no very great pains to prove to his flock, that the tythes are *due* to the Clergy. This defection from the established Church bears a strong resemblance to the defection from the parochial Clergy in the second and third century of the Catholic Church of England, when the laziness and neglects of those Clergy, and their endless pluralities, had thrown the people into the hands of the *itinerant* monks and *friars*, who appear to have been a most active and vigilant description of men, and, indeed, to have borne a strong resemblance, in most respects, to the itinerant Methodist preachers of the present day. Such hold did they get by means of their exertions, that, as the benefices fell in, the patrons bestowed many of them in fee upon the Abbeys and Priories, who thus became the patrons, and who, of course, supplied the churches from their own houses, and took the greater part of the tythes to their own use, but who, having become rich in their turn, became also in their turn lazy and neglectful as the parochial Clergy had been; and hence came that change which we call the REFORMATION, which *originated* not in any dislike on the part of the people to the tenets or ceremonies of the Catholic Church, but in the laziness, the neglects, and, in some cases, oppressions of the Clergy, aided by a quarrel between the King and the Pope. ——Men looked back into the *cause* of the existence of the *tythes* and *benefices*. They inquired into the *grounds*, upon which they stood. They asked *why* they were granted. They came to a clear understanding as to what was expected and what was due *from the Clergy* in return for them. And, at every step, they found, that *endowment* and *residence* went together. They found, in short, that the parish churches, the parsonage houses, the glebes, and the tythes, had been originally granted for the pur-

pose of insuring the *constant residence* of a Priest in each parish, there to teach the people, to give them religious instruction, to feed the poor, and to hospitality. These were the express conditions, upon which the grants were made; and, when, instead of fulfilling these purposes, the livings were given away to Abbeys and Priories and religious communities of various descriptions, who merely kept a sort of journeymen in the parishes, called *Vicars*, to whom they gave the nails and the hair while they took the carcass home to be spent at the Convent; when this was the case, and when, in another way, the Popes were bestowing living after living upon one and the same person; when, in short, a very considerable part of all the parishes in the kingdom were thus deprived of nearly all that they had a right to expect in return for their tythes; when this was the case, it was no wonder, that the people were ready to listen to reformers. And, I beg the reader to bear in mind, that these were the real efficient causes of what we call the *Reformation*, and not any fault that the people discovered in the *doctrines* or *ceremonies* of the Catholic Church; for, after all, we believe in the Creed of St. Athanasius, and what can any Catholic or Pope want us to believe more? We hold, that a man *cannot be saved* unless he believes in the whole of this Creed; and, will any man believe, then, that the Reformation had a quarrel about *doctrine* for its cause?——Such being the short but true history of the causes of the *Reformation*, that is to say, *the taking of the tythes from Catholic Priests and giving them to Protestant Priests, keeping back a part to be given to favourite Lords and Ladies,* and which are now called lay impropriations; such being the history of this grand event, which, after all, was merely a shifting of the *Church Property* from one set of hands to another, it is not worth while for the present Clergy, that is to say, the present possessors of that property, to consider a little of the state in which they are with regard to their parishioners? They evidently have considered this, or somebody else has for them. The complaint, on the part of the Church, of the increase of the Methodists, has been made for some years. The evil increases; and the dangers are greater than those of former times menace; because, if once the church property be touched *now*, it *never returns.*——But, let us now see how they attend to their parishes. Let us see how vigilant they are in the discharge of their duty. The following list of absentees is copied from a paper laid before parliament in 1808. None of the same kind has, I believe, been laid before parliament since that year; but, that the number of non-residents has not decreased I infer from the fact, that, for the three years of which an account of the non-residents is given, numbers kept *increasing.*

Abstract of the Returns of the Number of Non-Residents in 1806-7.

Want or unfitness of Parsonage House	1,063
Residence on other Benefices	1,137
Infirmity	430
Literary or Ecclesiastical Employment	396
Offices in Cathedrals	183
- - - - in Dioceses	32
- - - - in Universities	113
Chaplaincies in Royal or Noble Families	27
- - - - - - in the Navy	15
Residence in own or Relatives Mansion	123
Members in Universities, under 30 Years of Age	5
Metropolitan Licences	38
Without Notification, Licence or Exemption	2,446
No Church	12
Sinecures	17
Vacancies	33
Imprisonment	5
Sequestration	19
Recent Institutions	23
Livings held by Bishops	21
Doing Duty and resident in an House belonging to a Sinecure in the Parish	2
Abroad	5
Total	6,145

Now, it is impossible to look at this List, recollecting, at the same time, that there are only about 11,000 livings in the whole, without seeing a quite sufficient cause for the great increase of Dissenting Congregations. We see here above half the parishes unattended by the persons who have undertaken the "*care of the peoples' souls*" in those parishes. These are the words: "*care of their souls.*" What can a man say in his defence; what can he think of himself, to undertake such a charge, and never go near the spot? And, is it to be wondered at, that the

people should go to meeting houses, while this is the case? Here we see, that there were nearly *a fourth part of all the Rectors and Vicars in England,* not only absent from their parsonage houses and their parishes, but absent *without leave or licence,* and even without condescending *to notify their absence to their Bishop,* though expressly required so to do by the law, and by a law, too, passed for their ease and indulgence.——The first head, it will be observed, contains the numbers absent from the *want,* or *unfitness,* of the Parsonage house. If not *fit,* why not *made fit?* Why not appropriate part of the income of the living to this purpose? Some, you see, are absent upon *literary pursuits.* What! Writing Reviews, or political Pamphlets, or Paragraphs, or what? But, at any rate, what *literary pursuit* could be so proper as the writing and study tending to effect the object of the living? What! a man receives an income for life, and he engages at the same time to take upon him the care of the souls of the people of a parish; and, he, while he *keeps the income,* leaves the people of the parish to take care of their own souls, because some *literary pursuit* calls him away elsewhere!——When he takes upon him the office of Minister he declares, in the most solemn manner, that he believes himself *to be called by the Holy Ghost* to take upon him the ministry of the Gospel and to labour in the saving of souls. When he is inducted into a living, he promises to *watch constantly over his flock,* to aid them with *his advice,* to *comfort them* in their troubles and sufferings.——What can be more amiable than such an office! What a blessing it must be where punctually discharged! But, what is it if the man who takes this office upon him; who enters into this engagement; who makes these solemn promises; if he, as soon as he has insured the revenue of the living, as soon as he has just ridden into the parish and taken possession, sets off again, and never more hears of, or asks after his flock again, except at *shearing time,* but leaves them, body and soul, to the care of a stipendiary, whom he has never even *seen,* perhaps, in all his life time?——With this before their eyes, is it any wonder, that the people prefer the itinerant preachers, who, however deficient in other respects, are seldom wanting in *zeal?*——I shall be told, perhaps, that, if the *incumbent* is not resident, his *curate* is. *Sometimes.* But, what is that? The curate serves two, perhaps, and sometimes three churches; and, he has not the pecuniary *means,* if he has the talents, to do all that might be done by the incumbent.——Indeed, it is notorious, that to the neglect of the Clergy the rise of the Methodists is owing. And, how neglectful, how lazy, must they be to suffer any sect to raise its head only an inch high! When one looks over the country and sees how thickly the churches are scattered; when one considers how complete is the possession of the country by the Clergy; when the force of habit is taken into view; when we consider, that they are the keepers of the records of births and of the bones of ninety nine hundredths of the dead; when we behold them and their office having all the large estates, all the family consequence and pride on their side; when one considers all this, one cannot help being astonished that there should be any such thing as a Meeting House; but, when we reflect, that the Clergy have the *power of speaking, as long as they please, to the people, in every parish in the kingdom, once a week at least,* and in a place where no one *dares to contradict them,* or would ever think of such a thing; when we reflect upon this, and calculate the number of hours that the Pitt system would exist, if we Jacobins had the use of the pulpits only for one fortnight, when we consider this, we cannot find words to express our idea of the *laziness,* the incomprehensible laziness, that must prevail amongst the Clergy of the established Church.——There are, however, some worthy and diligent men amongst them; and, at any rate, I do by no means believe, that public liberty would gain any thing by exchanging the Clergy for "THE SAINTS," who have been the most steady abettors of the PITT system, and who have been full as eager as any of the Clergy in the cry of "*No Popery.*"——In short, they are *Dissenters* merely because they have *no tythes,* and in that name only do they resemble the Dissenters of the times before the Revolution: They are as much like the Dissenters of old times as a *horse-dung* is like an *apple.* Those were fanatics, but they were honest and just men, full of courage and full of talent; they understood well the rights and liberties of Englishmen, and upon the maintenance of them they staked their lives. The mungrel "SAINTS" of our days are as keen for places, pensions, contracts,

and jobs, as the inhabitants of any perjured borough in the kingdom; and, indeed, if I were to be put to it to find out the most consummate knaves in all England, I should most assuredly set to work amongst those who are ironically denominated "SAINTS." They were the great corps of scouts in the famous times of *No-Popery*, and did more with that base and hypocritical cry than all others put together. One of the bawling brutes in my neighbourhood told the people, that "the "king, Lord bless him! had saved them all "from being burnt by the *papishes*." Was it for a service like this that he was to be exempted from Lord Castlereagh's Local Militia? A congregation of these "*Saints*," in a neighbouring county, *cashiered their Minister* because he spoke at a town meeting, against the clamorous outcry of "*No-*"*Popery*;" and, in consequence thereof, a gentleman gave him a living in the Church.——Many, very many, instances of their base time-serving in politics might here be mentioned; but, enough has, I think, been said to show, that the increase of their members cannot be expected to be attended with any good effect. I would let them alone; but, I would give them no *encouragement*. There are persons who like them, because they look upon them as hostile to *the Church*. Their hostility is for the *tythes*, which they would exact with as much rigour as the present Clergy, and would, if possible, deserve them less. But, *my* great dislike to them is grounded on their *politics*, which are the very worst in the country; and, though I am aware, that there are many very honourable exceptions amongst them, I must speak of them as *a body*; and, as a body I know of none so decidedly hostile to public liberty. This is an age of *cant*. The country has been ruined by cant; and they have been the principal instruments in the work, and have had their full share of the profit.

WM. COBBETT.

State Prison, Newgate, Friday,
24th May, 1811.

THE PORTRAIT of Sir FRANCIS BURDETT, engraved by WM. SHARP, are delivering at No. 27, London Street, Fitzroy Square, and at various Print-Sellers.——Price, 1 1s.

PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.

Proceedings in the Common Council of the City of London, on a Petition for granting the use of the Guildhall for a Meeting upon the subject of Parliamentary Reform. 22nd May, 1811.

Mr. QUIN rose to present a Petition which he held in his hand, which, when he stated that it was signed by Sir John Throckmorton, he trusted would be received without any opposition. With respect to the subject of this Petition, as it might be necessary for him to say something afterwards, he should, for the present, only move that it be received and read.—The Petition was then received and read. It was signed by Sir John Throckmorton, Major Cartwright, Sir Francis Burdett, Mr. Jones Burdett, Mr. Byng, Mr. Brand, Lord Cochrane, and above two hundred others; and stated, that the Committee of the Friends of Parliamentary Reform having given notice of a public meeting to be held in London, on Monday, the 3rd of June, for the purpose of discussing the subject, and preparing a petition thereon; and conceiving that the number and respectability of the Meeting, the dignity of its character, and the effect of the proceedings, would be greatly promoted by its being held in the Guildhall of the City of London, it therefore prayed for the permission of the Corporation, for the Committee to have the use of Guildhall for the purpose on that day.

Mr. QUIN then rose and addressed the Court in support of the Petition. He declared that he never knew that such a Petition was intended to be offered to the Court until this morning: but yet he felt it his duty, as a sincere friend to the greatest of all objects of political importance, not to shrink from the task of presenting and supporting it. He had heard some murmurs of alarm in the course of this morning from persons not very friendly to Parliamentary Reform, that the object of this Petition was to deprive the City of London of its rights and privileges; but he was confident that such apprehensions would be found frivolous, when it must appear to every man, that all the Petition asked for was, the use of Guildhall for a single day, in order to the discussion of a subject already admitted by that Court and by the Livery of London, to be of the utmost importance and the most urgent necessity; and which principle the Court had most forcibly recognised in the Address lately voted to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent He was inclined to think the Lord Mayo

himself was, in the plenitude of his power, authorised to grant the permission, of himself, which was now the subject of an application to the Court. He, however, commended the moderation shewn by his Lordship, in defering to the sense of the Court, which, he had no doubt, possessed the fullest authority for the purpose. There was nothing new or unprecedented in granting the use of Guildhall for purposes unconnected with the immediate concerns of the Corporation of London. Having expatiated shortly on the importance and necessity of a moderate Parliamentary Reform, as indispensable to restore the rights and privileges of the people, and to maintain independent the just prerogatives of the Crown, he moved that the prayer of the Petition be granted.

Mr. Favel seconded the Motion, and supported the arguments of the Mover, observing, that the present was a moment the most propitious that had ever occurred for the obtainment of an object, the necessity of which had been avowed by those Statesmen to whose memory the City of London had raised splendid monuments: particularly the great Lord Chatham, and his son, Mr Pitt; and in favour of which, his Royal Highness the Prince Regent had, almost in the very first public Act of his Government, marked his sentiments, by refusing to co-operate in any traffic of place or power for Parliamentary influence.

Mr. Dixon opposed the motion, and sincerely wished that those men of great landed property who had signed this petition, would pause in their career, and take a lesson from France.

Mr. Jacks declared himself a friend to Parliamentary Reform, to a certain extent; but he would not go the length of certain Reformers, who seemed to have no definite plan.

Mr. Alderman Birch observed, that the Gentleman who introduced and supported this Petition, professed to do so on constitutional principles. He thought a Petition signed by so many respectable Gentlemen of great landed property was entitled to all due respect and consideration: but he begged to observe, that if they wished to act constitutionally upon this topic, the only proper mode for them to proceed in was, by discussing the subject within their several counties, and taking the sense of the freeholders there respectively. It was contrary to all precedent for the Corporation of London to grant the use of their Guildhall for the purposes of political discussion to any persons, save the Livery of London, for whose use on such occasions it was exclusively reserved.

Mr. Alderman Wood said, that the chief object of the intended Meeting was to stimulate the counties by an example. As such, he should vote for the motion without any hesitation.

Mr. Boak said a few words, which we could not collect.

Mr. Spencer had received no notice on the subject of the present meeting: he thought it was very plain that the Court had been crammed with friends, and that in a clandestine manner, to the present motion, and therefore he should vote against it. They were afraid to meet the public voice, and therefore they had recourse to this mean and unmanly subterfuge.

Mr. Wheble was for the motion.

Alderman Sir W. Curtis thought the question was, whether such a question ought to be discussed in the capital of the Empire. What could be the consequence of such a question? Who could tell how the peace of the city could be preserved? Who could say what questions would be agitated? *(hear, hear.)* The Court ought to consider that they were going to assemble the people on a disputed point—going to assemble them on a question on which no two were agreed. They were going to grant the use of their Hall in the very heart of the City to men who could not agree even on their own question. With respect to what had been said as to the House of Commons, he had no hesitation in affirming that they spoke the sense of the people. He was as willing as any man to allow that there were some points which ought to be reformed, but still he hoped that such reformation would begin with the House of Commons, itself. *(hear, hear.)* As to the present question, if he, as a chief magistrate, was asked to give the Hall for such a purpose; as a Chief Magistrate, he would consider himself bound to say, "I will not consent to it." The present summons had not been given openly. Let those who were interested, adjourn the question till those who had a competent opinion were present. In order to give those who wished for such a proceeding an oppportunity, he should move "to adjourn the question till the next Court."

Mr. Waithman was very willing, if such a delay was necessary, to agree to

another Court, but he did not think it was. The Court had frequently given their opinions on the merits of the present question: and of course, agreeing in it, as they did, they could not refuse their Hall for the purpose of its free discussion. The petitioners had come to apply for the use of the Hall, on a subject on which that Court had frequently given an emphatic opinion. Crowded as he saw the Court on that day, he was sure they were competent fully to decide on such a petition. It was far from his intention to go at any length into the question of Reform; but still he must confess, he was glad to hear those who on a former occasion abused the friends of reform as base and revolutionary, were now without courage to arraign their motives. The worthy Baronet said, the House of Commons had spoken the sense of the people! What! How could he look that Court in the face, and say so, even when the Walcheren Expedition was fresh in their minds? How could he say so, when the accumulation of taxation shewed that a Reform was necessary? This was a question in which not only they and their fellow citizens, but even their posterity were interested. Was there any man there so bad as to say, that the Constitution ought to be cemented by corruption? If so, let him vote against this motion. He was not a mad reformer, a reformer so wild as to seek for universal suffrage; but still he was not so intolerant as to condemn those who held a different opinion. He thought, that as the Court had expressed their opinion so emphatically on the subject, they could not now conscientiously refuse their vote to that which they had judged both just and constitutional.

Mr. Dixon hoped, that the country would exist for many ages after both he and the Hon. Gentleman who had expressed so desponding an opinion were gone. The arms of this country were not only competent to support our own liberty, but to carry the liberty of England into other nations. [illegible] had proved.

Sir C. Price and Sir James Shaw spoke against the motion.

Mr. Slade was for the motion. There was in his opinion no riot to be apprehended; but still, if there was, he thought that the single voice of the Lord Mayor was sufficient to allay it.

The motion was then put:—Ayes 80.—Noes 45.—Majority 35.

List of the Minority.

Aldermen—Birch, Curtis, Price, C. Smith, Leighton, Shaw, Atkins, Hunter.

Commoners—Box, Farr, R. Elliott, Bent, Laing, Hardy, Boak, Harper, Pearson, Atkinson, Bickerstaff, Bartrum, Hammond, Garrett, Stokes, Langton, Birch, Bate, Rea, Dyster, Keril, Johnstone, Paynter, Patterson, Spencer, Chapman, Angel, Vandercombe, Ross, Clarke, Jacks, Hughes, Hale, Ryder.

Tellers—S. Dixon, Lucas.

List of the Majority.

Aldermen—Combe, Wood, Domville, Goodbehere, Plomer.

Commoners—Winter, Winbolt, Griffith, Dawson, Wheble, Reeves, Pontifex, Colebatch, Reeve, White, Dornford, Favell (teller,) Waithman, Slade, Quin, (teller,) Miller, Crouch, Fisher, Paxton, King, Briscoe, Adams, Wright, Young, Rolls, Carter, Hurcombe, Aberton, Kirby, Gale, Roberts, Pearsall, Betts, Elliott, Dunnett, Daw, Wilson, Rankin, Brown, Blundell, Wiltshire, Margary, Smith, Wadd, Smith, (Cheap,) Phillips, Griffiths, Heygate, Cheesewright, Crockett, Wright, Roberts, R D. Brewer, Judkins, Pullen, Walker, Cooke, Clode, Davies, Loxley, Bedford, Pownall, Wigan, Howell, Drinkan, Taddy, Fenton, Dixon, (Cripplegate,) Waterhouse, Schroder, Ashley, N. Davis, Cartwright, Nash, Rawlins.

BULLION DEBATE.

(Continued from page 1280.)

.... What was the extent of the difference, or under what circumstances it might be increased or diminished, was another question; but that there was a difference between gold in coin and gold in bullion, was a point upon which he could hardly think it possible to entertain a doubt, as long as the present system of our coinage laws remained in force. It might be argued, that that system was a bad one, and that it ought to be changed. Some Gentlemen had advanced that opinion in effect, if not in terms. They thought that it would be wise and politic to remove all the impediments which the laws at present threw in the way of the exportation of our coin. If the Legislature were to adopt that opinion, and to repeal all the laws now existing upon the subject, and if the guinea were to circulate abroad precisely for the same value that

it did at home, in that case, and in that case only, would the proposition be true, that there was no difference between gold in coin and gold in bullion. But the question, as it appeared to him, could only be properly decided by taking the facts as they did really exist, and not as some Gentlemen might think they ought to exist. Now what were the real facts of the case? This country was under the necessity, from the nature of the war in which it was from necessity engaged, to carry on extensive military operations which required that a considerable quantity of gold should be sent out of the country. By the law, as it now stood, gold in coin could not be applied to this purpose, because it prohibited, under severe penalties, the sending it abroad. If then gold must be employed, and you could not send it in coin, it followed of course that you must send it in the shape of bullion. This circumstance created an increased demand for bullion, and therefore gave it a higher value than gold in coin. Was it then true that gold in bars and gold in coin was of the same value! His Hon. Friend (Mr. Huskisson) certainly had advanced that opinion, and seemed to think gold was natural money, and of the same value in whatever shape; but the fact was, that coin was not of the same value abroad as bullion, because it could not be exported; and bullion was not of the same value at home as coin, because it was not a legal tender. He therefore contended, that there was no proof before the Committee that the paper money of the Bank of England was depreciated in the sense in which he understood and had explained that term; that is to say, that the Bank note bore the same relative value to a guinea that it always did, for all the purposes for which a guinea was legally applicable. If the paper of the Bank, which was only intended for internal circulation, was equal to the guinea considered only with a view to internal circulation, for which it was also exclusively intended, then most assuredly the Bank paper could not be said to be depreciated in value.—All therefore, that his Honourable Friend (Mr. Huskisson) had said about the superior value of a light guinea to a heavy one, which appeared so very ingenious to an Hon. Gentleman opposite to him (Mr. Parnell), had, in fact, no bearing upon the real question. Because if a guinea from the deficiency of weight was put completely out of circulation, it lost its character of coin, and thereby became bullion; and then, for the reason he had just stated, it would acquire an additional value. Much had been said about the word "standard," and some Gentlemen on the other side had displayed a strong desire to be facetious upon the subject. If he were asked what he understood by that word? he should say that he did not consider gold as a standard or silver as a standard, but he understood gold and silver bound down by law to a particular and relative value with each other; not gold alone, but gold tied down to a given relation to silver, which also made part of the general standard. And here he begged to make an observation or two with regard to the literal accuracy of the first proposition of the Hon. Gentleman:—If the House were called upon to record a solemn statement of the law of the country, they ought undoubtedly, to take care that that statement was accurate. Now the assertion in the Resolution was not strictly true; it asserted, that the only money that could be tendered in Great Britain above the value of twelve pence must be gold or silver; and that the amount at which it was to pass current was to be fixed by the King's prerogative. This was not, strictly speaking, the law; because silver to the amount of 25*l.* was a legal tender, though it was not of standard weight. Now, as 999 out of every 1000 payments in this country did not exceed that sum, it would be most improper for Parliament to record upon its Journals as a truth, a proposition which was erroneous in such an immense majority of cases.—Gentlemen had talked about scales which regulated the silver and gold coin. But with regard to silver, there was no law which said that a shilling should not be current when it was under the standard weight; on the contrary, up to the extent of 25*l.* it might by law be circulated, if not of standard weight. But there was another point to be observed with regard to silver. It was legal to tender to any amount shillings at 5*s.* 2*d.* an ounce, yet the price of silver in bullion was 5*s.* 11*d.* an ounce. He mentioned those as facts which certainly ought not to be lost sight of in the consideration of the present question. He knew how much the patience of the House was exhausted, and therefore he would confine himself as much as he could to the most important points of the case.—The really important question then for Parliament to determine,

was this, what ought they to do? What, under all the circumstances of the case, would it be wise and politic for them to do? This at least was his view of the object to which their deliberations ought to be directed; and he thought he acted with wisdom in referring to the conduct of our ancestors in circumstances which were considered to be similar to the present, as a guide for our conduct under all difficulties of the country. He did not differ from those Gentlemen who maintained as an abstract proposition, that a diminution of Bank paper would have a tendency to diminish the balance of exchange; it would probably produce that effect; but it would be at the expence of the most dreadful calamities to the country. The case of the French bank, at a former period, had been referred to. In that case, the Bank had involved itself in difficulties from an over-issue of paper; the Directors diminished the quantity of their paper, and the consequence was, that the credit of the Bank was restored; and it was also said that the diminution of the paper had had an effect upon the exchange. The latter part of the statement might be true, but he very much doubted it. The original capital of that bank was two millions; it had issued paper to the amount of four millions, which had involved it in embarrassments; to relieve which it withdrew two millions from circulation, and it was not very probable that such a sum could affect the general exchange of France. But the Hon. Gent. who had adverted to this bank admitted, that though the narrowing its circulation had removed its difficulties, yet it produced very great embarrassments among the commercial part of the community. The bank, said he, had the courage to narrow its circulation; or in other words, it had the courage to take care of its own interests, without any regard to those of the community. Was that the principle which he would recommend Parliament to adopt in the present instance? But if the withdrawing of two millions from the circulation in France, had produced such disastrous consequences to her trade, what would be the effect in this country under all the circumstances of the present times, if the Bank of England were to withdraw its paper, paper which it had been said formed the whole circulating medium of the country? Would it not ruin the manufacture? Would it not destroy the agriculture? Would it not dry up all those sources of wealth which enabled this country to make exertions proportioned to the exigencies of the awful period in which we lived? And for what object was Parliament to incur the risk of all these dreadful calamities? Why, for the purpose of making an experiment to bring the rate of exchange nearer to par!!! But the Gentlemen on the other side, in calling upon Parliament to be guided by the wisdom of our ancestors, had referred particularly to the events in 1796 and 1797. If there was any one passage in the report which excited his astonishment more than another; if there was one part of it more unguarded, more inaccurate, more unfounded, than another, it was that which referred to the transactions of the period alluded to. Unless he totally misunderstood the question, the case which had been quoted, if it applied at all to the present question, made directly against the arguments of those by whom it had been adduced. [Mr. Perceval read an extract from that part of the Bullion Report, which stated, that soon after the establishment of the Bank of England its notes were depreciated, and considerable embarrassments ensued, and that those embarrassments had been removed by a new coinage, and by reducing the quantity of Bank notes. The two operations then, in the opinion of the Committee which relieved the Bank in 1693 and 1697, were the coinage, and the diminution of the number of Bank notes, and this was recommended to the notice of the House as a case in point. He begged to observe, however, that if it was a case in point, that that case had occurred when there was no restriction upon the cash payments of the Bank. But it was said there was at that time an excess in the issue of Bank notes, he could hardly believe that the Bank would so soon after its establishment issue more notes than was necessary; the real fact was not that the Bank had issued more notes than were necessary, but that they had issued more than their credit would bear. Now, what were the remedies? First, the coinage. The new coinage certainly did turn the balance of exchange in our favour, because almost the whole of it immediately found its way out of the country. In three years not a shilling of it was left in the kingdom; and he begged to observe, that this new coinage cost not less than between two and three millions. The other remedy applied was the diminution of the Bank notes. Now,

what was the fact? The capital of the Bank originally was 1,200,000*l.*: in order to relieve its embarrassment, the capital was augmented to two millions, and the subscription for the additional 800,000*l.* was to be paid four-fifths in Exchequer tallies, and one-fifth in Bank notes; so far, therefore, the Gentlemen were right; one-fifth of the value of 800,000*l.* in notes was taken out of circulation: but by the very same operation the Bank were authorised to issue 800,000*l.* in fresh notes, so that the *diminution* of paper, which had produced such beneficial effects, consisted in withdrawing about 160,000*l.* worth of notes, and issuing fresh ones to the value of 800,000*l.*!! This was the precedent which the Committee had recommended to be followed in the present instance for the purpose of diminishing the quantity of paper in circulation! (Mr. Perceval read an extract from Tindal's Continuation of Rapin, which stated that the great commercial embarrassments in the reign of King William had been relieved by an issue of paper)—The Right Hon. Gentleman then took a view of the case of Ireland in 1804, which had been so often alluded to. The evil then complained of arose, not from excess of paper, but from a want of confidence. That it was not the effect of an excess of paper was proved, by the circumstance of its being cured before any diminution of paper had taken place. Subsequently there was a small diminution in the paper currency, and then the exchange became unfavourable to Ireland. He did not mean to say that this was caused by the reduction of paper, though afterwards, when the issues of paper increased, their exchange was greatly recovered. From the view which he took of the subject, he apprehended that there could be nothing found in the three cases mentioned, those of the Bank of Ireland, the Bank of France, and the Bank of England, that could encourage them to adopt the line of conduct recommended by the Committee. It was quite impossible for him to go through all the points on which he could wish to speak, he therefore would confine himself merely to those which it might seem improper for him to pass by. Adverting to what had been said with respect to the dollars, he wished to know what those who censured the late proceeding were of opinion should have been done on such an occasion? That a something was necessary to be done, he believed no one could deny; and he had no hesitation in saying the measure adopted was wisely preferred to any other. On the subject of the exchanges, there was one point which he wished to bring before the Committee. How was it possible the principle of the Bullion Committee could be right, namely, that the excess and depreciation of Bank paper could occasion all the difficulties which had occurred within the few years which had elapsed since the passing of the Bank Restriction Act? That Act, as they all knew, was made in 1797. No alteration in the exchange was felt for some time; but in the years 1800 and 1801 the scarcity of, and great demand for coin, occasioned a great sensation in the exchanges, and a great increase in the price of bullion. The scarcity, however, which was felt in 1800 and 1801 ceased in 1802, and the pressure which it had caused ceased also, or at least was diminished in a very considerable degree. He would now call the attention of the Committee to the eleventh resolution of his Right Hon. Friend. "That the average price of wheat in the year 1798, was 50*s.* 3*d.*; in 1799, 67*s.* 5*d.*; in 1800, 113*s.* 7*d.*; in 1801, 118*s.* 3*d.*; and in 1802, 67*s.* 5*d.* That the exchange with Hamburgh was in January, 1798, 32*s.*; January, 1799, 37*s.* 7*d.*; January, 1800, 32*s.*; and January, 1801, 29*s.* 8*d.* being in the whole a fall of 22 per cent. In January, 1802, 32*s.* 2*d*; and December, 1802, 34*s.* Now from the history of those five years, and the manner in which the exchanges recovered when the scarcity with had led to the pressure of them had ceased, he thought with an extraordinary foreign expenditure for the last few years, occasioned by the war in Spain, and expences incurred in the Baltic, the effect produced on the exchanges might reasonably be ascribed to causes similar to those from which the evil was known to arise before. The Committee did condescend to admit that these causes might, in some measure, contribute to the effect produced; but they could not deny this; they would not allow them their due weight. The resumption of cash payments was impossible. Gold could not be procured, and if it could, the Bank would immediately be drained of it, without any advantage to the public; and that proposed as a remedy would but aggravate the evil, and accelerate that it was their most anxious wish to avoid. Under these circumstances, however, the rational Resolution proposed by

the Committee was to do away the Bank restrictions, which acting singly, had produced before no sensible effect, in order to get out of the difficulty; while those causes which were known to have given birth to it before, were to be disregarded, though they had been felt for three years, and were still increasing in force. If this were rational, he confessed his capacity was not framed to understand it. If such a measure were unhappily adopted, it might restore the balance of trade, but it would destroy the foundation of the country, and render it impossible to continue that contest which all were agreed ought not now to be relinquished. From what had been heard in the course of the debate, it was clearer than ever that that course recommended by the Committee was not practicable; and if it were practicable it would be most ruinous. It had been said, the proposed line of conduct ought to be pursued, in justice to the public creditors; but if a proposition were adopted which would ruin the country, he thought it was not very likely that it would then find itself in a situation to do justice to its creditors. The state in which we were placed at present, was one which if it rendered us unable to do them justice, was one which had resulted from unforeseen circumstances growing out of the adoption of a line of conduct which was indispensably necessary to the salvation of the country. Would it now be justice, with their eyes open, to take a step which must eventually be prejudicial to the interest of the creditor, and most injurious to the community at large? Were those who had made contracts to be subjected to ruin by the adoption of a new system? Having now stated, not all he could have wished to have said, but that which appeared to him of the greatest importance, he now came to this conclusion; that the measure proposed was a measure which, if adopted, would be adopted without proof of necessity, or expediency, against the evidence on which it was founded, and contrary to the examples of former times; and they, in adopting it, would disgrace themselves for ever by becoming the voluntary instruments of their country's ruin.

Wednesday, May 15.

Mr. TIERNEY said, in rising to propose his Amendment to the third Resolution, he would avoid entering into any general discussion of the question, which he considered as completely exhausted by what had fallen from the different Members who had spoken on it, and especially by those who had spoken on his side of the House. He could not avoid, in particular, complimenting his Honourable and Learned Friend who had opened the debate, of whom it was but justice to say, that in his opinion a greater reach of mind, greater industry, or a greater power of forcible and impressive eloquence, than he had displayed, had rarely ever occurred in the Parliamentary History of this country. He agreed most cordially in the doctrines laid down by his Honourable and Learned Friend, on the principles of the question; and if he had not differed with him on the last Resolution, with respect to the remedy, he should not now have troubled the House. Perhaps the wisest course would have been, not to have done any thing upon the Report, and left the Bank to have profited by it; and if the Report had been suffered to work its own way, he would not have been disposed to suggest any other method of giving efficacy to it; but when not content with the rejection of the Resolutions of his Honourable Friend, it had been thought advisable that the House should declare an opposite set of Resolutions, the utmost danger was to be apprehended to the country if they were to be adopted. He, therefore, conceived it necessary to come forward with an Amendment, which should do away all the ill effects of such Resolutions, and to save trouble, he would introduce it at the third Resolution, which professed to set the question of depreciation at rest. It did not, however, set the question at rest; nothing could be farther from it. It was proposed as an answer to a Resolution of his Learned Friend (Mr. Horner), which states, that the actual value of the paper currency was depreciated in comparison with standard gold; but instead of controverting that Resolution, it escaped from it, and referred to the public estimation. What could be more idle than such an answer?—What did the Right Honourable Gentleman mean by the public estimation?—Did he mean the estimation that attached to currency throughout the world?—Or did he mean the estimation in this country in particular?—He certainly meant the latter, for nobody denied that our currency was depreciated in the estimation of foreign countries. The Resolution was therefore not correct, if not limited to the internal transactions of the

country. But he would ask how could a currency be sound in one country and unsound in another?—How could that be an equivalent in one country which was not an equivalent in another? This was the question for consideration. How far, even in our own limited circle, the currency could be considered as a fair equivalent, was a matter of doubt. The Right Hon. Gentleman had indeed said it was, but there had been brought forward several instances to the contrary. It might be said, that these instances were too easily believed by those who held opinions which they countenanced. But a paper had been put into his hands which threw considerable light on the subject. The Right Honourable Gentleman had a deputation some time ago from several of the most respectable traders in London, when they stated that a great part of the evils which the commerce of the country were suffering, were owing to the depreciation of the currency. They stated expressly to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that there was a depreciation, and that the evils of the low exchange was to be attributed to it. The paper containing their resolutions was signed by the house of Wm. Mellish and Co. by Thornton and Co. by Sir Chas. Price, and by several of the most respectable houses in London. Whether that opinion was right or wrong, he would not say; but when it was expressed by a deputation from the most respectable houses in London, it was rather singular, that a Resolution should be brought forward, asserting that there was no depreciation in the public estimation. But he did not mean to enter upon the general principle at present; for he could add nothing to what had been so well laid down by his Learned Friend (Mr. Horner). He believed the cause of the depreciation was an excess; and he could have no doubt of the excess. This would be the conclusion in ordinary times, and it was incumbent on the Right Honourable Gentleman opposite, to shew that the effect was to be attributed to some other cause.—There were at present 777 country banks, endeavouring to circulate as much as possible without any check, and the circulation was to be presumed always full. An Hon. Gentleman stated that a country banker wished lately to circulate notes for 50,000*l.* in addition to what was already in circulation, but that he could only circulate 1,000*l.* more. This failure was attributed by that Hon. Gentleman and himself to quite different causes; for he (Mr. Tierney) could only attribute the failure to the circulation being already full, and that there was no room for more. When there are so many country banks, they will always be on the watch for profit; and if there is a tendency to filling it became necessary to shew that they had not overshot the mark. —When they came to consider depreciation, which was no more than a presumption of excess, how could any man doubt that excess had given occasion to it. He would say one word as to depreciation. He should be glad if any other word in the language could be found to answer the purpose; for it might be understood to mean discredited. There was no one word, he believed, could express the precise idea, but the proper idea, he believed, which was meant to be conveyed, was lessened in value. Paper was lessened in value by the price of gold rising above the price of the currency. Though he himself, for instance, in his individual dealings might find no difference between guineas and paper, would any man say, in discussing the estimate of value, that paper was equally valuable with gold. It had been urged that this supposes the laws of the realm to be broken; but every day they were broken; and though this might be lamented it could be no surprise. No human being could doubt, that if gold in bullion was more advantageous than paper, that bullion would be preferred to paper. When persons were seen every where alive to the smallest variations of stock, and ready to take advantage of an eighth per cent. was it reasonable to think that they would, in this case, be so much asleep as not to convert 20*s.* into 25*s.*? Go to the bullion merchant, and see if the same quantity of bullion can be got for paper as for guineas. Supposing a person to have connection with Ireland, which would he prefer? How then could it be said that they were equal? On this subject he should say less, because nothing was ever more happily exposed and ridiculed than the proposition was by a Right Hon. Gent. (Mr. Canning). There was no Resolution he more objected to than that which attributed the unfavourable exchange to the state of our trade. Was it thought that the opinions of the Bullion Committee were dangerous, and that an opinion publicly expressed, and which would be circulated throughout all Europe, that the enemy of this country had been able to

effect the destruction of our trade, was not much more dangerous.—All this would be much better if passed by. It is acknowledging, that although we may have put the enemy to great distress, he has put us to still greater distress.—The Bullion Committee had been called theorists; but they pointed to a remedy; but their opponents point out no remedy, which is not in the power of the enemy. Every person would ere long, however, become convinced of the soundness of the opinions of the Bullion Committee, and although a sudden reduction of issues might be dangerous, yet it would be necessary that a reduction shouldsomehow or other take place. He did not deny that the evil might partly originate in our embarrassments abroad; but that could be nothing like the whole cause, and ordinary effects could only be ascribed to ordinary causes; and their causes were the issues.—A reduction, no doubt, would occasion a certain inconvenience, but what was the sort of trade it would principally affect? the Right Honourable Gentleman (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) would wish that in the midst of an expensive war we should feel no inconvenience; but no madman in Abyssinia or any where else could imagine that in war it could be so managed as that we should not know whether we were at peace or war. This is the project of the Right Honourable Gentleman opposite, and the Noble Lord (Castlereagh) under the Gallery. They support the Bank Restrictions on a new system, against which he should raise his voice as pregnant with ruin. He could not conceive how any country could be going on more certainly to ruin than this, if the stoppage of the Bank should be adopted, not from principles of safety, but from principles of benefit. Supposing a year of scarcity, what would become of us?—If the coin be gradually leaving the country, the day would come when nothing but paper would be in the country. How then should we be able to procure any thing from abroad?—Lord Liverpool seemed to have written with a prophetic eye to some future Chancellor of the Exchequer, who should venture to maintain that we should have paper at home that we might send all our money abroad. That respectable writer stated the danger of the idea, that we possessed the alchymy of turning paper to gold, and that we might export all our gold to those countries who did not possess that alchymy. He could not help speaking with disdain, when he heard a British Chancellor of the Exchequer maintain that such a system should be persevered in, not for safety, but for benefit, and for the more effectually carrying on foreign war. This was, he owned, more than he expected to hear. That was the first thing for what Parliament ought to provide a remedy, and it would be doing much, if he could prevail on Parliament to discountenance such an opinion. The Resolution which he should propose would avoid the difficulty of the last Resolution of his Learned Friend (Mr. Horner). It was impossible to say what would be the situation of the country at the end of two years; definite periods too could be easily enlarged, as there were already but too many instances of. The best thing, therefore, at present, was to declare that nothing could justify the restrictions but the public safety. He believed a hint would go a great way with the Bank of England. It had been stated by a Bank Director, that they had advanced three millions without interest to Government, and this was renewed at the end of three years; so that we entered into a disgraceful partnership with the Bank. The Bank had totally left the principles upon which they acted previous to 1797, when Mr. Pitt, in the plenitude of his power, could not prevail on the Directors to lend him money on the land and malt-taxes, to enable him to assist Austria. He did not blame the Directors, but it was certain there was an entire change of principles. If there was no change, however, there could be no objection to his motion; which was to declare, that it was highly important that the Bank restriction should be removed at the earliest period at which it could be done consistent with the public safety; and that, during the restrictions, the Bank should continue to act upon the principles upon which they acted previous to 1797.

SIR JOHN SINCLAIR would not have risen at so late a period of the discussion, and after so many speeches of extraordinary ability, but for one or two considerations. He had been called by an Honourable Gentleman, some evenings before, a proselyte. He did not believe that it was his intention to throw any slur or imputation on his (Sir J. Sinclair's) conduct, not being conscious of having acted upon any other impressions that might naturally operate on a mind open to conviction. He had opposed the restriction in

1797, from a principle of public duty, conceiving it to be injurious to the public interest; having since changed his opinions, he now opposed with similar motives a new measure, which he was confident would be attended with the most most ruinous effects. Notwithstanding all that had been said in daily, in monthly, and in quarterly publications on this subject, his persuasions remained unaltered. He held that there were two sorts of currency in the country, a metallic and a representative currency, the latter of which was applicable to all the purposes of the former, and to others beside. He wished Gentlemen to turn their attention to those countries which did not enjoy the advantage of this representative, or paper currency. In China, he begged leave to observe, in the first place, there was a population of 333 millions, and yet there was in that extensive empire no coinage, nothing but cash; he did not know whether they borrowed the word from us, or we from them. *(A laugh.)* Bank money might be described as money issuing upon good security, and always returning in a limited time to the coffers whence it was issued, thus constituting an unobjectionable and perfect circulating medium. Would not paper make purchases of every description, as well as coin, at the present moment, and would it not go just as far, provided it was in sufficient quantity? The advantages of a paper currency he conceived to be these; first, That it might be increased according to the demands of circulation: 2dly, That it made us independent of foreign countries for our currency; and lastly, That it exerted a magical influence on all internal improvements, trade and manufactures Loans were in consequence easily made at low interest, in the midst of expensive wars, new roads, and canals undertaken, and the spirit of enterprize universally diffused. *(Hear, hear, hear, from Mr. Perceval.)* With one hand Great Britain appeared spreading cultivation over the land, and with the other extending foreign commerce, and defeating a foreign enemy. *(Hear, hear!)* Already was Portugal delivered, and he ascribed this glorious event to the abundance of our circulating medium. Our modern Midasses might dwell, indeed, upon the mischief of an excess of currency, and assert its existence in defiance of the clearest and most indisputable evidence. *(A laugh.)* He regretted, however, that the effect said to have been wrought upon the antient Alchymist, by dipping in the river Pactolus, was not at the present period likely to follow the immersion of the Bullion Committee either in the Thames, the Tweed, or the Shannon. *(A laugh.)* A work had been published by a Mr. Du Pont, entitled, "L'Etat de France," upon the subject of the Paris Bank, which failed in 1806. By thi it appeared that its capital had never exceeded 2,000,000*l.* not more than that of the Bank of Scotland, and less than that of Ireland. Was this case, then, deserving of a comparison to that of the Bank of England? *(Hear! hear!)* The same writer made another very striking observation. The quantity of Bullion in India was enormous,—it was constantly increasing, and yet interest was at twelve per cent.; and to use his own expression, 'Les Pauvres sont 'miserables, et les riches tous me'chants.' *(A laugh.)* He would now mention three tests by which an excess could be judged; did Bank-notes pass currently from hand to hand?—Were they received at the Exchequer?—And did the circulation not exceed in amount the revenue? If these questions were answered in the affirmative, no excess could have taken place. Having made these remarks, he would now simply state a few facts. During four years our funded debt had only increased 12,000,000*l.* and since 1801, the whole increase of our revenue amounted only to 13,373,000*l* [*Hear! hear!*]. Was it possible then that men of common understanding could any longer assert that our resources were declining, or that there was any evil in our present system of currency? It was a saying of Frederick the Great, that it was a happy thing the systems of metaphysicians had no influence on the price of the quartern loaf; and in the same spirit he earnestly deprecated the adoption of the counsels of the Bullion Committee, whose reasonings, however ingenious, led to the most pernicious consequences. The greatness and welfare of a State were all comprehended in the preservation of its established religion, its established government, and its established currency.

(To be continued.)

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SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

DISSENTERS' BILL.——Before I proceed to remark upon what has taken place upon this subject since my last, I must notice an error of the press towards the close of my preceding Article, in page 1293. In speaking of the modern "*Saints*," I observed, that *their* hostility to the Church was for the *tythes*, which they would exact as rigorously as the present clergy, and would *deserve* them, *if possible, still less*. There was an omission here. I meant, not the Clergy in general; but, the *wilful non-residents*.——With respect to the law of *Exemption* from the *Militia*, a very obliging friend has, by letter, pointed out to me that provision in the LOCAL MILITIA ACT, which, in order to secure a licensed Teacher, requires that he should not be in *trade* or in the pursuit of any other *occupation whereby to get his livelihood*. I was not aware of these words in that Act; but, they do not appear to me to nullify the exempting provision of the Act of the 19th year of this king's reign, which provision has *never been repealed*. There is also, in the general Militia Act, passed in the 42nd year of this reign, a clause, from which one would conclude, that no man was to be exempted on account of being a Dissenting Minister, unless he was actually administering to a *separate congregation*, meeting at a *house licensed* in the County, a year before the operation of that Act; so that, according to that Act, no man can be exempted as a *Dissenting Minister*, unless he be the Teacher at a fixed and separate congregation, and, further, unless that congregation meet in a building that was *licensed a year before the month of October*, 1802. According to this Act, then, all those meeting-houses, for which licenses have been obtained since the year 1801, can give no protection to their ministers. That Act, if observed, takes away all exemptions, on account of the Militia, arising from the officiating at any *new meeting house* whatever.——But, this Act did not *repeal* the Act of the 19th year of the king's reign; and, in this doubtful state of the law, the Justices have been guided by the *Toleration Acts*, and, of course, all who choose to take the Oaths and subscribe the Declaration, are exempted from service in the Militia.——It was not without some reason, then, that a law was proposed to make the present laws clear in their meaning; for, as they now stand, no man can know how to act in the execution of them; but, the proposed Act went farther than this. It gave a power to the Justices (and without any exception as to *Police Magistrates*) to reject applications for *licences* on the score of *character*; and, it was evident enough, that they would not consider a *bad politician* to be a *good character*. Hence the Act would have become an instrument in the hands of the minister for the most mischievous purposes. It would have added to the enormous *influence*, which any minister, in the present state of things, is sure to possess; and, if I am to judge from the past, the modern "*Saints*" would have been as ready tools as any that any Minister has yet found.——If any proof had been wanting of the truth of what I said, in my last, of the disposition of these people as to *public liberty*, they have, since that Article was written, furnished such proof in their RESOLUTIONS, which will be found in another part of this Number, and which, I venture to say, are a specimen of subservience to power such as no man can find the equal of.——In these Resolutions they begin their Thanksgiving to MR. PERCEVAL. And for what? Why, for the polite attention that he gave to their representations, and for his *not having given his support to the Bill* of our old Friend, Lord Sidmouth, late Mr. Henry Addington, sometime Prime Minister of the King of England; *for his not having given his support to this Bill*. So that, in the eyes of these people, it is a *merit* in a minister, and he is to be *thanked* by the people, for *forbearing* to act towards them in a bad manner! These people had before published Resolutions, in which they described the intended Act as *oppressive* and as a *violation of the constitution*; and now they approach the king's ministers with *humble thanks*, that he has not given his support to that Act; that is to say, they *thank* him for not hav-

ing violated the Constitution in order to oppress them. What should we think of a man, who, upon being passed quietly in the street by a stronger man, were to turn about and fall upon his knees and bless the strong man for his goodness in not having kicked him or knocked him down? What should we say of this act?——There is no mystery in this, however. There are, as I said in my last, some of the rankest jobbers in England amongst the modern "*Saints*;" and, upon this occasion, they have had the address to get the *Old Dissenters* to join them, very much, as it will appear in the end, to the humiliation of the latter, who, I am persuaded, would never have passed this *Vote of Thanks.*——There is nothing at all of a mixed character in this proceeding. It is clearly an act of party politics. It is a measure adopted for the sole purpose of supporting the ministry; and, as to the *motive*, it is of the same character as all the other of the motives whence such actions arise.——There was, I am informed, a stout opposition to this vote of thanks; there being, at least, 2 to 3 against it; but the opponents consisted chiefly of the Old Dissenters, who are by no means so numerous as the "*Saints.*"——These latter have always been amongst the foremost of the enemies of *public liberty* and of *toleration* too, except as far as related to themselves. As I said before, they were the very loudest of all in the hypocritical cry of *No Popery;* and the extent of their influence, in this respect, is hardly to be conceived. They are a jobbing crew. They are never to be trusted in matters of politics, as clearly appears from their conduct upon this occasion.——They have had the address to take in the *Old Dissenters,* who would not have been affected at all by the proposed Act, or, at most, but very little indeed. *They* have no need of exemptions for any ministers who have not *separate congregations;* they have no need of *wandering licences;* they have no need of protections for *itinerant preachers;* their minister need be afraid of no test as to *character* or *ability.* Their ministers are, for the most part, men of considerable learning, and, amongst them, are some of the most learned and most *usefully* learned men in the kingdom. Lord Sidmouth's Act (if care had been taken to provide due precautions as to *the Justices*) would not have affected them at all. The Act was levelled against the ranting, foaming, bellowing brotherhood, who, under the pretence of being inspired by the Holy Ghost, utter ravings that would disgrace a madhouse, and which ravings have not unfrequently the effect of producing madness in their hearers, to say nothing of the evils that must *necessarily* arise from the notions they inculcate.——It is nonsense to hope for any support to the cause of public liberty from these men or their followers. They will never do it any good. If the cause of freedom is to flourish, it must be by the aid of *light,* not *darkness.* Besides, these people have shown their *intolerance* in the case of the Catholics. The best way, in all political estimates, is to set the majority of this sect down along with the old full-blooded Anti-Jacobins, and then we are sure not to be deceived. They stood there before in *my* estimation; but *now* after this *Vote of Thanks* to Mr. PERCEVAL and the rest of the Ministry, there can be no doubt about the matter, I think, in the mind of any impartial man.

MR. DRAKARD.——At page 1185 of this Volume, I made some remarks upon the Affidavit of this gentleman and upon the speech of his counsel, MR. BROUGHAM, when the former was brought up to be judged.——I took the substance of the Affidavit from the COURIER news-paper, because in that paper I found the *fullest* Report of the proceedings.——Mr. DRAKARD is, it would seem, angry with me for the remarks I made, and he has sent me a letter upon the subject as follows:—"As "you have thought proper, with the means "of correct information in your power, to "give to the public a very incorrect, and "in some respects *false* account of the "substance of my affidavit in mitigation "of punishment, recently filed in the "Court of King's Bench, I demand of "you, *as a matter of right,* an opportunity to *disavow,* in your paper, the sentiments which, in it, have been improperly attributed to me. This I now do;—and I appeal from your misrepresentations *to the affidavit itself,* as published "in the *Stamford News* of Friday May the "17th—also to observations on your at-"tack, published in that print on Friday "May the 24th."——This is the whole of his letter, except that he refers to *two other publications,* in which his affidavit has been published, and which can be of no consequence in this case; for, as all copies of the affidavits are, doubtless, the

same, one reference appears to be quite sufficient.——In what way, then, is it, that I have mis-stated this affidavit?—Be it remembered, that I professed to give no more than the *substance* of it. But, how have I done it *wrong?* This gentleman seems to imagine, that I must necessarily have read the affidavit *now* at any rate. I have; but it does not follow that I *must* have read it. I have, however, and *how* have I misrepresented it? There is only one point in which it is, or can be, pretended, that I have misrepresented it; and that is the point relating to the contest between SIR FRANCIS BURDETT and the HOUSE OF COMMONS upon the question of *privilege*. The statement which I copied from the COURIER represented Mr. DRAKARD as having said, in his affidavit, that "upon the question of Parliamentary Privilege, although he admired the principles and conduct of Sir Francis Burdett, he yet took that part, which, at that time, was unpopular, and *left himself open to the fury of the* MOB."—This was the representation of the COURIER. And, in what was it "*incorrect;*" in what was it "*false?*" Why the word "MOB" was not in the affidavit. Well, then, the word *mob* ought not to have been in the abbreviation of it, perhaps; but, what great difference is there in the word *mob* and the word *populace*, used in such a case? Nay, if it had been the word "*gentlemen,*" would that have mended the matter much? A mere *word*, in such a case, is nothing at all. This was what the affidavit said: that Mr. DRAKARD, though an admirer of Sir Francis Burdett's conduct in general, expressed his dissent from him on the question of Parliamentary Privilege, and *thereby* EXPOSED himself to the *displeasure*, at least, of those who thought with Sir Francis upon that subject. What signifies it what the *words* were? It is of no consequence what he called *the people*. That was not the important point; for, by saying that he *exposed* himself, he necessarily designated the BURDETTITES in a way much more strong than any mere *name* could have done it.——But, since he makes so much of this, let us see what interpretation the Attorney General gave to his words: "Your lordships," said he, "have not to decide whether he has acted laudably or otherwise in *exposing himself to the summary justice of the* MOB, by not taking the popular side on another question."——This, then, was his interpretation of the plea in mitigation. So that, at worst, the COURIER only put into *one word* what the affidavit put into a circumlocution.——But, the truth is, that it was not of the word MOB that I found fault so much as with *the sentiment* and the *occasion of stating it*. The question of Privilege was to be before that same court in a few days; and, besides that, was I not to find fault with a writer, who spoke in *commendation* of a power of sending a man to jail *during pleasure*, without any *oath* made against him, and without any *trial*, from first to last? Mr. DRAKARD took the part *opposite* to Sir Francis Burdett. Then he must have been for *this power of imprisonment;* and, if he was, and is, of opinion, that such a power *ought to exist in England*, he must, as I said, be very happy in his present situation, seeing that he has not been imprisoned, 'till after a pleading, and *a trial*, and after a hearing and an affidavit besides. MR. GALE JONES was sent to jail without any of these; and, if it was a proper thing to send him to jail, or, if it was proper for a power of so sending any man, woman or child, to exist, if Mr. DRAKARD entertained a conviction of the propriety of such a power, then, I said, and I still say, *much good may it do him!* And, why is he angry? He has published, in his paper, which he refers to, observations on what I said upon the occasion here referred to. In those observations he *abuses* me. I expected he would; but that was not to deter me from doing my duty. His abuse of me will not efface the sentiments of his affidavit. Abuse is no *answer* to any body. It is no answer to bare assertions, much less to arguments and facts.——Let us now take a look at what JUDGE GROSE is reported to have said in passing sentence upon MR. DRAKARD; and see whether the substance of the affidavit did not appear to the Court in the same light as it did to the reporter of the COURIER.——"Mr. Justice Grose proceeded to pronounce the sentence of the Court on the Defendant in this case. He was brought up to receive the Judgment of the Court for a Libel, as plain and clear as could well be imagined; going, as it did, to impute to the military system of the country, improper and cruel methods of punishment, thereby to excite disaffection and disgust among those already engaged in the service of the army, and such a horror of its barbarity, as would prevent others from embarking in it. The Court had heard and read his *affidavit* with *surprize,*

"seeing that in it the Defendant *professed* "*to hold in admiration the British Constitution*, and to regard it as affording blessings which no other nation enjoyed. "Such sentiments seemed utterly inconsistent with the tenor of the libel in question. The defendant *seemed to think* that "the fact of his having in other parts of his "publication, *held up the Ruler of France to* "*execration and horror*, should operate as "an *excuse* for him on the present occasion. The Court *could not allow*, however, that it should *serve as a mitigation* "of a Libel against any part of the Government of this Country, that the author of it had *libelled the enemy also*. In "the circumstances of the case the sentence of the Court was, that the Defendant do pay a fine of 200*l.* to the King, "be imprisoned in the Castle of Lincoln "for 18 months, and at the expiry of that "period, do enter into recognizances to "keep the peace for 3 years, himself in "400*l.* and two sureties in 200*l.* each, and "be afterwards imprisoned till such fine "be paid and sureties found."——This report is taken from the MORNING CHRONICLE of the 25th instant; and, to avoid, if possible, the charge of misrepresentation now, I will take the report from the TIMES of the same day.——"The defendant now "received the judgment of the Court for "the libel in the Stamford News, on the "subject of military punishment by flogging. Mr. Justice Grose, in passing it "observed, that few publications were "calculated to do more mischief than that "of which the defendant had been found "guilty as a libel, by discouraging the recruitment of our army, and rendering "those who had entered the service dissatisfied with their situations. The Court "had read with *surprize the defendant's affidavit* in mitigation of punishment, in "which he swore that he was *grateful to* "*the Constitution under which he lived*, and "aware that upon the preservation of it "depended all the blessings he enjoyed. "These feelings were wholly inconsistent "with the present libel. The defendant "had also thought, that by adducing to "the Court an instance in which he had "*sided against the popular feeling*, he should "be in some degree *pardoned on the present occasion*. That *was not so*. The "Court taking all the circumstances of "the defendant's case into their consideration, did order and adjudge, that for his "offence, he should pay to the King a fine "of 200*l.* and be imprisoned in his Majesty's gaol of Lincoln for the space of "18 calendar months, and find security "for his good behaviour for three years "afterwards, himself in 400*l.* and two "sureties in 200*l.* each."——Is it not clear, then, that Mr. DRAKARD did make a *merit* of having sided with the House of Commons against Sir Francis Burdett? Is it not clear, that he expected this to weigh in his favour upon the present occasion? Can there be a doubt, that, by telling the Judges, that he had sided against Sir Francis Burdett upon the great question of privilege, he *hoped* and *expected* to lighten his punishment? No: there is no man can doubt this.——But, at any rate, we see, that this had not much effect, any more than *the attacks upon the Emperor of France*, which JUDGE GROSE did, we see, call "*libelling the enemy*" So I called it long ago; and most solemnly promised, that I never would say any thing of the Emperor Napoleon, which (if I had *truth* on my side) I was not allowed to say of the King of England or of any of his ministers. I expressed my surprise, that Mr. DRAKARD should make *a merit* of abusing Napoleon, and that, too, in the very same court, where Mr PELTIER had been tried and convicted of the *crime* of having abused him. Our writers will bear in mind, then, that there is such a thing as "*libelling the* "*enemy*." The MORNING POST and the COURIER will do well to bear this in mind. Nobody appears to have belaboured the Emperor in better style than MR. DRAKARD. The Affidavit contained some passages that would not have disgraced the Morning Post; but, as JUDGE GROSE observed, the writer was not to rub off his sins against this government, by holding Buonaparté up to "*execration* and *horror*." Mr. Drakard appears to have thought, that he was laying up a stock of good works against a day of judgment; but, alas! he was deceived as to the *nature* of those works. I wish he had thought a little more upon this matter, before he brought this affidavit forward. If he had reflected well upon what he was about, I am sure that he never would have put his hand to such an affidavit.——I shall notice one more circumstance, relating to this matter; because it is of importance in a public point of view.——Mr. DRAKARD, in the Article of his paper to which he refers, has all sorts of *insinuations and charges against my political views and wishes*.——This of itself proves him to be conscious of having done wrong. He is angry at seeing a just remark

or two made upon his conduct; and he shows, that he would, if he could, annihilate the man, who has made these remarks. He could bite his own tongue off for having made the affidavit; for having put forward, in mitigation, his abuse of Buonaparté and his hostility to the great cause of Sir Francis Burdett; but, he could freely kill me for having posted up the thing to the public. This is the real truth of the matter. His paper has been, and, I hope, will still be, a very useful one indeed. If there was such a paper in every county, it would be a great benefit to the nation; but, it does not follow thence, that the proprietor of it is never to be found fault with.——I am not at all angry with him for his abuse of me, foul and unmerited as it is. I am used to abuse. Every one that takes pen in hand seems to think that he has a right to try upon me his talent at abuse. I am a sort of target for the political marksmen; and, if it affords them any satisfaction, I am sure I need not grumble, seeing that I have uniformly found their attacks to be attended with advantage. It is, besides, what I have a right to expect; and that man, who speaks wholesome truths, must be a fool not to lay his account with it.——Mr. Drakard seems, from the article in his paper, to be outrageously angry with me for what he deems an evidence of my *rebellious spirit*, evinced, as he thinks, in the sentiments that he ascribes to me relative to the *decision of juries*.——I had smiled at his having hired a lawyer to say that his "INTENTION was *highly criminal*."——Whereupon he bursts forth against me in a great rage, and exclaims: "What! when juries *acquit*, you cry "*trial by jury for ever!* But, when they "*find guilty*, you cry *no trial by jury!*"——Really, I said no such thing. Really, I did not say, or insinuate, that the jury had done wrong in finding him guilty. I only said, that, if I had wished the Judges to be told that my "INTENTION was *highly criminal*," I would not have given a man *a fee* to tell them so; I would have left it to the Attorney General, who, at any rate, would have taken no money from me for the trouble of telling these who were to judge me, that my "*intention* was *highly criminal*." This was what I said, and not a word about the verdict against him being wrong. Every man must know his own heart best; men generally instruct their counsel what to say; and, as Mr. Brougham did so explicitly acknowledge that Mr. Drakard's "*intention* was *highly criminal*," it would have been the height of presumption in me to pretend to dispute the fact; which, indeed, I did not venture to do, my remark being merely of an economical turn, and containing an opinion, that by leaving the thing to be said by the Attorney General, some expence might have been saved——But, laying aside, for the present, the particular case of Mr. Drakard, I cannot subscribe to the doctrine, that juries can *never* do wrong. Mr. Drakard should bear in mind, that Jefferies and Scroggs and their associates, in former times, did not work without JURIES. He should bear in mind, that Russel and Sidney were not murdered without the assistance of Juries. Not *such Juries*, he will say, *as the Jury that found him guilty*. No, no. I am aware of that as well as he is. His was an upright jury, he will say; and, I am sure I am not at all disposed to contradict him. But, then, he should not generalize. He should not talk of juries in a way to cause it to be believed, that there *never was* and *never can be* a corrupt and wicked jury; because, if this be assented to, then we must say, that Russel and Sidney were proved to be traitors; that the verdict against them was just; that they deserved their fate; and that the two acts by which their attainder was taken off are full of lies and calumny against their judges and their jurors.——With these remarks, I shall take leave of Mr. Drakard's case, very sincerely wishing him health, and if it affords him any gratification to continue his abuse of me, I would by no means wish to deprive him of it; only, I beg him to bear in mind, that to abuse Buonaparté is not a sure way [illegible]ying up a stock of good works as materials for atonement.

Portugal.——Victory of Almeida.——The Extraordinary Gazette, giving an account of this Victory, will be found in another part of the present Number. But, after having very carefully read it, I certainly should not have thought I had been reading about a *Victory*, if I had not been told, that the *Park and Tower Guns were fired*, and the *Lord Wellesley's House and Gardens were illuminated*.——[illegible] the accounts, at first received, one would have expected to hear of the speedy evacuation of Spain by the French. The news came first from Bristol; and on the 25th, the

venal prints published the following article: "Three Telegraphic Messages yes-"terday from Plymouth confirmed the "GLORIOUS intelligence brought to "Bristol from Oporto. As some of our "readers may not have received the Paper "that contained them, we re-publish them "to-day:

"THE FIRST MESSAGE WAS:

"" *The news from Oporto via Bristol con-"firmed.*"

"THE SECOND MESSAGE:

"" *The Enemy lost* 7,000—*we* 1,910."

"THE THIRD MESSAGE:

"" *Lord* WELLINGTON *kept the field, and* "" MASSENA *had*——

"The remainder of the communication "was interrupted by *a fog* which pre-"vented one of the intermediate tele-"graphic stations from distinguishing the "signals of that immediately below it. "But this morning it was ascertained, that "the Message was, *Massena had retreated* "*still further.*"——This was the news that went forth over the kingdom by the mail of last Saturday night. Would not the nation be *less deceived* if it had *no press at all*? Would it not be better that the press should be wholly silent, than that it should deal fearlessly in such atrociou *falshoods*, while *truth* circulated through it may be a crime?——When the reader has examined the Gazette Extraordinary, he will see how the above intelligence has been verified; he will see no account of 7,000 lost by the enemy; no, nor of five hundred; he will see, that our army was *attacked* by the enemy; that their was a long and destructive though, not a general battle; that we lost a great many officers and men, in killed and wounded; and, that we also had some hundreds MISSING.——We are told, in the dispatch of Lord Talavera, that "the enemy's loss has *also* "*been great;* and they left 400 killed in "the village of Fuentes de Honor, and "*we* have *many prisoners.*" Many prisoners! Why not send home an account of them? There was quite *time* enough for it; because we see that there was time to get complete returns of the state of all the corps in our own army. Prisoners are taken by the *tale*. They may be counted as quickly as we count a flock of sheep or drove of oxen. It would not have taken a quarter of an hour to count ten thousand prisoners. Every Brigade, or corps, would, of course, send in their return of prisoners along with their return of *killed, wounded,* and MISSING; and, really, it does appear somewhat odd, that we should not have had an account of these prisoners. They are *many*, we are told; but, surely, not too many to be counted: not *innumerable* to be sure! Oh, poh! they might have been counted some how or other, unless indeed they were so numerous as to require all our people to stand sentinel round them. There may be something in that; but, then, we find that our people found time to count their own killed, wounding, and missing.——Lord LIVERPOOL, in his letter to the Lord Mayor, says: "The enemy's loss appears "to have been very great, in killed, "wounded, and *prisoners*, but *no return has* "*been transmitted* of the exact amount." His Lordship did not give any *reason* for this; and, I believe, it will be very difficult to assign any reason that is flattering to the public wishes.——There is no such thing as telling how the affair took place; but, it does appear, that our army *fell back* at first. "*Flung back its flank,*" perhaps, or "*took up a new position.*" But, certainly, it did move backwards after the attack began. I do not say, that it was *beaten back*, or *driven back*. These are phrases which are applicable exclusively to the French. But, they *moved backwards*, and that, too, after the French began to *move forwards*. This is very clear from the letter of the Lord Marshal, who says, that, *before the attack*, the allied army had been cantoned along the river *Duas Casas*, This is when he is describing the state of things *previous* to the attack. And, in speaking of the first hostile movements of the enemy, he says, the enemy, on the 3rd, in the morning, continued their march *towards* the *Duas Casas*. After he has spoken of the battle, or of the several attacks, rather; he, in his short letter of the 10th of May, says, that his army will be "*to-morrow* on the *Duas Casas,*" which is a clear proof, that they had *gone* back from the Duas Casas after the advance of the enemy.——Whatever boasting and gun-firing and illuminating there have been at *home*, I must say, that the letter of Talavera is not a bragging one. Its tone is low: much lower than any that I have seen from him before. He speaks of the great force of the enemy; of his superiority in cavalry; of his own wants; and, in short, the tone of the letter is the most judicious that can possibly be, let the result be what it may.——As to that result we are, however, told by our venal prints, that there is *no doubt*

at all. I have great doubts; and so will the reader, if he has courage enough to look the truth in the face, and is independent enough only to *think*, I do not say to *speak*, for that is rarely indeed to be met with, and will be so as long as the Pitt system predominates; but, if he has courage enough to *think* for himself, he will have very great *doubts* as to the result of the campaign.——It is only a month ago that we were thanking, or that the parliament were *thanking*, Lord Talavera and his army for having *delivered* Portugal of the French. Nothing was then talked of but the total evacuation of the Peninsula; Massena's army was said to be put *hors-de combat*, that is, that it was *destroyed*, or rendered useless; and even the minister, yea the prime minister, talked with exultation of the *confusion* into which the Emperor must be thrown by the news of the defeat and overthrow and disgrace and annihilation of his army in Portugal; and, he even speculated upon the effects, which that event would produce upon *other nations*, in the way of *example;* contenting himself with barely *hinting* at the effects, which it might produce *in France*.——And, after all this, do we see this same army, this run-away, humbled, disgraced, shattered, overthrown, annihilated army; do we see this same identical army come and *attack* the conquerors? Do we see this run-away army come and assail their pursuers, make dreadful havock amongst them, and *carry off some hundreds of them prisoners*, including 7 officers, one of whom a *Lieutenant Colonel?* ——The public will now believe, perhaps, that I was not altogether a madman, when I was answering the speech of Mr. Perceval, and expressing my wonder and regret to see Mr. Whitbread hastening to make atonement for not having been present to join in the *vote of thanks* to Lord Talavera for having *delivered* Portugal.——If the people are deceived any longer it is not the Lord Marshal's fault, I must say; for his letter, from the beginning to the end, is in a tone not to excite great expectations. He tells us of the *difficulties* and *risks* he has to meet. He does not bid us be confident; and, I should not at all wonder to hear, that he found it necessary to fling back his flank, or to take up a new position, or something of that sort; for, he is now at a distance from his *supplies*. He is not now in a state to receive aid from his shipping. He must, I suppose, bring every thing he gets from a great distance; for the country at *his back* has been exhausted and laid waste; and, in the country in *front* of him are Massena and his army. Whence, then, is he to bring provisions and all the various things necessary for his army? Massena has retired to a country that has not been so completely devastated. He has something, at any rate, in his rear. Our Commander can have but very little indeed; and, of course, the longer he remains where he is, the less able will he be to cope with the enemy.——This state of things was to be foreseen, I think, from the beginning of the retreat of the French, unless, indeed, the French army had been *beaten* at some stage or other of the retreat. In that case, our army would have been in no danger. It might have *separated* in quest of provisions. Now it cannot. It must remain together; and, the necessity of remaining together and of being continually ready for battle will prevent it from obtaining supplies; and will, in all human probability, compel it to move to a new position in its rear.——I am aware that to give such an opinion is not the ready way to gain believe or praise; but it being my real opinion, I should be a political cheat if I did not express it. If I were to express my *wishes*, I should say that I certainly wish for *the good of England*; but wishes and expectations are very different. I may *wish* for fair weather, but, at the same time, may *expect* it to rain; and, should I not be a fool to affect to expect it to be fair merely because I wished it? Yet, without any better reason than this do thousands and hundreds of thousands of people now expect to hear, packet after packet, that Spain and Portugal are wholly evacuated by the enemy.

Almeida is now expected to fall. Suppose it does? does that *determine* any thing? It was taken from *us* last year and in *less time* than it will be taken now. We did not look upon the fall of it as being very decisive. But mark! We saw it fall without marching to its aid. The French have, it seems, marched to its aid, and pretty dearly has the investment of it cost us.——The French, it seems, though they have taken some of our army prisoners and carried them off, have *retreated;* that is to say, they have gone back to the place whence they marched to the attack. But, suppose they had gone quite away, and had been pursued by our army? What, then? Did not we go away from Busaço and did *they not follow us*, and did we not, nevertheless, claim

a *victory*, and fire the Park and Tower guns? ——In short, upon a calm and dispassionate view of the situation of affairs in Portugal, the least I can look forward to is another long and harrassing and destructive campaign, which appears to be now only beginning. The expence of maintaining an army on the frontiers of Portugal must now be enormous, especially if it be compelled to *keep together*. This alone seems to me to be worth the employment of a considerable French army, which *costs France nothing* at all; and, if any mishap should, at such a distance from Lisbon, or from the sea, befall our army, there is no foreseeing what may be the consequence.—— Such is my view of this matter; if I am right, what I have said may, in some, tend to prepare the minds of my readers for untoward events, and, if I am wrong, my error cannot possibly do any mischief.——As I am sending this off to the press, I perceive, that there is, to use the words of the TIMES news-paper, intelligence of "another *glorious victory*," under Marshal Beresford. I hope will not turn out to be "*another*;" for, really, to talk of victories that bring us nothing but *killed, wounded*, and *missing*, is quite disgusting.

FLOGGING SOLDIERS. ——This subject, particularly as far as relates to the LOCAL MILITIA, is now taken up in the proper place, and it is in *proper hands*; those of SIR FRANCIS BURDETT, who, having laid his hand to the plough will not *look back*. ——I will here insert the short report that is given of what passed upon the subject, in the House of Commons, on Saturday, the 25th instant, as I find it in the MORNING CHRONICLE.——"SIR FRANCIS BURDETT rose to call the attention of the "House to a subject upon which he meant "to make a motion, but which he would "not now press, if it was the sense of the "House that it ought to be postponed. "He held in his hand a written statement "from a respectable Gentleman at Liverpool, upon the authenticity of which he "had every reason to place reliance, and "which with the permission of the House "he would read.—The letter stated, that "during the period on which the local "militia was recently called out at Liverpool, a private of the 5th company in "the regiment, named Taylor, had written a song respecting the service of the "local militia, the circumstances of their "treatment on duty, and the bread served "out to them while embodied. This song "he had sung amongst his comrades, and "afterwards sent the manuscript to a "printer's to have a number struck off. "The printer, however, before he published, thought it necessary to submit a "copy for the perusal of Colonel Earl, "commander of the regiment, to which "Taylor consented; and so soon as Col. "Earl had perused it, he gave orders for "the arrest and confinement of Taylor, in "order to his being brought to a Court-martial. In two hours he was brought "before the Court for trial, upon the charge "of publishing this song, alleged to be an "injurious reflection upon the regiment "and its service, and he was remanded to "confinement with the allowance of an "hour to prepare for his defence. At the "end of which time he was again brought "up, when he avowed having written the "song, but denied any criminal intention, "and he produced several witnesses to "character. He was, however, found "guilty, and sentenced to receive 200 "lashes. He requested to be furnished "with a copy of the minutes of the proceedings against him, but this was refused; and in two hours afterwards he "was marched under a guard to the parade, where the regiment was drawn up. "He was tied up to the halberts, and received 50 lashes, but the remainder were "remitted by Col. Earl. The letter adds, "that the writer means not to attach any "censure upon the conduct of Col. Earl, "whom it states to be an humane man; "and says, that many Members of the "Court-martial were anxious to acquit "the man, but could not, upon the evidence against him. It stated, also, that "Taylor is a person of most excellent "character, in reputable life, being clerk "to the Society of Lighter and Boat "Owners in Liverpool; that he is a man "of good moral character, and of education and mind much superior to his station. The letter concluded with requesting the Hon. Bart. to bring the subject before Parliament, and, if possible, to cause "a stop to be put to a species of punishment so calculated to excite disgust.— "The Hon. Baronet then proceeded to "some *very pointed observations* upon the "punishment of flogging, which had as it "were crept unaccountably into the British service, as one which was abhorrent "to every feeling of humanity as well as "of British freedom, and was a disgrace "and a reproach to the military service

" of this country. He concluded by mov-
" ing for that which Taylor was unable to
" obtain, namely, a copy of the Minutes
" of the Court-martial.——THE CHANCEL-
" LOR OF THE EXCHEQUER observed, that
" on a Saturday, and in so thin a House,
" it was not usual to expect motions of
" such importance as to call for discussion.
" Before, however, he could consent to
" the motion, he should wish a fuller
" House, and some opportunity for in-
" quiry. He therefore hoped the Hon.
" Baronet would have no objection to post-
" pone his motion. After some conversa-
" tion the motion was postponed until
" Thursday se'nnight."——This subject is of much more importance than are the battles in Spain and Portugal.——It did not seem, one would have thought, to require a very *full House*, or much consideration, to vote for the production of the proceedings of the Court Martial. The same was done last session by the same member, and the consequences, in the case of *Jeffery*, are well known.——I do not mean to insinuate, that there is, on the part of the ministry, any intention or wish, to smother the proposed inquiry; but, certainly, the sooner it is gone into the better; and the more full and solemn the discussion the more advantageous will be the effects. ——I am very glad to see the thing entered on with such *temper*. Why it should create *heat* in any party, I know not; but, certainly it *has* had that effect, in most cases, hitherto. Now, however, we shall, I trust, hear it soberly, coolly, and manfully discussed. The House of Commons vote the money to *pay* the soldiers; it is there where the laws originate for the *governing* of them; and surely, it is there, where inquiries ought to be made into the *treatment* of them; for, I think, no one will any longer have the impudence to assert, that " the soldier is *out of the pale* " *of the Constitution*."

WM. COBBETT.

State Prison, Newgate, Tuesday, May 28, 1811.

PROTESTANT DISSENTERS.

At a General Meeting of Protestant Dissenters, and other Friends to Religious Liberty, at the London Tavern, Bishopsgate-street, on Friday, May 24, 1811, convened to receive the Report of the Committee appointed at a former Meeting, to prevent by every legitimate effort the successful progress of a Bill introduced into Parliament by Viscount Sidmouth, relating to the Acts for Religious Toleration;

SAMUEL MILLS, Esq. in the Chair:

The Committee reported, That by great exertions, aided by the generous sentiments which were universally excited, they had obtained in 48 hours 336 Petitions from various Congregations within 120 miles of the metropolis, signed only by Males exceeding 16 years of age, (exclusive of many Petitions that have been subsequently received) that those Petitions had been presented to the House of Lords on Tuesday; and that in consequence of the number and respectability of the Petitioners, of the attention of his Majesty's Government, and of the assistance of many liberal-minded Peers, the motion that the Bill should be read for the second time was negatived without a division, and the Bill was consequently rejected.

Resolved,

1. That the Report of the Committee is highly satisfactory to this Meeting; that, loving religion, liberty, and their native land, they rejoice at the speedy rejection of a Bill which would have limited the diffusion of religious light, have enfeebled the energy of freedom, and by producing internal dissentions have inflicted upon their country a dangerous wound: and that they particularly rejoice that this effect has resulted from the zeal displayed by the friends to Religious Liberty of every denomination, and that complete success has conferred on their labours an adequate reward.

2. That this Meeting congratulate Ministers and other friends resident in every part of the empire, on this memorable result, on the just displeasure they have manifested at the first effort of reviving intolerance, on their consequent attention to the recommendations of the former Meeting, on their liberal promises of pecuniary aid, and on the pledges they have given of their determination to resist any encroachments on the Acts of Toleration, and every future attempt to restrict useful and pious teachers from disseminating Christian principles, and thereby promoting the salvation of men.

3. That anxious to vindicate Protestant Dissenters from the unmerited imputation of having acted with insincerity or from caprice, this Meeting declare that all communications alleged to have occurred between individual Dissenters and the Framer of the Bill, were unauthorized by

any body of Protestant Dissenters; and that any favourable opinions of the measure which such persons might avow have never obtained the sanction of general approbation.

4. That the inconveniencies which have long resulted from the want of union and co-operation among Protestant Dissenters for the protection of their Religious Rights, the necessity which has been demonstrated for the appointment of persons authorized vigilantly to watch against innovation on their privileges, as well as the constructions that have been put on the Acts of Toleration; the assumption by Magistrates of judicial authority in the execution of some of the provisions of those Acts, as to which their power is only ministerial; the recent violent outrages which have been committed against their Meeting houses and Preachers, in Suffolk and Kent; and the harsh revival of the intolerant provisions of the Conventicle Act in Berkshire, against persons guilty only of assembling to pray to God, induce this Meeting to recommend that a Society be formed of the Ministers of Congregations of Protestant Dissenters, and of other persons assembling under the Act of Toleration throughout England and Wales, to defend themselves against these evils, and that any balance of monies which the Committee appointed by the former Meeting, may eventually retain, be applied by them towards the formation, and for the purposes of such society.

5. That the same Committee be requested to prepare the plan of such society; to invite the concurrence of every congregation assembling under the Acts of Toleration; and to carry any plan they may deem eligible into immediate effect.

6. That, as expences have been unavoidably incurred to an amount certainly great, although unascertained, all Gentlemen present at this Meeting be requested to subscribe such sums as their liberality may suggest; and that all congregations be requested to transmit their collective contributions, or individual assistance, to the Treasurer, Robert Steven, Esq. at 101, Upper Thames-street, or at the London Tavern, Bishopsgate-street; or New London Tavern, Cheapside; or to Sir James Esdaile and Co. and Messrs. Robarts, Curtis, and Co. Lombard-street; and Messrs. Down, Thornton, and Free, Bartholomew-lane, without any avoidable delay; and that the Committee appointed at the last Meeting be solicited to continue to execute all the powers with which they were then invested, and which they have so usefully employed.

7. That the energetic and judicious exertions of that Committee, who have awakened with so much advantage a laudable spirit among Protestant Dissenters, and the friends to Religious Liberty, merit the highest approbation; and present an example for universal imitation, whenever the smallest infringement of the most extensive Toleration be hereafter attempted.

8. That the thanks of this Meeting be presented to the Right Hon. Spencer Perceval, for the politeness with which he attended to the representations of their Committee; and to every Member of his Majesty's Government, for withholding from the Bill their important support.

9. That this Meeting cannot adequately praise the Right Honourable Earls Stanhope and Grey, and Lords Holland and Erskine, for their manly and eloquent opposition to the principles and provisions of the Bill, and for their unanswerable defence of Religious Liberty—but that they be requested to accept of their warmest thanks.

10. That his Grace the Duke of Norfolk, the Most Noble the Marquis of Lansdowne, and the Right Honourable Earls Moira, Lauderdale, and Rosslyn, have, by their prompt and generous assistance, excited in this Meeting the most ardent gratitude.

11. That the Committee for guarding the Privileges of the Methodists in the connection of the late Reverend John Wesley, having essentially contributed to this important success by their concurrent efforts and cheerful co-operation, have increased the esteem which this Meeting previously entertained, and have proved themselves to be sincere friends to the best interests of mankind.

12. That this Meeting are also grateful to those Clergymen and other Members of the Established Church, who by their strenuous opposition to the rejected Bill, have evinced their unfeigned attachment to the cause of Religious Liberty.

13. That the attentions of the worshipful the Mayor and other Gentlemen of Bristol, and of the Members of several Corporations, have made an indelible impression on this Meeting, and are entitled to gratitude, permanent and sincere.

14. That this Meeting are most happy to renew their grateful acknowledgments

to Samuel Mills, Esq. the Chairman, for the liberality of principle and the propriety of conduct which he has manifested on the present and on the former occasion.

15. That the able, unwearied, and disinterested exertions of Thomas Pellat, Esq. and John Wilks, Esq. the Secretaries to the Committee, have procured for them the respect of this Meeting, and merit universal approbation.

16. That these Resolutions be communicated to the Noblemen and Gentlemen to whom they relate, and that they be printed, advertised in the Newspapers, and circulated at the discretion of the Committee; and that they be also requested to collect and publish all the Proceedings which have occurred, that a Record may remain to gratify contemporaneous enquiry, and to excite and direct the efforts of future generations.

SAMUEL MILLS, Chairman.

BULLION DEBATE.

(Concluded from page 1312.)

.... He must resist, therefore, any innovation upon the last, as one of the three important links of society; and he was deeply impressed that on the event of this discussion depended the prosperity and the best interests of the British Empire.

Mr. MANNING defended the conduct of the Directors of the Bank of England, and denied that the Bank had any interest distinct from that of the public. In speaking from himself, which he had done in all that he had said upon this subject, and not as a person commissioned to state to that House the sentiments of the Bank, he was free to say that his situation as a Director, derived to him no advantage whatever, save what flowed to him in the channel of the public interests. He was no farther a stockholder than a holding that portion of stock which was necessary for him to qualify himself for his situation as Bank Director, and he had no connection with the stocks but as a Bank Director. In order to shew that the arguments which had been resorted to, to prove the depreciation of the paper currency, from the high price of guineas, he stated there was a Dutch gold coin, called the Ruyder, which was worth fourteen guilders, but which, by the laws of Holland, was not exportable. It was well known that a piece of bullion, of equal weight and fineness, would in Holland sell for 12 per cent. more than the Ruyder, because the Ruyder was not exportable. He repeated his vindication of the Bank, and contended that their paper issue was not regulated with a view to the raising of any excessive or unreasonable profit.

Mr. HUSKISSON rose merely to make one or two observations upon what had fallen from the Right Honourable Baronet and the Hon. Gentleman who had just sat down. He apprehended that the Right Hon. Bart. had in his zeal for the paper cause let out considerably more than the advocates of paper could wish to have disclosed. He seemed not only to deny the evils of an excessive paper issue, but to hail it as another and most promising system of finance; and that, as for the vulgar prejudices in favour of gold and silver, that they ought to be at once exploded or left merely to those modern Midasses who would ruin the country in the fury of their speculations; this glorious paper system was to rescue us from all the horrors of gold and silver which the Right Honourable Baronet had proved by a quotation from a French pamphlet must inevitably make "the poor miserable and the rich wicked and powerful." With respect to the Dutch coin mentioned by the Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Baring) the Ruyder, he believed, was the oldest coin in Holland. It was certainly prohibited from exportation by one of those absurd laws which were allowed to continue in many countries without one reason to warrant the continuance of their operation. But the instance put by the Honourable Gentleman, could not apply unless he was prepared to state that the Ruyder had not become deteriorated. It was certainly a very old coin; and the coin to which the Dutch directed their attention chiefly, was the ducat, which was exportable, so that the probability was, that the Ruyder had become deteriorated—with regard to the 3d Resolution, he wished to know from the Right Hon. Gent. the meaning of the word "equivalent" in that resolution; was it the denominations were the same—of this there could be no question; was it that their intrinsic value was the same, or was it that they had the same exchangeable value? Are the two commodities interchangeable? No; then what was the meaning of "equivalent?" standard was the measure of equivalency. If the Assay-master, the favourite witness, Mr. Meale, was called and asked as to this point, he

(Mr. Huskisson) should wish to put him two questions only;—first, "Are the dollars and the crown-pieces equivalent?" and this he would certainly answer, no. The second question would be, "By what process can you make them equivalent?" the only reply he could give to this, would be perhaps, a laugh—because the thing was impossible—they could not be made equivalent. It was absurd to talk of a standard when it could be traced only to a penal law. An equivalent in such a case could only be compared to the story of the Scholars, who complaining of the diminution of their commons, were desired to get a pair of magnifying glasses, through which to view their allowance. Such was the case with the dollars—Gentlemen had only to view them through a different medium, and they would perceive them to be larger one day than they had been the preceding.

Mr. MANNING explained, that the Proclamation as to the rise in the value of dollars would put the Bank to a loss of 6*d.* upon every dollar then in circulation, amounting to several millions in number—a sacrifice of no trifling amount, for the convenience of the public. The Bank was not desirous of continuing those issues; but, on the contrary, would be anxious to withdraw from them whenever the Executive Government found itself enabled to dispense with the Bank's services. He regretted the resolution as to the rise in the dollars had not originated in that House. To the Bank it would prove a loss of 50,000*l.* or 60,000*l.*

Mr. HUSKISSON explained.

Mr. S. THORNTON stated, that within these two days a banker had put into his hands 500 guineas in gold, requesting to have in exchange for them, from the Bank, tokens to the amount, at the rate of 5*s.* 6*d.* each; and a similar application had been made a few days before for an exchange as between guineas and tokens, to the amount of 300*l.* This was better than any reasoning as to their value could be supposed to be.

Mr. WILBERFORCE was satisfied the effect of the present discussion would be gradually to lead to true and just principles on the subject; and he was also satisfied that they would be found to be the best friends to the country who advised, that even in a state of prosperity, the present system should not be pushed too far.

Mr. BARING contended that the country was in such a fictitious state as to every part of political economy, that she could not go on with a circulation adapted to legitimate purposes. At the present, however, such was the state of the Continent and of our trade, that it was impossible for us to bring back the precious metals into circulation. To talk in this situation as a Right Honourable Gentleman (Huskisson) had done, of the Theories of Locke or Newton, was not more absurd than the reasoning of an Honourable Gentleman last night, who carried the House back to the days of Moses.

Mr. HUSKISSON explained.—The House then divided,

For the Resolution	76
For the Amendment	24
Majority in favour of the Resolution	52

Mr. HORNER then proposed his several Amendments to the Resolutions of Mr. Vansittart, not with the view to any discussion, but that they might be entered on the Journals.

Mr. VANSITTART denied the facts asserted in Mr. Horner's Amendments.

Mr. HORNER was content that the matter should now rest on their counter-assertions, which would thus appear opposed to each other on the Journals.

Mr. Horner's Amendments to the several Resolutions were then put and negatived.

Mr. TIERNEY proposed his Amendment, as an addition to the Sixteenth Resolution; but this addition was also negatived.

The whole of the Resolutions being put, were agreed to.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

PORTUGAL.—THE WAR.—*Downing-Street, May 25th, 1811.—Dispatches of which the following are copies, were this day received at the Earl of Liverpool's Office, addressed to his Lordship by Lieutenant General Lord Viscount Wellington, K. B., dated Villa Formosa, 8th and 10th of May.*

Villa Formosa, May 8th, 1811.

My Lord;—The enemy's whole army, consisting of the 2d, 6th, and 8th corps, and all the cavalry which could be collected in Castille and Leon, including about nine hundred of the Imperial Guard, crossed the Agueda at Ciudad Rodrigo on the 2d inst.—The battalions of the 9th corps had been joined to the regiments to which they belonged in the

other three corps, excepting a division consisting of battalions belonging to regiments in the corps doing duty in Andalousia, which division likewise formed part of the army.—As my object in maintaining a position between the Coa and the Agueda, after the enemy had retired from the former, was to blackade Almeida, which place I had learnt, from intercepted letters and other information, was ill supplied with provisions for its garrison, and as the enemy were infinitely superior to us in cavalry, I did not give any opposition to their march, and they passed the Azava on that evening in the neighbourhood of Espeja, Carpio, and Galligos.—They continued their march on the 3d in the morning towards the Duas Casas, in three columns, two of them, consisting of the 2d and 8th corps, to the neighbourhood of Alameda and Fort Conception; and the third consisting of the whole of the cavalry and the 6th, and that part of the 9th corps which had not already been drafted into the other three.—The allied army had been cantoned along the river Duas Casas, and on the sources of the Azava, the light division at Gallagos and Espeja. This last fell back upon Fuentes de Honor, on the Duas Casas, with the British cavalry, in proportion as the enemy advanced, and the 1st, 3d, and 7th divisions were collected at that place; and the 6th division, under Major-General Campbell, observed the bridge at Alameda; and Major-General Sir William Erskine, with the 5th division, the passages of the Duas Casas, at Fort Conception, and Aldea D'Obispo. Brigadier-General Pack's brigade, with the Queen's regiment from the 6th division, kept the blockade of Almeida; and I had prevailed upon Don Julian Sanchez to occupy Nave D'Aver with his corps of Spanish cavalry and infantry.—The light division were moved in the evening to join General Campbell, upon finding that the enemy were in strength in that quarter; and they were brought back again to Fuentes de Honor on the morning of the 5th, when it was found that the 8th corps had joined the 6th, on the enemy's left.—Shortly after the enemy had formed on the ground on the right of the Duas Casas, on the afternoon of the 3d they attacked with a large force the village of Fuentes de Honor, which was defended in a most gallant manner by Lieutenant-Colonel Williams, of the 5th battalion 60th regiment, in command of the light infantry battalions belonging to Major-General Picton's division, supported by the light infantry battalion in Major-General Nightingall's brigade, commanded by Major Dick of the 42d regiment, and the light infantry battalion in Major-General Howard's brigade commanded by Major M'Donnell, of the 92d regiment, and the light infantry battalion of the King's German legion, commanded by Major Ally, of the 3d battalion of the line, and by the 2d battalion of the 83d regiment under Major Carr. These troops maintained their position; but having observed the repeated efforts which the enemy were making to obtain possession of the village, and being aware of the advantage which they would derive from the possession in their subsequent operations, I reinforced the village successively with the 71st regiment, under the Honourable Lieutenant Colonel Cadogan, and the 79th under Lieut.-Col. Cameron, and the 24th regiment under Major Chamberlain. The former, at the head of the 71st regiment, charged the enemy, and drove them from the part of the village of which they had obtained a momentary possession.—Nearly at this time Lieut.-Colonel Williams was unfortunately wounded, but I hope not dangerously, and the command devolved upon Lieut.-Colonel Cameron, of the 79th regiment. The contest continued till night, when our troops remained in possession of the whole.—I then withdrew the light infantry battalions and the 83d regiment, leaving the 71st and 79th regiments only in the village, and 2d battalion 24th regiment to support them.—On the 4th the enemy reconnoitred the positions which we had occupied on the Duas Casas river, and during that night they moved General Junot's corps from Alameda to the left of the position occupied by the 6th corps, opposite to Fuentes de Honor.—From the course of the reconnoissance of the 4th, I had imagined the enemy would endeavour to obtain possession of Fuentes de Honor, and of the ground occupied by the troops behind that village, by crossing the Duas Casas at Poya Velho, and in the evening I moved the 7th division, under Major-General Houstoun, to the right, in order if possible to protect that passage.—On the morning of the 5th, the 8th corps appeared in two columns, with all the cavalry, on the opposite side of the valley of the Duas Casas to Poya Velho; and as the 6th and 9th corps also made a move-

ment to their left, the light division, which had been brought back from the neighbourhood of Alameda, was sent with the cavalry under Sir Stapleton Cotton to support Major General Houston, while the 1st and 3rd divisions made a movement to their right along the ridge between the Turon and Duas Casas rivers, corresponding to that of the 6th and 9th corps on the right of the Duas Casas.—The 8th corps attacked Major General Houston's advanced guard, consisting of the 85th regiment under Major M'Intosh, and the 2d Portuguese caçadores under Lieut. Colonel Nixon, and obliged them to retire; and they retired in good order, although with some loss. The 8th corps being thus established in Poya Velho, the enemy's cavalry turned the right of the 7th division between Poya Velho and Nave D'Aver, from which last place Don Julian Sanchez had been obliged to retire; and the cavalry charged.—The charge of the advanced guard of the enemy's cavalry was met by two or three squadrons of the different regiments of British Dragoons, and the enemy were driven back, and Colonel La Motte, of the 13th Chasseurs, and some prisoners, taken. The main body were checked and obliged to retire by the fire of Major General Houstoun's division; and I particularly observed the Chasseurs Britanniques under Lieut. Col. Eustace as behaving in the most steady manner; and Major General Houstoun mentions in high terms the conduct of a detachment of the Duke of Brunswick's light infantry. Notwithstanding that this charge was repulsed, I determined to concentrate our force towards the left, and to move the 7th and light divisions, and the cavalry from Poya Velho, towards Fuentes de Honor, and the other two divisions.—I had occupied Poya Velho and that neighbourhood, in hopes that I should be able to maintain the communication across the Coa by Sabugal, as well as provide for the blockade, which objects, it was now obvious, were incompatible with each other, and I therefore abandoned that which was the least important, and placed the light division in reserve, in the rear of the left of the 1st division, and the 7th division on some commanding ground beyond the Turon, which protected the right flank and rear of the 1st division, and covered our communication with the Coa, and prevented that of the enemy with Almeida, by the roads between the Turon and that river.—The movement of the troops upon this occasion was well conducted, although under very critical circumstances, by Major General Houston, Brigadier General Craufurd, and Lieutenant General Sir Stapleton Cotton. The 7th division was covered in its passage of the Turon by the light division under Brigadier General Craufurd, and this last, in its march to join the 1st division, by the British cavalry.—Our position thus extended on the high ground from the Turon to the Duas Casas. The 7th division, on the left of the Turon, covered the rear of the right; the 1st division, in two lines, were on the right; Colonel Ashworth's brigade, in two lines, in the centre; and the 3rd division, in two lines, on the left. The light division and British cavalry in reserve, and the village of Fuentes de Honor in front of the left. Don Julian's infantry joined the 7th division in Freneda; and I sent him with his cavalry to endeavour to interrupt the enemy's communication with Ciudad Rodrigo. The enemy's efforts on the right part of our position, after it was occupied as I have above described, were confined to a cannonade, and to some charges with their cavalry upon the advanced posts.—The picquets of the 1st division under Lieutenant Colonel Hill of the 3rd regiment of Guards, repulsed one of these; but as they were falling back, they did not see the direction of another in sufficient time to form to oppose it, and Lieutenant Colonel Hill was taken prisoner, and many men were wounded and some taken, before a detachment of the British cavalry could move up to their support.—The 2nd battalion, 42nd regiment, under Lord Blantyre, also repulsed a charge of the cavalry directed against them.—They likewise attempted to push a body of light infantry down the ravine of the Turon to the right of the 1st division, which were repulsed by the light infantry of the Guards, under Lieutenant Guise, aided by five companies of the 95th under Captain O'Hara.—Major-General Nightingall was wounded in the course of the cannonade, but I hope not severely.—The enemy's principal effort was throughout this day again directed against Fuentes do Honor; and notwithstanding that the whole of the 6th corps was at different periods of the day employed to attack this village, they could never gain more than a temporary possession of it. It was defended by the 24th, 71st, and 97th regiments, under the command of Colonel Cameron; and these troops were sup-

ported by the light infantry battalions in the 3d division, commanded by Major Woodgate; the light infantry battalions in the 1st division, commanded by Major Dick, Major Macdonald, and Major Aly; the 6th Portuguese caçadores, commanded by Major Pinto; by the light companies in Colonel Champlemonde's Portuguese brigade under Colonel Sutton; and those in Colonel Ashworth's Portuguese brigade under Lieutenant-Colonel Pynn; and by the picquets of the 3d division, under the command of the Honourable Lieutenant-Colonel Trench. Lieutenant-Colonel Cameron was severely wounded in the afternoon, and the command in the village devolved upon the Hon. Lieutenant-Colonel Cadogan.—The troops in Fuentes de Honor were besides supported, when pressed by the enemy, by the 74th regiment under Major Russel Manners, and the 88th regiment under Lieutenant-Colonel Wallace, belonging to Colonel Mackinnon's brigade; and on one of these occasions the 88th, with the 71st and 79th, under the command of Colonel Mackinnon, charged the enemy, and drove them through the village; and Colonel Mackinnon has reported particularly the conduct of Lieutenant-Colonel Wallace, Brigade-Major Wilde, and Lieutenant and Adjutant Stewart, of the 88th regiment.—The contest again lasted in this quarter till night, when our troops still held their post; and from that time the enemy have made no fresh attempt on any part of our position.—The enemy manifested an intention to attack Major-General sir W. Erskine's post at Aldea del Bispo on the same morning, with a part of the second corps, but the Major-General sent the second battalion of the Lusitanian Legion across the ford of the Duas Casas, which obliged them to retire.—In the course of last night the enemy commenced to retire from their position on the Duas Casas; and this morning at day light the whole were in motion. I cannot yet decide whether this movement is preparatory to some fresh attempt to raise the blockade of Almeida, or is one of decided retreat; but I have every reason to hope, that they will not succeed in the first, and that they will be obliged to have recourse to the last.—Their superiority in cavalry is very great, owing to the weak state of our horses from recent fatigue and scarcity of forage; and the reduction of numbers in the Portuguese brigade of cavalry with this part of the army, in exchange for a British brigade sent into Estremadura with Marshal Sir Wm. Beresford, owing to the failure of the measures reported to have been adopted to supply the horses and men with food on the service. The result of a general action brought on by an attack upon the enemy by us might, under these circumstances, have been doubtful; and if the enemy had chosen to avoid it, or if they had met it, they would have taken advantage of the collection of our troops to fight this action, to throw relief into Almeida.—From the great superiority of force to which we have been opposed upon this occasion, your Lordship will judge of the conduct of the officers and troops. The actions were partial, but very severe; and our loss has been great. The enemy's loss has also been great: and they left four hundred killed in the village of Fuentes de Honor, and we have many prisoners.—I particularly request your Lordship's attention to the conduct of Lieutenant-Colonel Williams, Lieutenant-Colonel Cameron, and the Honourable Lieutenant-Colonel Cadogan, and to that of Colonel Mackinnon, and Lieutenant-Colonel Kelly, of the 24th regiment, and of the several officers commanding battalions of the line, and of light infantry, which supported the troops in Fuentes de Honor. Likewise to that of Major M'Intosh, of the 85th regiment; of Lieutenant Colonel Nixon, of the 2d Caçadores; of Lieutenant-Colonel Eustace, of the Chasseurs Brittanniques; and of Lord Blantyre.—Throughout these operations I have received the greatest assistance from Lieutenant-General Sir Brent Spencer, and all the General Officers of the Army; and from the Adjutant and Quarter-Master-General, and the officers of their several departments, and those of my personal staff.—From intelligence from Marshal Sir William Beresford, I learn that he has invested Badajoz, on the left of the Guadiana, and is moving there stores for the attack of the place.—I have the honour to inform you, that the intelligence has been confirmed, that Joseph Buonaparté passed Valladolid, on his way to Paris, on the 27th of April. It is not denied by the French Officers that he is gone to Paris.—I have the honour to be, &c.—

(Signed) WELLINGTON.

My Lord, *Villa Formosa, May* 10.

The enemy retired on the 8th to the woods between Espeja Gallegos, and Fuentes de Honor, in which position the whole army were collected on that day

and yesterday, with the exception of that part of the second corps which continued opposite Alameda. Last night the whole broke up, and retired across the Azava, covering their retreat with their numerous cavalry; and this day the whole have retired across the Agueda, leaving Almeida to its fate.—The second corps retired by the bridge of Barba del Pueno, and the ford of Val d'Espino, on the Agueda.—Our advanced posts are upon the Azava, and on the Lower Agueda; and the army will be to-morrow in the cantonments on the Duas Casas. I have, &c.

(Signed) WELLINGTON.

Return of killed, wounded, and missing, under the command of Lieutenant-General Lord Viscount Wellington, K. B. in the affair at Fuentos Onovos, on the evening of the 3rd of May, 1811.

Royal Horse Artillery—1 horse killed; 3 rank and file, wounded.

14th Light Dragoons—1 rank and file, 1 horse, killed; 1 rank and file, 1 horse, wounded; 1 rank and file, 1 horse, missing.

16th Light Dragoons—1 horse killed.

1st Hussars, King's German Legion—1 horse killed; 1 Captain, 4 rank and file, 5 horses, wounded.

2d. Batt. 5th Foot—4 rank and file wounded.

2d. Batt. 24th Foot—2 rank and file wounded.

2d Batt. 42d Foot—1 rank and file killed; 1 Captain, 1 serjeant, 5 rank and file wounded; 1 rank and file missing.

1st Batt. 45th Foot—2 rank and file missing.

1st Batt. 50th Foot—1 Lieutenant, 1 Ensign, 3 rank and file wounded.

5th Batt. 60th Foot—3 rank and file killed; 1 Lieutenant colonel, 1 Lieutenant, 9 rank and file, wounded; 8 rank and file missing.

1st Batt. 71st Foot—1 Lieutenant, 1 serjeant, 6 rank and file, killed; 1 Captain, 2 Lieutenants, 1 Ensign, 1 Staff, 2 serjeants, 31 rank and file, wounded; 6 rank and file missing.

74th Foot—1 rank and file killed; 9 rank and file wounded.

1st Batt. 79th Foot—1 Captain, 4 rank and file, killed; 1 Lieutenant, 1 Ensign, 1 serjeant, 17 rank and file wounded; 1 Captain, 1 Lieutenant, 1 Ensign, 1 serjeant, 21 rank and file missing.

2d Batt. 83d Foot—9 rank and file, wounded; 3 rank and file missing.

1st Batt. 88th Foot—2 serjeants, 3 rank and file wounded.

2d Batt. 88th Foot—6 rank and file wounded.

1st Batt. 92d Foot—1 Lieutenant, 9 rank and file, wounded.

94th Foot—1 serjeant, 2 rank and file, wounded.

3d Batt. 95th Foot—1 Lieutenant, 9 rank and file, wounded.

1st Light Batt. King's German Legion—2 rank and file killed; 5 rank and file wounded.

2d Batt. ditto—1 rank and file, killed; 3 rank and file, wounded.

1st Batt. of the Line of ditto—1 serjeant, 1 drummer, 2 rank and file, wounded.

2d Ditto—1 rank and file, wounded.

5th Ditto—1 serjeant, 3 rank and file, wounded.

7th Ditto—1 serjeant, 2 rank and file, wounded.

Total British Loss—1 Captain, 1 Lieutenant, 1 serjeant, 19 rank and file, and 4 horses killed; 1 Lieutenant Colonel, 3 Captains, 7 Lieutenants, 3 Ensigns, 1 Staff, 10 serjeants, 1 drummer, 145 rank and file, and six horses, wounded; 42 rank and file, and 1 horse, missing.

Total Portuguese Loss—1 serjeant, and 13 rank and file, killed; 1 Captain, 3 Lieutenants, 2 Ensigns, 1 Staff, 1 serjeant, and 25 rank and file, wounded; 1 serjeant, and 1 rank and file, missing.

(Signed) CHARLES STEWART,
Major-Gen. and Adjut.-Gen.

Return of Officers killed, wounded, and missing of the Army under the Command of Lieutenant-General Lord Viscount Wellington, in the Affair of Fuentes Onoros, on the Evening of the 3rd of May, 1811.

Killed.

1st Batt. 71st Foot—Lieutenant Cowsell.
1st Batt. 79th Foot—Captain Imlach.

Wounded.

1st Hussars, King's German Legion—Captain Krauckenberg, slightly.

2d Batt. 42d Foot—Captain M'Donald, severely.

1st Batt. 50th Foot—Lieutenant Rudkin and Ensign Grant, slightly.

5th Batt. 60th Foot—Lieutenant-Colonel Williams, severely; Lieutenant Duchastelette, slightly.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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"The battles of Cressy and Agincourt find a parallel in some of the late splendid Achievements of "our arms. We have only to pursue the same course to raise our national fame and character still "higher than it ever has been before, whilst, under Providence, our exertions and our example "may lead to the general DELIVERANCE OF EUROPE."——The LORD CHANCELLOR (Eldon's) Speech at the PITT CLUB, 28th May, 1811; as reported in the COURIER of the 29th of May.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

PORTUGAL.—THE WAR.——The intelligence, just hinted at, in my last Number, of "*another glorious victory*," won by MARSHAL BERESFORD, has, it seems, not yet arrived; but, there can be little doubt, that a *battle* has taken place between this Marshal and the Duke of Dalmatia, who commands a body of French troops in Spain.——Any observations upon the battle would, of course, be premature; but, I shall make an observation or two upon what our venal prints have said respecting it.——They tell us, that we have lost in this battle 8,000 men, and that one of our regiments is totally destroyed. This is a pretty dear "*victory*," then, and I should be very glad to hear any man point out an adequate advantage that can *possibly* arise out of it; I do not say, that is *likely* to arise out of it; but that can *possibly* arise out of it.——The complete "*deliverance*," as it called, of Spain and Portugal, would not compensate the loss of 8,000 men; that is to say, if the deliverance be not intended to end in the establishment of *free* governments in those countries.——We are told, that 4,000 of these killed men were Spaniards, who were put in the *front* of the battle, and who dropped upon the ground where they were drawn up in order of battle. This is worthy of note, after what we have recently heard of the bad behaviour of the Spaniards; and, it would be curious to ascertain the *cause* of our having *placed the Spaniards in the front* of the army, after having heard such accounts as we did hear from Cadiz.——This is a point for the reader to dwell upon; and, at any rate, I trust it will not escape his attention.——Let us now look back a little to the *Glorious Victory* of Almeida, where, in my last, we left our army at its post, *blockading* that fortress. We now find, that Almeida is evacuated by the French, and that the evacuation took place very shortly after the *Victory* just spoken of.——But, the *manner* of it, as described in the Dispatch of the Lord Marshal, inserted below, is what we ought not to overlook. It appears, that Almeida was garrisoned with about *a thousand* men, under the command of GENERAL BRENNIER. After the *Victory*, gained by the blockading army, over the enemy, there would seem to have been not the smallest chance of this garrison's escape from us; and, we might, one would have thought, made quite sure of seeing this General and his Garrison come to England, prisoners of war.——This was anticipated; and, the MORNING POST went so far as to tell our "*fashionable world*" where it was intended to confine these prisoners.——Never sell the skin 'till you have caught the Lion. Nay, never sell it, in future, 'till you have actually *killed* him; for, we see that there is no reliance to be placed upon *traps*. We had the whole French army in *a trap*, and they not only got out of the trap, but, after having run away, have had the audacity to turn about and *stare us in the face*. Stare us in the face, did I say? Nay, (by all that's impudent!) to *attack* us!——Still, however, this trap, in which the army was, was nothing at all to compare to the trap in which BRENNIER was placed. He was really in a trap. He was in a fortified town, surrounded by an army of fifty thousand men, and an army, too, who had just beaten that to which he and his garrison belonged. He had a thousand men. To get out of the town without being killed or captured seemed as impossible as for a weazle to get off from a warrener's trap. His enemies had him, one would have thought, as completely in their power as if he had been in a dungeon, guarded by their sentinels——Yet, what was the result? Why, he not only got out; he not only got away with his garrison; but, he got clear away; and (oh! the wonderful art of entrapping!) *took away with him some of those who attempted to impede his*

march! —— Read the account given of this transaction by Lord Talavera himself; and then, say what are your hopes of being able to cope with enemies like these. The place was *invested;* it was actually blockaded; it was surrounded with an army, and a "victorious" army too, of 50,000 men; and, with only one thousand men with him this French General marches out and gets clear off; and, as will be seen by the dispatch, takes some of our army *prisoners.*——This last circumstance is a proof not to be denied, that he was not *worsted* by those who assailed him in his way.——I have read a great deal about battles and sieges; but never did I before read of any thing like this; and, I do not believe, that the parallel of it is to be found in history. There have been many instances of garrisons *cutting their way,* in a very desperate manner, through a numerous enemy; but, in this case, there appears to have been a mere *march out,* boldly setting fifty times their number at defiance, and actually going off *in triumph.*——As to what Lord Talavera says about the device of *firing* from the fortress every night for some nights before; it only appears, that it was a clever trick, and that it succeeded in deceiving our people; but, it by no means follows that our people ought to have been so deceived.——Not only did the Frenchman get clear away; not only did he march out and cross the ground of those who were watching him; not only did he come out of a blockaded place and traverse unhurt the ground of the blockading army; but he *blew up the works of the place* before he quitted it, so that, when our army took possession, that it should be easily assailed, if the French came back to attack the town. There never was, I verily believe, any military operation like this heard of before.——BRENNIER, we are told, would not have got off so clearly, if the 4th Regiment, whom some General of ours sent to stop them at a certain bridge, had not missed their way. *Missed their way!* And, is this the reason that we are to have for such a thing as this? *Missed their way!* How came BRENNIER not to miss *his* way? He, it seems, found his way with great exactness in a night when none of our people could see him. These Frenchmen are like cats; they *see in the dark.*——We must now wait till we see the French account of this evacuation; for, as yet, we know only such part of the facts as it has been thought suitable to tell us.——In another part of the present Number is the French account of the battle of Almeida, in which it is stated, that they took, during that battle, 600 prisoners. Our accounts state that we lost only about 300. Which account we ought to believe I shall not pretend to say. One story is always good till the other is heard. It is also evident, that, while the French would not fail to make the number as *high* as possible, our people would not fail to make it as *low* as possible. Between the two statements we must judge for ourselves; for, I beg my readers to bear in mind, that, if we are to be guided by the past, we must not place implicit reliance upon a thing as *being so,* merely because it is *said to be so.* ——The French say, that they had only 400 men *killed* and *wounded.* Our general says, that they left 400 *dead* in one place.

Now, do we believe his account of *his* killed and wounded? If we do, *why* should we not believe the French account of *their* killed and wounded? It is not so easy for the enemy to tell your loss as it is for you yourself to tell it. Indeed he cannot *know* what your loss has been. We must, therefore, rely upon the statement of *each* party as to his own loss; or, we must rely upon *neither.* If I believe, that Lord Talavera lost no more than he acknowledges to, I must believe that the French lost no more than they acknowledge to; and, indeed, it is not reasonable to suppose, that the French loss was equal to ours, seeing that they were the *assailants,* and seeing also, that they were so superior in cavalry; which last is a point not unworthy of a little more attention than has hitherto been bestowed upon it.——My readers will bear in mind, that, about 8 months ago, it was positively stated to the "*thinking* people "of England," that the French had long been living upon their *horses,* which they *stewed down for soup.*——I beg the reader, if he be not a willing dupe (and, if he be, it is no matter what he thinks) to look back to that time. Their horses the French had long been *stewing down for soup.* Many months, not less than five months *after* that, the French began their retreat from a country, in which, as we were told, they were just expiring with hunger. We follow them. We speak of them as a wretched *remnant* of an army. We say that they are destroyed. The Parliament *thanks* the General who had driven them before him out of Portugal, which we regard as being now completely delivered.

And, in a few weeks after these *Thanks* are bestowed, and after Mr. WHITBREAD comes to the House of Commons, and expresses his sorrow that he was not present to join in the vote; in a few weeks, in less than four weeks after this, comes the news, that this same French army have *attacked* their pursuer, have made dreadful slaughter in his army, some hundreds of whom they have actually taken prisoners. But, the fact I have now particularly in view is, that the French, who *stewed down their horses for soup* so many months ago, had not only *cavalry* in the battle of Almeida; but, we are told by him who had them in a trap, that "*their* SUPERIORITY *in cavalry was very great.*" We see their *cavalry* every where in this battle. It was the *cavalry* who took Lieut. Col. Hill and a number of men at one time. It was a charge of *their cavalry* which annoyed us at another time. And, in short, we see the cavalry every where active and efficient in this battle.——Now, I beg the reader to look well at this part of Talavera's account, and then say what is due to the wretches, who told us, in such a confident manner, that the French had *stewed down their horses for soup.*——One would think, that, after this, we should be a little cautious as to what we believed; but, there really appears to be an infatuation in this country that nothing can remove. There appears to be a willing blindness; and, as it has continued so long, it is likely to hold to the end. Indeed, how should it be otherwise considering the state of the press, mercenary as one part of it is, and cowed down as is the other part? And, yet, after having, so many hundred times, so many thousand times, seen the proof of the falshoods published by the venal writers, it does seem to be the people's own fault if they are still deceived by them.

SPAIN.——JOSEPH BUONAPARTE.——It is certain that King Joseph is returned to France, and, it is not improbable that some change may be on foot as to the sovereign of Spain.——It is said, that there is a project for putting FERDINAND upon the throne; and, as I, long ago, observed, this is a measure, which Napoleon would certainly adopt, if all other means failed. ——I do not believe, that he will adopt it, while his affairs in the peninsula are as they now are; but, if he were to adopt it, I can see no reason why it should fail of success, if the people of Spain, of any considerable portion of them, do really entertain a desire to see him upon the throne of their country. This measure would place us in a dilemma, from which we should find it difficult to extricate ourselves. We could not, with any decency, refuse to acknowledge Ferdinand; and, yet, it would not be difficult for the French so to restore him as to keep him under their controul. The noblemen, and owners of property, in Spain, would gladly return to it upon any conditions that would insure its quiet enjoyment. They have seen too much of the example of the French emigrants to stand out for trifles in such a case. The Church would have the same feeling. And, if Napoleon would guarantee them the enjoyment of this property, the business would be done, in a short space of time.——We should, then, be placed in a most ludicrous situation; and, especially if Ferdinand were to *marry* into the family of Buonaparté, as he, at one time, requested the honour to be permitted to do. This circumstance could be no objection to our acknowledging of him as King of Spain, or, rather, to our *continuing to acknowledge* him in that character. We are fighting, expending millions, to preserve the throne of Spain for him; and, if he were on that throne, how could we refuse to acknowledge him?——This measure, however, will not, I dare say, be resorted to unless in case of necessity; that is to say, unless there remains no hope of ridding Spain of our presence and influence in any other way.——The war in Spain is professedly a war for the restoration of Ferdinand and the Spanish government. Well, then, if Buonaparté restore them, what *more* do we want? Such an event would strangely puzzle us. We should not know what to say *against* such restoration; and yet, to be *quiet* would be out of our power.——I am not supposing that such an event *will* take place; there is, at present, I think, little probability of it; but, at the same time, it is what may happen, and, therefore, it is not amiss to bestow a little reflection upon it.

DELIVERANCE OF EUROPE.——The deliverers of Europe, now surviving assembled together on the 28th of May, it seems, to celebrate the memory of the Great Deliverer PITT, who died in the year 1806. Upon this occasion there was much speaking, and, amongst the rest, the speech from which I have taken my motto.——I

have often had to observe, that no nation ever was so much insulted as this; but, in nothing has this nation ever been so grossly insulted as in the applause thus given to PITT, who was the cause of more loss, suffering, and dishonour to England, than any other man that ever lived.——But, at present, let us consider him in the character of *Deliverer of Europe.* This work he began in the year 1792, having in conjunction with his worthy, his ever worthy colleague and companion, delivered *India* before.——In 1792 England and Europe were at peace, and each state of it was in the possession of that degree of independence, which it had possessed for many years. But, the people of France having said that they would no longer endure that slavery *for which Englishmen had always been reproaching them,* a combination was formed against them by some of the sovereigns of Europe; and, about the month of May, in the year 1792, those sovereigns made demonstrations of attacking France itself. Large armies were assembled for this purpose by Prussia and Austria; and, the Commander in Chief of these armies, the late DUKE OF BRUNSWICK (who, by-the-by, had had the command of the Prussian troops, when they marched into Holland in 1787), issued proclamations against all those persons in France who should *dare to oppose* these armies The French people, soon after this, dethroned their king; and, early in 1793, they put him to death.——The English ministry had hitherto not joined the enemies of France; but, now they did; and, from this time, began that war, which has never yet, in reality, ceased, and of the cessation of which there is not now the slightest appearance.——The French people, whom to subdue was looked upon as only the work of a holiday campaign, so far from being intimidated by the threats of the Duke of Brunswick, took up arms as [illegible] arranged themselves voluntarily under whoever was found able and willing to direct them; drove that same Duke of Brunswick out of their territory, and became, in their turn, the assailants.——The progress of the arms of the French (now become republicans) astonished the world. In the course of two campaigns they gained upwards of twenty great battles, besides more than a hundred actions of inferior note.—From having promised the people of England nothing short of the humiliation of France, or, what was called, *clipping her wings,* the tone of the minister was now changed to that of *defence* against her, and, with respect to his allies, of *rescuing* them from her grasp. At this time (the year 1794) began to be used the phrase *Deliverance of Europe,* which has been in use ever since.—The *deliverance of Europe* hung upon every "*loyal*" tongue. For the deliverance of Europe places and pensions were accepted and asked for; and contractors and their wives prayed for the deliverance of Europe.——What progress has been made in this good work will best be seen by a comparison of the state of Europe in 1794 with the state of it at present.——At the close of 1794, when Pitt and his associates *began* to deliver Europe, France had over-run and possessed itself of Flanders and Holland, and, with the exception of some trifling territories on the side of Italy and Germany, those were all.——She has now *conquered* and *united to her territory,* or placed under the same head with herself, all Italy, Naples excepted; all the States of Holland and all the former Austrian Netherlands; and the Hans Towns as far as the territory of Denmark. In Germany she has new modelled all the states, erecting new titles and dynasties, and suppressing others. From the Emperor of Germany and the king of Prussia, who first armed against her, she has wrested the best part of their possessions, and almost the whole of their power. To Sweden, where the league against her was said to have been first conceived, she has given a late Serjeant of her army for a king. Naples, which joined in the league, now owns the sway of a French soldier, who, as we are told, sprang from the keeper of an alehouse; while Spain, whose royal family are captives in France, and Portugal, whose royal family have been compelled to flee across the ocean, are now the theatre of a war between France and her only unsubdued enemy, England.——This is what has been done in the way of *delivering Europe* since the year 1794; and yet are there men to bid us hope for the *Deliverance of Europe,* and that, too, under the guidance of that same set of politicians, who have had the power in their hands from that day to this!——But, there is one view of this matter that such men as the Lord Chancellor never seem to take. They hate the French themselves, and they seem to think that every body else must hate them too. But this by no means follows; and, indeed, it is notorious, that, in many cases, the contrary has been,

and is, notoriously the fact.—We have had for our allies every state in Europe, I believe, France only excepted. The Emperor, King of Prussia, King of Naples, King of Spain, Queen of Portugal, King of Sardinia, the Stadtholder, the King of Sweden, the Emperor of Russia, the German princes, Louis the XVIII, the Knights of Malta; all, all have been our allies. What has been their *fate?* What has happened to them *while* they were our allies? How have we *delivered* them?——Look then. Fancy them all before you, reader, assembled in a group. Will they tell you that they have been delivered? Can you make *them* hope for deliverance at your hands?——And as to the *people* of the several countries subdued by France, it is notorious, that, so far from their resisting the French, they, in general, assisted them. Where is the *ground,* then, of an opinion, that these people would like to be delivered by us?——In the year 1794 the Great Deliverer sent an army to assist in the deliverance of the Dutch. The Dutch did not wish to be delivered; they treated his army like dogs; they refused them victuals and drink even for money; they considered them, in short, as their enemies, and the French army as their friends. The same thing has happened since; and, even but the other day, when we invaded the province of Zealand, no warmth of reception did we meet with. Not a Dutchman joined our standard. No acclamations of the people; no addresses; *submission,* and that was all; submission as to *conquerors,* but not a word of *deliverance* did we hear from the Dutch. How we have been received in Flanders, in Italy, in Egypt, in Germany, in Denmark, at Toulon, at Quiberon, and, in short, any where that can be named, I need not tell the reader. He knows how we have been received; he knows in what way we have been *hailed.* He knows of what kind have been the blessings that have been bestowed upon us. And yet, there are men, who have still the front to tell us, that we are to be the *deliverers of Europe!*——From *what,* however, I would ask the LORD CHANCELLOR, are we to deliver Europe? Because we ought to have something like a clear idea of this, else we are going on in the dark. From WHAT, then, my LORD ELDON, are we to deliver Europe?——From *Napoleon?* Is that what you mean? If it be, then I beg leave to remind you, that you belonged to a cabinet who made peace with him; a cabinet who boasted of a peace with him; a cabinet who entered into a solemn treaty with him; aye, and (mark it well!) who received at *his* hands the cession of one *Spanish* and one *Dutch* colony! TRINIDAD and CEYLON were ceded to us by Napoleon. It was with him, or his embassador rather, that we made a bargain including the cession of those colonies to us. And, shall we *now* say, that our object is to *deliver* Europe of him, as of a tyrant, an usurper, a barbarian? Well do I remember, that, when the definitive treaty was halting a little, our venal prints observed, upon the rumoured dissent of Spain and Holland: "they may *grumble,* but they *must submit.*" Submit to what? To terms that we, *in conjunction with Napoleon,* had imposed upon them. It is, therefore, a little too much now to talk of *delivering* the nations of Europe from the power of this same Napoleon.——Besides, if we were to drive him out from his several conquests, does it follow that *our end* would be answered? Does it follow, that the people in those states would choose to call back their *old rulers?* If we are to judge from the past, it does not; for, in no one instance, have the people thus acted. The moment they have been *free,* they have set to work to frame new governments. They have never called their old one back; and, therefore, when we talk about the deliverance of Europe, let us consider a little what it means.——In the year 1792, and from that year to the year 1800, or thereabouts, the *Deliverance of Europe* aimed principally at the Jacobins; enemies to *Social Order* and *Regular Government,* to the *Altar* and the *Throne.* These were the catch-words for many years. The Loyalty Loan and the Voluntary Contributions and the Habeas Corpus Suspension and many other memorable things took place while these words were in vogue. Well, what have we now to find fault of, then? There is Social Order and Regular Government in plenty in France at this time; and as to the Altar and the Throne, we hear of nothing else but their Imperial Majesties, the King of Rome and of Bishops and Masses. Here is Altar and Throne and enough of them if we wanted Altar and Throne. What, then, displeases us now? Will nothing suit us? Will neither *republicans* nor *emperors* do for us?——Ah! we may *pretend* what we will, but nothing that we can say, or that we can now do, will deceive the people of France or of any of the countries of Europe. They all saw us

at the very head of the league against the people of France, long before Buonaparté was heard of; and, they are not now to be persuaded, that we hate Buonaparté merely because he oppresses, or is said to oppress, the people of France, or any other people. No: they will never believe, that those who approved of the Duke of Brunswick's Proclamations, are hostile to Napoleon on account of his hostility to freedom. The PITT CLUB may, therefore, another time, keep their breath to cool their porridge, as far as relates to the *Deliverance of Europe.* Not only did the people of France and of Europe see England at the head of a league against the French before the name of Napoleon was known to us; but they saw us, after he became known, and after he became chief of the nation, make peace with him, make a treaty of *friendship* with him, and heard us say, that we liked *him better than we did the republican government.* After this the people of France and of Europe are not such brutes as to believe, that our hatred of Napoleon arises in any degree, from his being an oppressor of the people.

WM. COBBETT.

State Prison, Newgate, Friday, May 31, 1811.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

PORTUGAL.—THE WAR.—*Return of Officers killed, wounded, and missing of the Army under the Command of Lieutenant-General Lord Viscount Wellington, in the Affair of Fuentes Onoros, on the Evening of the 3rd of May,* 1811.

(Concluded from page 1344.)

1st Batt. 71st Foot—Captain M'Intyre, and Lieutenant Fox, severely; Lieutenant M'Craw, slightly; Ensign Kearne, dangerously; Adjutant Law, slightly.

1st Batt. 79th Foot—Lieutenant Calder, slightly; Ensign Brown, severely.

1st Batt. 92d Foot—Lieutenant Hill, severely.

3d Batt. 95th Foot—Lieutenant Uniacke, severely.

6th Caçadores—Captain de Barros; Lieutenants de Moratto, Manuel Joaquim, and J. de Sante Anno; Ensigns Ferura de Roxa and Antonia Pinto; Adjutant Bento de Magalhoems.

Return of killed, wounded, and missing of the Army under the Command of Lieutenant-General Lord Viscount Wellington, K. B in Action with the French Army on the 5th of May, 1811.

Head-Quarters, Villa Formoso, May 8.

General Staff—2 wounded.

Royal Horse Artillery—1 rank and file, 3 horses, killed; 1 rank and file, 3 horses, wounded.

Royal Foot Artillery—1 serjeant, 4 rank and file, 9 horses, killed; 1 Captain, 2 Lieutenants, 18 rank and file, 21 horses, wounded.

1st Royal Dragoons—4 rank and file, 18 horses, killed; 1 Lieutenant, 36 rank and file, 24 horses, wounded.

14th Light Dragoons—3 rank and file, 5 horses, killed; 2 Captains, 2 Lieutenants, 1 Cornet, 6 serjeants, 21 rank and file, 22 horses, wounded; 3 rank and file, 3 horses, missing.

16th Light Dragoons—7 rank and file, 4 horses, killed; 2 Lieutenants, 16 rank and file, 5 horses, wounded; 1 Captain, 1 serjeant, 2 horses, missing.

1st Hussars, King's German Legion—1 serjeant, 1 drummer, 6 horses, killed; 1 Major, 1 Captain, 1 Lieutenant, 2 serjeants, 1 drummer, 37 rank and file, 20 horses, wounded.

1st Batt. Coldstream Guards—4 rank and file killed; 1 Captain, 2 serjeants, 40 rank and file wounded; 1 Ensign, 7 rank and file, missing.

1st Batt. 3d Guards—1 Ensign, 5 rank and file, killed; 1 Captain, 3 serjeants, 40 rank and file, wounded; 1 Lieutenant-Colonel, 12 rank and file, missing.

3d Batt. 1st Foot—1 serjeant, 8 rank and file, wounded.

2d Batt. 5th Foot—3 rank and file wounded.

1st Batt. 9th Foot—4 rank and file wounded.

2d Batt. 24th Foot—1 Lieutenant, 4 rank and file, killed; 2 serjeants, 17 rank and file, wounded; 1 Captain, 4 rank and file, missing.

2d Batt. 30th Foot—1 serjeant, 3 rank and file, wounded.

2d Batt. 42d Foot—1 serjeant, 1 rank and file, killed; 1 serjeant, 22 rank and file, wounded.

2d Batt. 44th Foot—4 rank and file wounded.

1st Batt. 45th Foot—3 rank and file, killed; 1 rank and file wounded.

1st Batt. 50th Foot—3 rank and file, killed; 2 serjeants, 19 rank and file, wounded; 1 Lieutenant, 4 rank and file, missing.

51st Foot—5 rank and file, wounded.

5th Batt. 60th Foot—1 Major, 1 Lieutenant, 1 serjeant, 11 rank and file, wounded; 1 rank and file, missing.

1st Batt. 71st Foot—2 Lieutenants, 1 serjeant, 10 rank and file, killed; 2 Ensigns, 1 Staff, 6 serjeants, 1 drummer, 64 rank and file, wounded; 2 Lieutenants, 2 serjeants, 1 drummer, 34 rank and file, missing.

74th Foot—1 Lieutenant, 2 rank and file, killed; 2 Captains, 1 staff, 1 serjeant, 32 rank and file, wounded.

1st Batt. 79th Foot—1 serjeant, 26 rank and file, killed; 1 Lieutenant-Colonel, 2 Captains, 5 Lieutenants, 1 Ensign, 5 serjeants, 121 rank and file, wounded; 2 serjeants, 92 rank and file, missing.

2d Batt. 33d Foot—1 Lieutenant, 1 serjeant, 1 drummer, killed; 1 Lieutenant, 2 serjeants, 26 rank and file, wounded.

85th Foot—1 Lieutenant, 16 rank and file, killed; 1 Captain, 2 Lieutenants, 3 serjeants, 1 drummer, 32 rank and file, wounded; 2 serjeants, 1 drummer, 40 rank and file, missing.

1st Batt. 88th Foot—1 Captain, 1 rank and file, killed; 1 Lieutenant, 1 Ensign, 1 serjeant, 1 drummer, 45 rank and file, wounded; 1 rank and file missing.

1st Batt. 92d Foot—7 rank and file, killed; 1 Major, 1 Lieutenant, 2 serjeants, 32 rank and file, wounded.

94th Foot—4 rank and file, wounded.

1st Batt. 95th Foot—1 serjeant, 6 rank and file, wounded.

2d Batt. 95th Foot—1 rank and file, wounded.

3d Batt. 95th Foot—1 Lieutenant, 1 rank and file, killed; 2 rank and file wounded; 1 serjeant, 1 rank and file, missing.

Chasseurs Britanniques—2 Serjeants, 28 rank and file, killed; 2 Captains, 1 Lieutenant, 1 Ensign, 2 serjeants, 15 rank and file, wounded; 7 rank and file, missing.

1st Light Batt. King's German Legion—2 rank and file, wounded; 1 rank and file, missing.

2d Light Batt. King's German Legion—1 rank and file, wounded; 1 rank and file, missing.

1st Batt. of the Line, King's German Legion—1 Major, 3 serjeants, 14 rank and file, wounded; 1 rank and file missing.

2d ditto—2 rank and file, killed; 2 Captains, 11 rank and file, wounded; 2 rank and file missing.

5th ditto—8 rank and file, wounded; 3 rank and file, missing.

7th ditto—1 rank and file, killed; 1 ensign, 1 serjeant, 4 rank and file, wounded; 2 rank and file, missing.

Brunswick Oels' Corps—1 rank and file, killed; 1 Lieutenant, 2 serjeants, 4 rank and file, wounded; 10 rank and file, missing.

Total British loss—1 Captain, 7 Lieutenants, 1 Ensign, 8 serjeants, 2 drummers, 129 rank and file, 45 horses, killed; 2 General Staff, 1 Lieutenant-Colonel, 4 Majors, 15 Captains, 21 Lieutenants, 7 Cornets or Ensigns, 2 Staff, 50 serjeants, 4 drummers, 766 rank and file, 95 horses, wounded; 1 Lieutenant-Colonel, 2 Captains, 3 Lieutenants, 1 Ensign, 8 serjeants, 2 drummers, 226 rank and file, 5 horses, missing.

Portuguese Loss—5 serjeants, 1 drummer, 44 rank and file, killed; 1 Lieutenant Colonel, 2 Lieutenants, 4 Cornets or Ensigns, 11 serjeants, 140 rank and file, wounded; 1 serjeant, 7 drummers, 43 rank and file, missing.

General Total—1 Captain, 7 Lieutenants, 1 Ensign, 13 serjeants, 3 drummers, 173 rank and file, and 45 horses, killed; 2 General Staff, 2 Lieutenant-Colonels, 4 Majors, 15 Captains, 23 Lieutenants, 11 Cornets or Ensigns, 2 staff, 61 serjeants, 4 drummers, 906 rank and file, and 95 horses, wounded; 1 Lieutenant Colonel, 2 Captains, 3 Lieutenants, 1 Ensign, 9 serjeants, 9 drummers, 269 rank and file, and 5 horses, missing.

(Signed) CHARLES STEWART,
Major-Gen. and Adjut.-Gen.

Names of Officers killed, wounded, and missing of the army under the command of Lieutenant-General Viscount Wellington, in Action with the French Army on the 5th of May, 1811.

Killed.

1st Batt. 3d Guards—Ensign Cookson.
2d Batt. 24th Foot—Lieutenant Ireland.
1st. Batt. 71st Foot—Lieutenants Houston and Graham.
74th Foot—Lieutenant Johnstone.
2d Batt. 83d Foot—Lieutenant Ferris.
85th Foot—Lieutenant Holmes.
1st Batt. 88th Foot—Captain Irwin.
3d Batt. 95th Foot—Lieutenant Westby.

Wounded.

Major-General Nightingall, slightly.
10th Hussars—Lieutenant Fitzclarence, Aid-du-Camp to Major-General Stewart, slightly.
British Foot Artillery—Captain G. Thompson, Lieutenants Martin and Woolcombe, slightly.
1st Royal Dragoons—Lieutenant Forster, slightly.
14th Light Dragoons—Captain Knip

severely; Captain Mills, Lieutenants Gwynne and Badcock, Cornet Elles, slightly.

16th Light Dragoons—Lieutenant Weyland, severely; Lieutenant Blake, ditto, since dead.

1st Hussars, King's German Legion—Major Meyer, slightly; Captain Gruben, Lieutenant Kranckenberg, severely.

1st Batt. Coldstream Guards—Captain Hervey, slightly.

1st Batt. 3d Guards—Captain Clitherow, slightly.

5th Batt. 60th Foot—Major Woodgate, Lieutenant Wynne, slightly.

1st Batt. 71st Foot—Ensign Cox, slightly; Ensign Vandeleur, severely; Adjutant Law, slightly.

74th Foot—Captain M'Queen, severely; Captain Moore, Adjutant White, slightly.

1st Batt. 79th Foot—Lieutenant-Colonel Cameron, severely; Captain Fraser, slightly; Captain Davidson, severely; since dead. Lieutenant Sinclair, slightly; Lieutenants A. Cameron, Webb, and Robinson, severely; Lieutenant A. Fraser, Ensign, W. Cameron, slightly.

2d Batt. 83d Foot—Lieutenant Vericker, severely.

85th Foot—Captain Nixon, slightly; Lieutenant Brock, dangerously; Lieutenant Hogg, severely.

1st Batt. 88th Foot—Lieutenant M'Alpine, slightly; Ensign Hogan, severely.

1st Batt. 92d Foot—Major Grant, severely, left leg amputated; Lieutenant M'Nab, severely; right arm amputated.

Chasseurs Britanniques—Captains Freuler and Tournefort, slightly; Lieutenant Blenner, slightly; Ensign Proto, severely.

1st Line Batt. King's German Legion—Major Beck, slightly.

2d Line Batt. King's German Legion—Captains Muller and Decken, severely.

7th Line Batt. King's German Legion—Ensign Bachelle, severely.

Brunswick Oels—Lieutenant Zolsikoser, slightly.

21st Portuguese Regiment—Ensign Francisco de Paula, slightly.

3d Caçadores—Lieutenant Joao de Brekinque, slightly.

6th ditto—Lieutenant-Colonel Sebastio Pinto, Lieutenant Joze Vas, Ensigns Joze Berreira and Francisco Peixoto, slightly; Ensign Perreira, severely, since dead.

Missing.

16th Light Dragoons—Captain Belli.

1st Batt. Coldstream Guards—Ensign Stothard.

1st. Batt. 3d Guards—Lieutenant-Colonel Hill.

2d Batt. 24th Foot—Captain Andrews.

1st Batt. 50th Foot—Lieutenant Ryan.

1st Batt. 71st Foot—Lieutenants Roy and Baldwin.

CHARLES STEWART,
Maj.-Gen. and Adj.-Gen.

PORTUGAL.—THE WAR.—*From the London Gazette, May 28, 1811.—Downing-street, May 28, 1811.—A Dispatch, of which the following is an Extract, was this day received at the Earl of Liverpool's Office, addressed to his Lordship by Lieutenant-General Lord Viscount Wellington, K. B. dated Villa Formosa, 15th May, 1811.*

Villa Formosa, May 15, 1811.

No part of the enemy's army remained on the left of the Agueda on the evening of the 10th instant, excepting one brigade of cavalry close to the Bridge of Ciudad Rodrigo. The 2d corps had crossed at Barba del Puerco and the Ford of Val d'Espino, and were cantoned in that neighbourhood; and our advanced posts were upon the Azava and the Lower Agueda.—The 6th division resumed the duty of the blockade of Almeida on that evening, and Major-General Sir William Erskine was ordered to send a battalion to Barba del Puerco, to guard the bridge there, which had been previously ordered, and had been posted to observe the passages of the Duas Casas, between Aldea del Bispo and Barba del Puerco.—The enemy blew up some mines which they had constructed in the works of Almeida, a little before one on the morning of the 11th, and immediately attacked the picquets by which the place was observed, and forced their way through them. They fired but little, and they appeared to have marched between the bodies of troops posted to support the picquets—and in particular could not have passed far from the right of the Queen's Regiment.—Upon the first alarm Brigadier-General Pack, who was at Malpartida, joined the picquets, and continued to follow and to fire upon the enemy, as a guide for the march of the other troops employed in the blockade; and Major-General Campbell marched from Malpartida with a part of the first battalion 36th regiment. But the enemy continued their march in a solid compact body without firing, and were well guided between the positions occupied by our troops.—The 4th regiment, which was ordered to occupy Barba del Puerco, unfortunately

missed the road, and did not arrive there till the enemy had reached the place, and commenced to descend the bridge; and at the same moment with the 36th regiment, with Major General Campbell, and the light battalions of the 5th division, which Major General Sir William Erskine had detached from Aldea del Bispo to Barba del Puerco, as soon as he had heard that the enemy had come out from Almeida.—The enemy suffered very considerable loss both in prisoners and in killed and wounded, as well in the march from Almeida as in the passage of the Agueda. It appears that that part of the 9th corps which were in St. Felices, formed upon the river to protect their passage as soon as they heard the firing; and the Honourable Lieutenant Colonel Cochrane of the 36th, who had crossed with a detachment of the 36th and of the 4th regiments, was obliged to retire with some loss.—The enemy are indebted for the small part of the garrison which they have saved principally to the unfortunate mistake of the road to Barba del Puerco by the 4th regiment. During the period of the blockade, but particularly during the period that the enemy's army were between the Duas Casas and the Azava, the garrison were in the habit of firing cannon during the night; and the picquets near the place were frequently attacked. On the night of the 7th there had been a very heavy fire of cannon from the place, and the picquets were attacked; and another on the night of the 8th, and the Queen's regiment in particular, and the other troops employed in the blockade, were induced to believe that the explosion which they heard in the morning of the 11th was of the same description with those which they had heard on the preceding nights; and the Queen's regiment did not move at all, nor the other troops, till the cause of explosion had been ascertained.—Since the 11th inst. the enemy have continued their retreat towards the Tormes.—I enclose a return of the killed and wounded of the troops engaged at Barba del Puerco.

Return of killed, wounded and missing of the Army under the Command of Lieutenant General Lord Viscount Wellington, K. B. at Barba del Puerco, on the 11th May, 1811.

Head Quarters, Villa Formosa, May 15

1st Batt. 4th Foot—2 rank and file killed; 1 Lieutenant, 10 rank and file, wounded; 1 serjeant, 4 rank and file, missing.

1st Batt. 36th Foot—2 rank and file killed; 5 rank and file wounded; 1 Lieutenant, 10 rank and file, missing.

Total—4 rank and file killed; 1 Lieutenant, 15 rank and file wounded; 1 Lieutenant, 1 serjeant, 14 rank and file, missing.

Names of Officers killed, wounded and missing.

1st Batt. 4th Foot—Lieutenant Robert M'Intosh wounded.

1st Batt. 36th Foot—Lieutenant Moody missing.

Lieut. Colonel Philip Cameron, of the 79th regiment, wounded on the 5th May 1811, died on the 13th May 1811.

CHARLES STEWART,
Major Gen. and Adj. Gen.

Foreign Office, May 28, 1811.

Dispatches were this morning received at the office of the Marquis Wellesley, from Mr. Stuart, his Majesty's Minister at Lisbon, dated the 18th instant, by which it appears, that on the 10th, at midnight, the garrison of Almeida blew up the works of that fortress, and effected a retreat to Barba del Puerco with considerable loss.

Marshal Soult broke up from Gillena on the 9th of May, at the head of 15,000 men, and his Head-quarters were at Zafra on the 13th, where he effected a junction with the division of General Latour Maubourg, which increased his numbers to near 22,000 men. General Ballasteros immediately fell back and united his corps with that of General Blake; their combined strength moved from Xeres to Barcarotta. On the 13th, Marshal Beresford and General Castanos concentrated their forces in Valverde, where it would appear they have been since joined by General Blake.—On the 16th Marshal Soult attacked the combined army at Alboera, and, after an obstinate action, was repulsed with great loss, abandoning his wounded, and retiring to a position in sight of the British advanced posts.—The loss on the part of the allies is not specified, but understood to be very severe. Major-General Houghton killed; Major-Generals Cole and W. Stewart, slightly wounded; Lieutenant-Colonels Sir W. Myers and Duckworth, killed.

The following is a translation of the Telegraphic communication received at Lisbon:—May 17, 1811:—Elvas, half past 11, A. M.—At nine yesterday morning Marshal Soult attacked our Army at Alboera. It was a great battle. Our

Armies were victorious. The enemy abandoned their wounded, and took up a new position in sight of our Army.—Elvas, May 18, seven P. M.—The battle lasted six hours and a half. It was contested.—The Armies maintained the same positions. The Allies had General Houghton killed and three Generals wounded. The enemy two killed and one wounded. At eight this morning Gen. Houghton was buried.

FRANCE.—*Official Account of the Battle of Almeida.—Paris May 22.—News from the Armies of Spain and Portugal.*

ARMY OF PORTUGAL.

I have the honour to inform your Highness, that on the 2d May, at day-break, I ordered the body of the army to pass the Agueda, at the bridge of Rodrigo, and to proceed, the 2d upon Marialva, the 8th and 9th upon Carpeo, with the reserve of cavalry; the 6th upon Espeja, with the rest of the cavalry. The movement was effected with much order, the advanced posts of the enemy were driven in, and the preparations which they had made to defend the defiles of Marialva, were rendered useless by the passage of the Azava, at Carpio. This operation was executed without much obstacle from the enemy, and their advanced guard of 14 squadrons of cavalry, supported by some hundreds of fantassins, with artillery, was warmly treated to beyond Gallegos. The army took the following position: the 2d corps in the rear and to the right of Gallegos; a division of the 8th on the left of that village, which was occupied by the advanced posts; the 6th in the rear of Espeja, and the 9th in reserve before Carpio.—The information I had relative to the enemy, stated that they occupied, with 40 to 50,000 men, a fine line of battle behind the brook of Onoro on a hill, whose left of difficult access, was supported by Fort Conception: the right, more accessible, was at Nava de Avel; the head-quarters at Villa Formosa. Yet this position of the enemy was not without danger to them, since they had behind their front the rocky bed of the Coa, and but a single carriage communication, sufficiently difficult, by Castel Bom.—On the 3d, in the morning, the army marched forward, the second corps forming still the right and proceeding upon Alameda, a division of the 8th, on the left of that village, and the 9th, with the cavalry, marched from Espeja upon Fuentes d'Onoro. My plan was, to proceed in force on the right of the enemy, and to seize the communication of Castel Bom. In consequence, and whilst the second and seventh corps, and the division of the 8th, kept the centre of the enemy in check, I proceeded towards the right with the 6th corps pursuing their rear guard, the greater part of which was warmly repulsed in Fuentes d'Onoro. This village is hidden by the nature of the ground, and placed in part on the foot of the little hill which the enemy possessed. I hoped to carry it and keep it—I attacked it, and it was soon occupied. The English General, who saw a part of his line cut off by the occupation of this important post, did not cease to throw in fresh troops, and he got possession of it.—The division Ferey, which was alone employed in this attack, had soon driven the enemy from the village. It lost in its turn; in fine, having seen it taken and retaken, I sustained the division with four battalions of reserve of the division Marchand, with the 6th corps, and the greater part of the village remained in our hands during the night. In the mean time they exchanged some cannon in the centre, and they disputed feebly some small posts; the village of Alameda remained with us.—On the 4th, at day-break, the enemy, extremely uneasy at the occupation of Fuentes d'Onoro, which opened us a débouché in the midst of their line, endeavoured in vain to retake it; they were warmly repulsed; they then filled with troops the avenues of the village, the rocks and walls that flanked it, and rendered by all sorts of means the entire occupation of the upper part of the village very difficult. Hence I saw that the advantage would cost the army too dear, and I employed myself in the dispositions necessary for a fresh attack. I reconnoitred carefully the flank of the enemy which were guarded by the cavalry and the militia of the country. I found an accessible ground between Nava de Aval and Posobello, and I resolved to direct the army thither. The orders were sent off in the evening, and the movements were executed during the night.—On the 5th, at day break, the army was placed as follows: the 1st and 2d divisions of the 6th corps in face of Posobello, having the 2d division of the 8th in reserve; all the cavalry of the army waited under the orders of General Montbrun, on the left of the infantry. The troops, placed opposite the right of the enemy, were destined to

turn and overthrow it. The 3d division of the 6th corps occupying a part of the village of Fuentes d'Onoro, and destined to attack it again, formed the centre with the 9th corps, which was in the rear and in reserve. On the right was the 2d corps, the first division of which leaned upon Almeida, and the 2d had been placed intermediately between that village and Fuentes d'Onoro. These corps of the army had orders to favour, by petty attacks, the grand movement of the army, and to manœuvre in such a manner as to unite with it in proportion as it gained ground upon the enemy. The village of Posobello, and the woods that flanked it were full of English infantry; they were vigorously attacked by the first division of the 6th corps, and carried by the bayonet. The enemy lost many killed and made prisoners. The three divisions marched in close columns by echelons on the village and its flanks. In the rear the enemy shewed a line of twenty squadrons, supported by several battalions of infantry and 12 pieces of cannon. General Montbrun manœuvred on my left, in a manner to gain the summit of the heights and the right of the enemy; he had to sustain several charges before he could gain it.—As soon as he had reached the summit, he charged in columns by regiments the enemy's cavalry, with the greatest success, and with extraordinary vigour. In spite of the artillery and the infantry concealed in the rocks, he overthrew successively these twenty English squadrons, and drove them more than a league before him. However, the 1st and 2d division of the 6th corps followed the movements of the cavalry in column, and a division of the 8th marched in reserve. The 9th corps advanced its left to connect itself with the grand attack. The 3d division of the 6th corps attacked the village of Fuentes d'Onoro warmly where the enemy threw in still considerable force to occupy that débouché, and cut off the communication between our centre and left. The enemy had his right routed, and the corps that composed it fled dispersed towards the centre, where they could unite again behind the English regiments that were coming in great haste from the left. The level on which we had just manœuvred is narrowest in this part. From this summit descend two ravines, very rocky and difficult, where the villages of Fuentes d'Onoro and Villa Formosa are. Lord Wellington filled these ravines with Tiralleurs, stationed on the back part of a good deal of artillery, and occupied the summit in three squares. Our cavalry having reached this point, fell vigorously on the squares, and broke them all. I then took up a position opposite the enemy's line. Before our infantry could arrive, the enemy had had time to cover the summit of the level with several lines of English infantry and a numerous artillery; they threw fresh troops into Fuentes d'Onoro, and strengthened also Villa Formosa on the right. The divisions of Ferey and Claparede attacked Fuentes d'Onoro vigorously, and drove the enemy several times from it; but as soon as they reached the summit, they were overwhelmed by the artillery. The English threw incessantly considerable reinforcements of their best troops, and attacked over the rocks that were upon their right flank; they lost 500 prisoners, and more than 800 killed, amongst whom are several officers and Scotch.—The ardour of the soldiers was unparalleled.—The army on this day, in which the whole honour of arms remained with them, took 100 men from the enemy, amongst whom are a Lieutenant-Colonel, and a great number of Officers, and killed and wounded upwards of 2,000. They overthrew and defeated their right wing, and gained more than league of ground from it. The enemy passed the night after the battle in entrenching strongly the summit of the level, they placed also epaulements on the ravines, and behind the rocks. In fine, they barricadoed the summit of the villages of Fuentes d'Onoro and Villa Formosa, drawing to their assistance all the resources of fortification against an attack by main force.—In order to be able to profit by the advantages of this day, I intend to approach Almeida.—Our loss has been 400 killed and wounded. Officers, generals, and soldiers, all fulfilled their duty with devotion and bravery. General of Division Montbrun, commanding the cavalry of the army, displayed on the 5th extreme skill in the manœuvres, a skill calculated to make the most of the intrepidity of the regiments under his orders. Generals Fourneer, Waltier, Lorcet, Maucune, Vicyey, and Col. Orharo of the 25th Dragoons, particularly distinguished themselves.—I shall have the honour to make known to you particularly the acts that signalized the 5th. M. de Sipteuil, your Highness's Aide de Camp, had his leg carried away by a cannon

ball. This brave and interesting young Officer was at the head of a charge of dragoons. He suffered amputation with much coolness, and is out of danger.—I am, with respectful devotion, your Highness's, &c. &c.

(Signed) Marshal Prince of ESSLING.
Camp of Fuentes d'Onoro, May 7.

DISTRICT OF THE ARMY OF THE SOUTH.

General Latour Maubourg, commanding the fifth corps of the army, reconnoitred on the 7th of April, early in the morning, the advanced posts of Beresford's army below Juramente; an English squadron was surprised. General Vellande took a hundred prisoners mounted, among others a Major; all of the 13th English regiment.—Badajoz is armed and provisioned for several months. Olivanza not being armed, the garrison retired at the approach of the army of Beresford, which entered it on the 15th, and found only 200 sick.—Lord Wellington came to reconnoitre Badajoz on the 22d. General Phillipin made a sortie with two battalions, and warmly repulsed him.—Blake, at the head of 8,000 Spaniards, forming the garrison of Cadiz, debarked at Ayamonte, to act in concert with Beresford.—The advanced guard of the reinforcements destined for the army of the South, arrived at Cardovo on the 22d. The Duke of Dalmatia had at that period united at Seville a reserve of 20,000 men, without having touched the troops besieging Cadiz, and without comprising the reinforcements that arrived, nor the 5th corps; which, under General Latour Maubourg, was on the frontiers of Estremadura, observing the allied armies.—The French artillery besieging Cadiz has found out the secret of firing bombs, which carry 3,025 toises, burst admirably, and whose fuse keeps extremely well during the whole of its passage.—The Duke of Treviso, whose health has suffered by the climate of Andalusia, is arrived at Madrid.

ARMY OF CATALONIA.

Campo Verde, commanding the Insurgents of Catalonia, having learnt at Tarragona the success inspired by the treason of Figueras, set off with eight thousand men, and proceeded against Olot. He wanted to raise en masse all Upper Catalonia; but he did not succeed. The Miquelets who had surprised Figueras, and garrisoned it, were the concentration of all the different bands. Since they had been surrounded in Figueras, the most respectable part of the country have had the upper hand. This state of things made the insurgents comprehend the necessity of raising the blockade of Figueras, and of strengthening the garrison, in order to restore those bands to their real service. Campo Verde sent a convoy of provisions on 1,200 mules; he reinforced himself with 3,000 men, and he appeared, on the 3d May, at 7 A. M. in the environs of Figueras; a column of 2,000 men appeared on the mountain north of Figueras, and attacked the advanced posts of the camp of Liers. The principal corps debouched on the side of Avignon, and reached the first houses of Figueras announcing the intention to get possession of the town.—General Baraguay d'Hilliers immediately made his dispositions. He left Colonel Petit to command the camp of Liers, and to repulse the attack of the enemy on that side. He reinforced the garrison of the town and those of the redoubts which supported the line of blockade, and he marched to Campo Verde with 4,000 men.—Whilst the insurgents attacked the town warmly, and were repulsed with enormous loss, General Baraguay d'Hilliers attacked them in flank and threw them into disorder. The Chasseurs of the 29th regiment, and a squadron of the 24th dragoons, overwhelmed the enemy and completed their rout. Two thousand made prisoners, among whom are 120 officers, 3,000 killed, four standards taken, and the convoy destined to revictual Fort Figueras remained in our power. Such are the results of this affair.—During the battle the English had debarked a column on the side of Rosas; but this column was kept in check by the garrison of the fort, and embarked precipitately after the disaster of Campo Verde, whose dispirited troops could not rally. We were made to hope that General Suchet, with the army of Aragon, having marched upon Tarragona, the wreck of Campo Verde's army would not be able to return to that place.—Our loss has been slight. Commandant Beasnono, Colonels Lanorque, &c. distinguished themselves.

PITT'S BIRTH DAY.

FROM THE VENAL PRINTS OF THE 28TH OF MAY, 1811.

Celebration of the Anniversary of the Birth-Day of the Illustrious and Immortal Pitt.

The Anniversary of the Birth-day of

that illustrious and ever to be lamented Statesman, the Right Hon. WILLIAM PITT, was yesterday celebrated at Merchant Taylors' Hall, by perhaps the most respectable company of Noblemen and Gentlemen that has ever on any similar occasion been witnessed. A mixture of solemnity and exultation was manifested on the occasion; the scene was most interesting and impressive, and the respectable assemblage looked towards the present Ministers, who surrounded the chair, as so many ELISHAS who had caught the mantle of ELIJAH, and were animated by his principles and impelled by his spirit. It was indeed most gratifying to the heart to witness and indulge, at the present moment, so ardent and general an impulse to manifest, by joining in a tribute to the memory of the immortal PITT, an unshaken attachment to those principles which have been so firmly established by that truly great man, to uphold the Crown and the Country, amidst the unparalleled shocks of the stormy and sometimes perilous periods we have witnessed, and to infuse into the body of the British Nation, a spirit and vigour, which, we trust, will secure it for ever against the designs of foreign invaders and domestic malcontents. The number of tickets issued was very judiciously confined to that which it was known the Hall could conveniently accommodate (about five hundred), but if five times the number of persons could have been accommodated, there had been applications to that amount. It was really a most sublime sight to the friends of the honour and independence of Britain, and the lovers of peace and good order in the state, as well as gratifying to the friends of the illustrious PITT, to see so numerous and respectable an assemblage, met together to identify themselves, as it were, with a Club, which will hereafter prove a rallying point for loyalty; to do honour to the memory of the man who saved the country; and to pledge themselves to adhere to the principles by which our salvation as a people, and as a nation, was effected.

The Hon. H. LASCELLES was in the chair—a circumstance which gave peculiar interest to the meeting; for it was this Gentleman who made the motion for paying MR. PITT's debts, when, after having so long and so faithfully served his country at the head of the Government, as Mr. FITZGERALD neatly observes in his Ode, he

"Who governed nations, left no wealth behind;"

who moved the erection of a monument to his memory, and a public funeral at the expence of the nation, and who officiated as chief mourner on that occasion; and the recollection of all this seemed for some time to make a deep impression on the company. The LORD CHANCELLOR was on his right, the Duke of MONTROSE, Master of the Horse, on his left, and the rest of the Ministers on both sides. An excellent Military Band attended, and continued to play during the evening.

After a most excellent dinner, *Non nobis Domine* was exquisitely sung by Messrs. INCLEDON, DIGNUM, TAYLOR, and several other singers of high repute. The following toasts were then given from the Chair:

"The King," with three times three.

This toast was drunk with enthusiastic cheers, which continued some minutes.

SONG—*God save the King*, by Messrs. INCLEDON, DIGNUM, &c. the whole company joining fervently in chorus.

"The Prince Regent;" also with three times three.

The applause which succeeded this toast was loud and long-continued, and the cheering ecstatic.

Song by Mr. DIGNUM—*The Prince and Old England for ever*.—Great applause.

"The Queen," with three.—Great and reiterated applause.

SONG—*Glorious Apollo*—three voices.

"The Princess of Wales," with three. —Great applause.

The next toast was received with a tumult of joy, viz.

"The Duke of York, and other Members of the Royal Family."

The applause which followed this toast was loud, unanimous, and ecstatic; and continued for some minutes.—The Band then struck up the "Duke of YORK's March," which was equally applauded.

SONG—*Great Apollo*—four voices.

The CHAIRMAN then addressed the company in a few words. He said he was about to give a toast dear to the heart of every true and loyal Briton, but which, from its nature, would, he was sure, be drunk in becoming and respectful silence:

"The Immortal Memory of the late Right Honourable William Pitt."

This was, as usual, drank in solemn reverential silence by the whole company.

Mr. DIGNUM then sung Mr. CANNING's song of *The Pilot that weather'd the Storm*, with some new stanzas appropriate to the present time. The toast and song produced an impression which it is impossible to describe.

"The Navy and Army of the United Kingdom;"—three times three.—Drank with enthusiasm, and followed by the song of Rule Britannia, most effectively sun by Mr. Incledon and others.

"The House of Brunswick; and may they never forget the principles which seated them on the Throne of these Realms."—Three times three, with great applause.

Glee—"When Order in this Land."

Toast—"The House of Braganza;" three times three.—Loud and reiterated applause.

The Marquis WELLESLEY returned thanks in the name of the Portuguese Ambassador, who, he said, had desired him to assure the company, that the principles of his Government were intimately connected with the objects of the present Meeting, which went to encourage and perpetuate a determined spirit of resistance to the tyranny and oppression of France.

"Ferdinand VII. and the Spanish Nation;"—three times three. Universal and long continued applause.

The Marquis WELLESLEY again rose. The Spanish Ambassador, he said, had requested him, in returning thanks in his name, to assure the Company that his Government were actuated by the same principles as those just expressed of the House of Braganza: that their resistance to French tyranny and usurpation would be interminable, and that they were confident the exertions of Spain, under the generous and powerful auspices of Great Britain, would ultimately prove successful against the utmost efforts of the common tyrant.

"The King of Naples and Sicily."—Drunk with great applause.

The Marquis WELLESLEY returned thanks in the name of the Sicilian Ambassador, who had requested him to assure the company that his Sovereign was determined never to swerve from the principle of resistance to the tyranny of France; and that notwithstanding some recent unfavourable appearances, his Court would ever, by its unshaken fidelity, prove itself worthy of the friendship and protection of Great Britain.

"The King of Sardinia;"—with applause.

"The Ministers of the Prince Regent;"—three times three. Drunk with rapturous applause, and loud enthusiastic cheering, which continued for several minutes.

The LORD CHANCELLOR rose to return thanks in behalf of the Ministry. It was a proud circumstance, he said, for him and his colleagues to merit the approbation and thanks of an assembly so distinguished for its rank, consequence, and respectability; but they felt that they deserved the high honour thus conferred on them, chiefly from their being actuated by a spirit immediately connected with the principles of the present Meeting. To follow the example of that truly great and virtuous man, the anniversary of whose birth they were now assembled to commemorate, must ever be their study and their pride; for in so doing they knew that they should tread in the path of one by whose principles and conduct the Constitution and independence of this Nation had been preserved. That Constitution, all must be sensible, secured to us the continuance of multiplied blessings, to which the people of all other countries were strangers, and he was persuaded that they would not risk their loss by any attempt to alter that form of government by means which they could alone be secured to us. It was by following the example of that truly great and immortal character, that we were enabled to effect our salvation, and bid defiance to the utmost efforts of our enemy. The ships of France had been swept from the ocean by our fleets, and were no longer to be found but in our ports, or bearing our flags. Where was now the commerce of France? It was entirely and effectually annihilated. Where were now her colonies? Safe under the sovereignty of Great Britain. Her armies also have repeatedly yielded to the superiority of our arms, and every day now brings forth a fresh and splendid triumph. We had not only effected our own security, but done much towards the salvation of other countries, and saved ourselves from the self reproach of not having used those exertions against the common tyrant, which had been attended with such great and signal success. The battles of Cressy and Agincourt found a parallel in some of the late splendid achievements of our arms. We had only to pursue the same course to raise our national fame and character still higher than it had ever been before, whilst under Providence, our exertions and our example might lead to the general deliverance of Europe. Neither time nor space will admit of our giving any more than this brief sketch of his Lordship's address.

which was warmly and universally applauded.

Toast—"May the principles of Mr. Pitt ever animate the Councils of Great Britain."—Drank with enthusiastic and long continued cheers.

Song—"Pitt the Patriot's name," by Mr. Dignum.

Toast—"The Right Hon. Spencer Perceval, and may his unshaken loyalty and exemplary attachment to his Sovereign, under circumstances of peculiar difficulty, be ever held in grateful remembrance," with three times three. Drunk amidst the most enthusiastic and rapturous applause, with loud cheering acclamations, which continued some minutes.

Mr. PERCEVAL, after reiterated peals of applause had subsided, rose, and said, that the toast which had just been given, and the manner in which it had been received had really overcome his feelings. To know that the exertions of himself and his colleagues had met with the approbation of his country, and of the highly respectable assembly to which he was then addressing himself, must be most grateful to their feelings: but when he referred to the particular services which were so flatteringly alluded to in the toast, he certainly could not arrogate to himself any merit in which all his colleagues did not fully participate; nor indeed ought the Administration collectively to claim any right to the applause which was now bestowed upon them for their conduct in the arduous crisis which had been referred to, because if that crisis had then occurred for the first time, it was probable that they might not have been able to contend against the many difficulties with which it was attended. But fortunately they were not left to their own judgment or opinion; for they had had the advantage of the example of that illustrious Statesman whose memory they were now commemorating, to guide them; they knew the sentiments by which he was influenced; they knew the principles upon which his conduct was governed; and therefore if their conduct was marked by a warm attachment to the rights of the Sovereign, and an inflexible adherence to the genuine principles of the Constitution, it was to that illustrious man, and not to them, that the praise was really due. He had the satisfaction of knowing that the conduct of the Administration in the crisis which had been alluded to, had met with the sanction of Parliament, and had since received the approbation of the country; and it must be most gratifying to their feelings to perceive from the manner in which the toast had been received, that their exertions met with the full support of an assembly composed of the friends of the illustrious Statesman, whose example they were proud to follow. The administration had not only the satisfaction of maintaining the genuine principles of the Constitution at the period alluded to, and defeating every effort of their opponents, but they had had the satisfaction of knowing that all the efforts which had been made to misrepresent their motives, and all the insinuations which have been thrown out that their exertions to maintain a great constitutional principle ought to be considered as indications of disrespect to the Heir Apparent, had proved vain. He had the satisfaction to reflect, that the care and attention which they had paid to the ease and circumstances of the Father, proved their best recommendation to the attention and indulgence of the Son; and it was with pride and happiness he observed, that the high dignity, the manly sentiments, and due sense of honour and justice which distinguished every act of the Illustrious Prince who now exercised the important functions of Royalty, held forth the most bright and cheering prospect of future glory and happiness to the nation. He concluded by declaring that it was the determination of the present Ministers to act upon the principles of Mr. PITT, whenever, considering the changes of times and circumstances, they could be acted upon; and he had no doubt that by so doing they should best discharge their duty to their country, and most effectually promote its interests.

GLEE—*The King and the Church.*

Toast—"Lord Wellington and the brave Army under his command," with three times three. Drank with loud and enthusiastic cheers, long continued and ecstatic acclamations, which made ring the very walls of the Hall.

The Marquis of WELLESLEY.—He said, that it was only by following the example of the immortal PITT, that this country had arrived at its present height of glory. He observed, that it was to the patronage and friendship of that great man alone, that Lord WELLINGTON had been afforded an opportunity of rendering service to his country; and concluded by stating, that but a few days before his death, when he was sensible that his illustrious spirit was

about to depart to its celestial abode, he observed, in contemplating the existing state of the country, whose welfare and happiness was the only care of his life, that his Noble Relative (Lord WELLINGTON) was one of those Officers to whom his successors might look with confidence for services calculated to produce permanent advantage to the State. (Great and reiterated applause.)

A new song upon our late victories was now finely sung by Mr. Taylor.

TOAST—"Marshal Beresford, and the brave Portuguese Army"—with three times three.—Warm, universal, and reiterated applause.

"General Graham and the heroes of Barrosa," with three times three—Drank with enthusiastic applause.

"General Blake, and the gallant Army of Spain,"—Universal and reiterated applause.

Song—*Britons strike home.*

TOAST—"The immortal memory of the Hero, whose glorious efforts in the service of his Country were called into action by Mr. Pitt—Lord Nelson."—In solemn silence.

Song—*Briton's best Bulwark.*

Toast—"The health of the Chairman," proposed by the Lord Chancellor, in a neat speech, and drank with the most unbounded applause, and long continued cheers.

Mr. LASCELLES returned thanks in a very elegant speech, which was rapturously applauded.

"The PITT CLUB, and success, prosperity, and permanent continuance to it," proposed by Mr. Perceval, and drank with enthusiasm and ecstatic acclamations. A Member returned thanks in an appropriate speech.

DISSENTERS' MEETING.

At a General Meeting of the Deputies appointed for protecting the civil rights of the Protestant Dissenters, held at the King's Head Tavern, in the Poultry, London, the 28th of May, 1811.

WILLIAM SMITH, Esq. M. P. in the Chair.

The Chairman made a report of the proceedings of the Committee upon Lord Sidmouth's Bill, lately brought into the House of Lords, intituled, "An Act to explain and render more effectual certain Acts of the first year of the reign of King William and Queen Mary, and of the 19th year of the reign of his present Majesty, so far as the same relate to Protestant Dissenting Ministers."

Resolved, That this Deputation, in conformity with the deep interest which they must always feel in every question affecting the civil and religious concerns of the Protestant Dissenters, do, in the names of those by whom they are deputed, offer to their brethren throughout the kingdom, their sincere congratulations on the rejection of the abovementioned Bill; and especially as connected with the opinion so generally expressed in the House of Lords, of the inexpediency and injustice of infringing on the liberty of the subject in religious matters.

Resolved, That the thanks of this Deputation be gratefully offered to the Marquis of Lansdowne, to Earl Stanhope, Earl Moira, Earl Grey; to Lord Holland, and to Lord Erskine, for their able and distinguished support of the cause of the Dissenters, and of the great and important principles of Religious Liberty, in the Debate on the Bill lately introduced by Lord Sidmouth into the House of Lords.

Resolved, That the thanks of this Deputation be given to all those Members of that Right Honourable House, who co-operated in rejecting the said Bill.

Resolved, That this Deputation are extremely happy in the opportunity of expressing their high satisfaction, at the just and liberal sentiments respecting the right of private judgment in religious matters, delivered in that debate by his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Resolved, That an Address to the Protestant Dissenters of England and Wales, now read, be approved.

Resolved, That the said Address be signed by the Chairman, and printed for general circulation.

(To be continued.)

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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"We have reason to believe, that the alarms had been excited and inflamed for the special purpose "of checking the disposition of the country in favour of reform, and of calumniating the characters "of those who promoted it."——Address from the FRIENDS OF THE PEOPLE, 25th May, 1793.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.——The long-expected Meeting for the prosecution of this great object is to take place on Monday next, the 10th of June, and, therefore, this seems to me to be a proper occasion for making some observations upon the subject.——It is one of the means used by the enemies of Reform to represent it as something *newly thought of;* something that nobody of any weight or consequence in the country ever thought of; something that has existence only in the minds of demagogues and visionaries.——I have, therefore, in this Number, inserted two documents, in which, from the present conduct of some men, one would hardly believe in the existence. I mean, the Address of the "*Friends of the People*" to the *People of Great Britain,* in 1792; and the Petition of the same Association to the House of Commons, in 1793. These documents originated with, and were put forth by, some of the men, who still make a figure in politics; for instance, the Duke of Bedford (then Lord J. Russell), Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Whitbread, Earl Grey (then Mr. Grey), Mr. Tierney, Lord Lauderdale, Sir Arthur Pigot, Mr. Dudley North, General Tarleton, Sir Ralph Milbank, and many others, amongst whom were 27 Members of Parliament, and of the other Gentlemen not in Parliament, *Sir John Throckmorton,* who is the Chairman of the Committee for calling the present Meeting, was one. And, as to the *Petition,* it was presented to the House of Commons by MR. GREY, now Earl Grey.——Let the reader, then, when he has gone through these documents, ask himself, whether the representation has been *amended since that time;* and, if he finds that *it has,* then he will, of course, be of opinion, that reform may possibly be unnecessary; but, if he finds that *it has not,* and if he thinks that the facts brought to light by *Mr. Maddocks,* on the memorable 11th of May, 1809, together with the decision of the House upon the motion then made by that gentleman; if the reader thinks, that these are proofs of the contrary of amendment, then he must say, that there is more necessity of reform now, than there was in 1793; and he will, of course, have a right to ask Earl Grey, Mr. Tierney, and others, what can be the reason of their present silence upon the subject; and, indeed, how it came to pass, that they did nothing in the way of reform, *when they were in place and power.*——But, let us now go back a little and see what have been the effects, or, at least, some of the effects, of the want of reform.——For many years previous to 1792, there had been a conviction in the minds of all disinterested men, that a reform of the Commons' House of Parliament was necessary to the well-being of the nation. This had been declared, in the most solemn manner, by many of the greatest men in the kingdom. Indeed, there was scarcely a man distinguished for his superior wisdom and public spirit who had not declared it. But, in 1792, when the French Revolution had set men's minds at work, it became more evident, that something in the way of reform was necessary, in order to prevent the people of England from seeking for redress through the means of *revolution,* as the people of France had done.——The subject was, therefore, revived with great zeal and ability by the Society of Gentlemen, who took the name of "Friends of the People, associated for "the purpose of procuring a Parliamentary Reform." At the same time, there were other Societies; the Society for Constitutional Information; the Corresponding Society; and some others, the object of the whole of which appears to have been the procuring of a reform in the Commons' House, and upon the same principles as those set forth in the Petition of the Friends of the People.——PITT, the Minister, who had been one of

the loudest in the cause of Reform, and who had, by that very means, gained the popularity that enabled him to retain his place as Minister in spite of the Aristocracy, was now become the enemy of that cause; and was disposed to do all that lay in his power against it. But, the cause was now more formidable than it had ever been before. The French, a people who had always been, by the English, considered as slaves, had now declared themselves *free;* they had abolished the feudal system in France, and all the artificial inequalities amongst men; they had curtailed the power of their sovereign, and, from an absolute despot, had reduced him to a first magistrate with known and determinate powers.——This was a change that could not fail to produce great effect upon the minds of Englishmen, and especially as the French, in their new constitution, had proceeded upon the principles of the English constitution, those very principles for which the Reformers had been so long contending in vain. The French people had declared, and it had become a fundamental law of France, that *no man should be taxed without his own consent;* that this consent should be given by *representatives;* and that, in the choosing of these representatives, *every man who paid taxes should have a voice.* This was the grand point, for which the Reformers in England had been so long contending; and, for which they had so long contended in vain against the Borough patronage and influence.——It was no wonder, therefore, that they hailed the French Revolution; that they applauded it; that they discovered a strong partiality for the persons engaged in it; and that they endeavoured by all the means in their power, to assist and uphold the cause of the Revolutionists in France, which cause, for a length of time, was the cause of the Reformers in England.——The ministry in England, and the whole of the Borough faction, could not fail to be alarmed at this. It was, indeed, quite clear, that one of these things must take place: 1. such a Parliamentary Reform as would satisfy the people of England; 2. A revolution like that which had taken place in France, or even of a more republican cast; or, 3. A suppression of the Reformers, which necessarily included a war against France, because while a communication with France was left open, to suppress the reformers would manifestly be impossible.——The 3rd was adopted by PITT and his colleagues; and, of the consequences we are now tasting, and our children's children will taste.——That this was the real source of the war there can be no doubt in the mind of any man of sense, who looks back to what passed in the years 1792 and 1793. There unquestionably was, on the part of the French revolutionists, the most ardent desire to remain at peace and upon good terms with England. The proofs of this are so clear and convincing, that it is impossible for any man, capable of judging, to entertain a doubt upon the subject. They put up with slights and affronts of all sorts from our government; and did not, at last, declare war 'till after they saw that it was resolved on that they should not have peace upon any terms.——The king of France, who was put to death in January, 1793, and who assuredly owed his death, at that time, to the conduct of those who called themselves his friends, had sent a Minister to England, and this Minister was *sent out of the country* by order of the government in that same month of January. After this it was impossible that war could be avoided. Indeed, it was, in most respects, war before; for, there was an *Alien Act* and an *Act against passing French assignats,* long previous to the sending away of the French Minister. And, in short, it was as clear as daylight, that the government of England was resolved not to be upon friendly terms with the revolutionary government of France.——And *why* not? Why, the reason alledged was, that, if we had peace and a free communication with France, there would be also a communication of *French principles.* This was openly avowed; and, not only in newspapers and pamphlets, but in speeches in parliament, the war was asserted to be absolutely necessary upon this ground. Upon this ground, the war was justified; and, indeed, every act of the government, whether affecting the liberty of speech and the press, or liberty in any other way, was defended upon this same ground: that is to say, as being absolutely necessary *to keep out French principles.*——What need was there so to dread these French principles? Were they so amiable? Were they so very bewitching? What should induce Englishmen to run so eagerly after these French principles? After principles taught by a nation whom the English had always despised. If I am

told that the principles were absurd and yet dangerous, that is no answer to my question; nor does it render the question less necessary; for, the more absurd the principles, the greater must be the wonder that the people of England should have been so enamoured of them. And, if I am told, that it was only a small and contemptible part of the people of England who were enamoured of these principles, I ask how it then came to be necessary to enter into *a war* to keep out these principles?——The truth is, that the French revolution had awakened the cause of Reform in England; the boldness of the French Revolutionists offered an example to the Reformers in England, and their success held out the strongest encouragement. The communication which took place between the English Reformers and the National assemblies of France, while it failed not to urge on the former to new efforts, clearly showed that nothing but a war with France could prevent *reform* or a *revolution* in England. This communication was direct, open, and without the smallest disguise, and the parties spoke in a language that no one could misunderstand; but, if a reform had been granted in England, there does not appear the smallest reason to suppose that any danger to the kingly office here would have arisen from a communication with France.——But, it was resolved not to grant this reform; and, in order to put its advocates to silence, a war against France was necessary. To enter upon this war, however, without plausible grounds, was not adviseable. It was expected, indeed, to be a sort of *holiday* war; a sort of *jubilee* campaign or two; but, it might possibly be otherwise; and, as the people in general were very averse from war, it required some time to prepare them for it, and also some favouring events.——When, therefore, the Reformers began to appear in considerable strength, and it was seen that their addresses and other publications produced great effect in the minds of the people, a cry was set up, on the other side, against *Republicans* and *Levellers*, who aimed at the *destruction of Liberty* and *Property*, under the pretence of seeking for A REFORM IN PARLIAMENT. PAINE, whose powerful pen was converting millions to his principles, was prosecuted as a libeller and out-lawed; and, such dread had his writings inspired, that, in May 1792, a PROCLAMATION was issued, which had the suppression of those writings particularly, if not solely, in view. *Hundreds of writers* had appeared against him; but, though all these asserted, that *they* had *truth* on their side, their writings were unavailing; the people were so perverse as still to *read* Paine, and, notwithstanding that it was asserted, that he was a contemptible wretch, and his works full of gross falshoods and ignorance, it was thought safest *to prohibit the reading of them*, and to leave the people at full liberty to read the writings of his *answerers*. This was thought safest, and, therefore, this course was adopted.——But, there was a something in this proceeding that did not contribute much towards the producing of conviction that PAINE was wrong; and especially as it was remembered, that the controversy did not *originate* with him, but with his opponent, BURKE, who had, without any apparent provocation, written and published a severe attack upon the French Revolution, and all those who had taken a share in it. In *answer* to this attack, PAINE wrote his famous work, the "RIGHTS OF MAN;" and, BURKE *replied*, from his seat in the House of Commons, where he recommended his Antagonist to the care of the *Attorney General*, who was then Sir JOHN SCOTT, now lord Eldon, and who *answered* Paine in an eloquent and convincing little publication, called an INFORMATION EX-OFFICIO, to which the latter did not choose to stay to offer a rejoinder. PAINE went to France, and here was a striking instance of what was apprehended; namely, that while the communication with France was open, it would be impossible to put a stop to, or to check, the propagation of opinions dangerous to the system in England.——The proceedings in France favoured the views of the Anti-Jacobins in England (for that was the name that the *enemies of reform* afterwards assumed;) the King, who had become suspected and odious from the conduct of those who professed to be fighting *for him* against the people, or part of the people in France, and especially from the menaces of the Duke of Brunswick, was dethroned in August 1792, and put to death in the next January, the nation having, in the interim, been declared a *Republic*. This was held to be a *confirmation* of the charge against the *reformers*; and, as great alarm had been excited in the country, amongst weak minded people, who are always the most numerous, to speak any longer of *reform* was to speak of *republicanism*, and to wish for the overthrow of all order, law, rank, and property.——

The industry that was made use of to raise this *alarm* is incredible. The people were told all sorts of stories. Plots and conspiracies were talked of. In some parts of the country it was believed, that the Levellers were actually upon the eve of coming into the towns and villages to divide the property of the rich amongst the poor. The people were induced to arm and accoutre themselves. And all this from no other earthly cause than the dread which the Anti-Jacobins had of a *Reform of Parliament,* that very reform, which Pitt himself had asserted to be absolutely necessary *to the very existence of the nation as an independent state,* an assertion the truth or falsehood of which we are now in a fair way of seeing ascertained and proved to the whole world; for those are weak politicians indeed, who imagine that the "*Victories*" which we are now gaining in the Peninsula have *any tendency* at all to *decide* the contest between France and us. ——Here we are, then, at the end of *an eighteen years war!* Here we are, with six hundred millions added to our national Debt; with the annual interest of that Debt swelled from *nine* millions to *thirty-five* millions; with our taxes augmented from *fifteen* millions to *seventy* millions; with our *gold and silver* converted into *paper,* which paper has, even in the House of Commons, been declared to be worth no more than *fifteen shillings and ten pence* in the pound; with our paupers trippled in number, and with a commerce and with manufactories said to be perishing.——Here we are, then: such is our state at the end of an eighteen years war against Republicans, Jacobins, Levellers, and Reformers of all sorts and sizes.——I pass over the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus Act* for so many years, the trials of MR. TOOKE and others for *high treason,* all the restraints upon *the press* and upon the use *of speech;* these I pass over; these the Anti-jacobin will look upon as a great blessing; but, will he say the same of the *income tax?* If he has place, or pension, or any means whereby he gets a share of the taxes, he will; because he, in fact, by such means, gains instead of losing; but; if he be a *fool* Anti-jacobin; a gull Anti-jacobin; then the ten per cent. taken from his income will have some weight with him; and, if it has, I beg him to bear in mind, that the income tax was an invention of PITT, and that it arose out of the war waged against the Jacobins and Levellers.—The "*Friends of the People,*" after they had presented their petition to the House of Commons, in May, 1793, published an address to the nation, in which was contained the passage taken for my motto; and, there can be no doubt at all, that the *alarm,* at that time existing in the country, had been excited and inflamed for the purpose of *checking the progress of reform* and *calumniating the characters of its promoters.* I shall be told, perhaps, that this was a very *laudable* purpose; for, that, if a parliamentary reform had taken place, it would have *ruined the country.* But, how is the country now? What state has it been placed in by the *refusal of reform?* Is it now in a *good* situation? Is it happy and safe? Are there no apprehensions for its security against enemies of any sort?——Reader, when do you read a debate; when do you read a trial for libel; when do you read about any measure of war expenditure, without seeing it stated, that we are now *contending for our very existence as a nation?* Everlastingly are we told of the *crisis* in which we are; the *crisis of our fate;* our *awful situation.* This is the language we continually hear. Well, then, this is the situation, in which we have been placed by the war. New laws of treason; laws about *sedition;* laws upon laws laying restraints upon the press. Ask the cause. Oh! they are *necessary* in these *critical* times for the *safety* of the country. Complain of the enormous load of taxes. They are *necessary* to the *safety* of the country. Why, if this be true, then, the state of England is changed since this war began. The war against Jacobins and Levellers has not insured its safety. It is not pretended that the Jacobins and Levellers have any power. They never had any in England, except with their tongues and pens; and, in France, they have been totally destroyed by "*Regular Government* and *Social Order.*" What, then, are you afraid of? Why not do away the laws intended for the *crisis?* Why, sure, you are *safe* now? Who, or what, is it that you fear *now?* What is it, in short, that makes the *crisis?*

Very much puzzled would any Anti-Jacobin be to answer me these questions. He has seen the Jacobins and Levellers overthrown and destroyed, and yet he is as much afraid as ever.——I shall be told, perhaps, that whatever the situation of the country may be, it is *better* than it would have been if *reform of parliament* had been granted in 1793. To be sure, it is not possible to say precisely what would

have been the situation of the country if reform had been granted in 1793; but, it is fair to presume, I think, that a course the contrary of that which has been pursued would have produced contrary effects, or, at least, that it might have done so. What *worse* could have happened than that which has happened, it would, I think, puzzle any man to imagine. Where is there a Prince in Europe, formerly our ally, who could have *lost more* or suffered *greater* disgrace, than every Prince in Europe, our ally, has lost and suffered? How could the *Reformers*, if they had obtained their ends, have put Europe more completely into the hands of France than it now is? Could they have laid more or heavier taxes upon the people of England? Could they have cut out prettier work for the Bullion Committee? Could they have made gold and silver more scarce?——I shall be told, perhaps, that they would have done worse than all this, for that they would have delivered up the country to the enemy.—It is useless to oppose assertion by assertion, or, I would say, that they would not have done it. But, *why* is it to be *supposed* that they would have done this? Where is the *reason* for it? The very worst that was said of them was, that they resembled the Jacobins and Levellers of France; and, the Jacobins and Levellers of France did not *give up their country* to the enemy, though the Princes of the blood royal, the nobility, the generals, and the admirals, all went off and left them to defend the country themselves, without army, without navy, without government, and without law. In this state they did a great many foolish and horrid acts; but they did not *give up their country to the enemy*; but, on the contrary, they met their scores of enemies almost with their bare [illegible] they resisted, they overcame, t[illegible] they finally conquered those [illegible] Numerous were their follies [illegible] crimes; but never did they, for one moment, let fall a word that seemed to say it was possible for them to *give up their country to the enemy.* So, then, if the charge against the Reformers was true, that they were like the Jacobins and Levellers of France, and would act like them, it follows, of course, that they would have defended England in case of her being attacked; that they would have subdued those who had dared to attack her; and that they would have raised the glory of their country far higher than it ever was before.——But, in talking about *giving up the country to the enemy*, we have forgotten there might, in the case of reform, have been *no enemy* to give the country up to. If a reform had taken place the reformers would, of course, have been contented, and, consequently, would have wanted no *enemy* to subdue their country. "Aye, "b[illegible] give them an inch and they will [illegible] an ell. They would not have stopped with a reform of parliament. They would have had a *republic.*"——I do not believe this; but, suppose it to be true, it makes nothing for the argument; for, having formed their country into a republic there would have been the less reason for their being at war with the republicans of France. Indeed, upon that supposition, it is downright absurdity to talk of an enemy, seeing that there would not have been the smallest chance of war; and, if a war had, under such circumstances, taken place, it is impossible to conceive a motive for giving the country up to the enemy; for, more than a *republic* the reformers could not have got.——But, though this should be conceded to me, it may be said, that, if the reformers had got power, they would have *taken the property from the rich and given it to the poor,* as was done in France.——It is strange what notions people imbibe upon this score for the want of a little reflection; for, it requires but a very little indeed to convince them, that this is what never can be done. In the first place, for men in power to wish to do this there is no reason whatever; there is no motive for it; and, if it were done, it would answer no *levelling* purpose, because the poor would merely change places with the rich. It is *possible*, indeed, to take the large estates and parcel them out in the way of donations to the people at large; but, if this were practicable, and if it had been done by the Reformers, that, at any rate, would not have *ruined* the people, and the *common people* would have had no reason to complain. Such an idea is, however, most grossly absurd. It is what was never attempted by the wildest of republicans. In France they seized upon the *royal domains* and upon the *estates of the Church* and of the *Emigrant Nobility,* who were at war against France; they seized upon these and sold them; but, those who remained in France continued and still continue to possess their property. And, if this was the case in France, during so terrible a convulsion as there took place,

what ground is there to suppose, that the reformers in England, if they had obtained power, would have acted *worse*, and especially if you reflect, that they would have had nothing to annoy and provoke them?——Those who have an interest in preventing a reform in the parliament always affect to look upon the reformers as men who *have nothing*. It is false; but, for argument's sake, let it be so; and then point me out an instance where they have *rejected* the co-operation of the nobility and gentry of the kingdom. Point me out an instance, where they have failed to demonstrate their pleasure at seeing such persons engaged in the cause. Point me out an instance where they have failed to show their gratitude to the full extent for any aid that they have received from such persons. And, surely, if wisdom were the guide of the noblemen and gentlemen of England, they would put themselves at the *head* of the reformers. The thing would, then, soon be done, and where would, in that case, be the danger to property?——This would be the natural course of things. All would then be in their proper place. Nothing need be destroyed or impaired but that which is an injury and a dishonour to the nation. The people, if they were to obtain a reform of parliament, would, notwithstanding all that has passed, never complain of their hardships. They would tug heartily on to the end of the war; and, an *end* to the war there would then be; but, now, who can say, that he sees the *possibility* of putting an end to the war? Our internal state is known full as well to our enemy as it is to ourselves. This great cause of the people of England is as well understood by him as by any of us; and, while it remains unsuccessful, he will, I am convinced, never again be disposed for peace. It is not a battle or fifty battles, in Spain and Portugal, that will put an end to this war. Such battles, even suppose them to terminate in *real* victories, have not, and will never have, the smallest influence upon the contest in general. Napoleon is now at war for the soil of England and Ireland; and, when such is his object, of what import are the battles of Almeida and of Badajoz? A fifth or a sixth part of his army is sent to give employment to the whole of the force that we can spare from our shores. Leopards are destroyed by hanging kettles of food upon the lower limbs of trees, at which they keep jumping 'till they drop down exhausted, when the shepherds run in and end them with their clubs. The building of one French ship at Antwerp, or any where else in the ports of the French empire, is of more consequence to Napoleon than ten battles in Spain. *Time* is always working for him, and against us. The people of his empire have no fears to distract them; they are in no *crisis*; they are in perfect safety; his affairs do not press; every day his situation is improving; the longer the war in the peninsula the better for him.——Is this our state? It is notoriously the contrary. When Mr. Baring speaks of the necessity of contracting our expenditure, he does not say *how* it is to be done. It is to be done by diminishing the *paid* force, and by putting arms into the hands of all the people, and by relieving the government from the necessity of yielding to greedy demands. In this way, and in this way only, is a reduction in the Expenditure to take place, and whether this mode of retrenchment can be adopted without a Parliamentary Reform I leave the reader to judge.——A reform in the Commons House of Parliament is as much the cause of the king and his family as it is the cause of the people. They are all alike interested in it; and, I trust, it is not too much to hope, that his Royal Highness, the Prince, who has never yet shewn himself an enemy to it, will, whenever the occasion offers, shew himself to be its most cordial, as he may be its most powerful, friend.

WM. COBBETT.

State Prison, Newgate, Tuesday, 4th June, 1811.

From the Friends of the People, [illegible]th April, 1811.

ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF GREAT BRITAIN.

No man, who is not ready to express his concurrence in our principles, by signing the Declaration, can be admitted into our Society. The objects of it, as we conceive, are of a nature at all times fit to be pursued and recommended to the country. At different periods they have heretofore been avowed and supported by the highest authorities in this kingdom;— by eminent individuals, and considerable bodies of men; by Mr. Locke and Judge Blackstone; by the late Earl of Chatham and Sir George Saville; by the Duke of Richmond, the Marquis of Lansdowne,

Mr. Pitt, and Mr. Fox; by petitions from several counties, and by repeated declarations from the city of London.—In appealing to the avowed opinions of men of established reputation, or of distinguished rank in their country, we do not mean to strengthen the reason, or enforce the necessity of the measure we propose, so much as to obviate all personal imputations, which the enemies of the cause will be ready to throw upon those who support it. It is not that, on our own account, we dread the effect, or regard the impression, which such imputations may produce; but we think it material to the credit and success of our proceedings, to shew that we are not aiming at reforms unthought of by wise and virtuous men: that our opinions neither possess the advantage, nor are liable to the objection of novelty; and that we cannot be accused or suspected of factious purposes or dangerous designs, without extending the same accusation or suspicion to the motives of men whose situation and property, independent of their character, principles, and abilities, have given them a most important stake in the peace and good government of the kingdom.

Convinced by our own reflections, by experience, and by authority, that the thing we propose to do is fit to be done, we have, with equal deliberation, weighed the reasons that may recommend or be objected to the present time, as the most or least proper for bringing it forward. On this point, we have no address to make to the determined enemies of a reform of every kind. Their objection, whether valid or not, is to the substance of the measure, and cannot be abated by circumstances. To those who concur generally in the principle, but who may be inclined, by particular reasons, to defer the attempt, we seriously wish to submit the following considerations:—That admitting this to be a season of general tranquillity in the country, it is, on that account, the more proper for temperate reflection and prudent exertions, to accomplish any necessary improvement; it is the time when practical measures for that purpose are most likely to be adopted with discretion, and pursued with moderation. If we are persuaded to wait for other times, of a different complexion, for times of public complaint, or general discontent, we shall then be told, that general remedies are not fit to be proposed in the moment of particular disorder, and that it is our duty to wait for the return of quiet days, unless we mean to create or increase confusion in the country. The re- this dilemma, if it be suffered to , is pure and absolute inactivity at t, and for ever. On the other if it be true, as we are convinced it at, in this general appearance of uillity, there is some mixture of disnt, as well as of strong and well-grounded opinion, on the subject of abuses in the government and corruptions of the constitution, we wish it to be considered by men, whose judgment has been formed or enlightened by experience, and whose actions are most likely to be directed by prudence, whether, in taking proper measures to remove the cause and objects of such discontent of opinion, the choice of the time be not a material part of the measure; and whether the earliest time that can be taken, for preventing the increase of an existing evil, be not the safest and the best?

The example and situation of another kingdom, are held out to deter us from innovations of any kind. We say, that the reforms we have in view, are not innovations. Our intention is, not to change, but to restore; not to displace, but to re-instate the constitution upon its true principles and its original ground. In the conduct of persons most likely to reproach us with a spirit of innovation, we see a solid ground for retorting the imputation. Their professions of admiration of the beauty, and of zeal for the security of the constitution, appear to us too lavish to be sincere, especially when compared with those practical violations with which they suffer this beautiful system to be invaded, and to which they never refuse to give their concurrence. They will not innovate,—but they are no enemies to gradual decay; as if the changes insensibly produced by time, and nourished by neglect, were not in effect the most dangerous innovations. But what security have we, that the dispositions of such men are not something worse than passive? How are we assured that, in praising the constitution, their intention is not to adorn a victim which they wish to sacrifice, or to flatter the beauty they are endeavouring to corrupt? Let their intention be what it may, we answer their accusation in the words of one of the wisest of mankind:*

* Lord Bacon.

"That time is the greatest innovator; and if time, of course, alter things for the worse, and if wisdom and counsel shall not alter them for the better, what shall be the end?"

By the reform proposed by Lord Chatham*, he declared in the House of Lords, that he meant *to infuse a portion of new health into the constitution.* The Duke of Richmond has declared†, that "his sons, in favour of a parliamentary reform were formed on the experience of twenty-six years; which, whether in or out of government, had equally convinced him, that the restoration of a genuine House of Commons, by a renovation of the rights of the people, was the only remedy against that system of corruption which had brought the nation to disgrace and poverty, and threatened it with the loss of liberty."

Other authorities in favour of a parliamentary reform, as direct and explicit as these, might be quoted in abundance. The public is possessed of them. We rather wish to encounter, because we are sure we can efface, in every rational mind, the impression, which may have been made by a view of those events which have attended a total change in the constitution of France. We deny the existence of any resemblance whatever between the cases of the two kingdoms; and we utterly disclaim the necessity of resorting to similar remedies.—We do not believe that, at this day, an absolute avowed despotism in the hands of the executive power, would be endured in this country. But who can say to what conclusion the silent unresisted operation of abuses, incessantly acting, and constantly increasing, may lead us hereafter! what habits it may gradually create! What power it may finally establish! The abuses in the government of France were suffered to gather and accumulate, until nothing but an eruption could put an end to them. The discontent of the people was converted into despair. Preventive remedies were either not thought of in time, or were not proposed until it was too late to apply them with effect. The subversion of the ancient government ensued. The inference from this comparison is at once so powerful and so obvious, that we know not by what argument to illustrate or enforce it. We mean to avert for ever from our country the calamities inseparable from such convulsions. If there be, as it is said, in any part of this kingdom, a disposition to promote confusion, or even to arrive at improvement by unconstitutional and irregular courses, we hold ourselves as strictly pledged to resist that disposition, wherever it may appear, as to pursue our objects by unexceptionable methods. If, on the contrary, it be true that the mass of the people are satisfied with the present state of things, or indifferent about it; if they approve of the representation as it stands, the form of election, and the duration of the trust; or if, condemning these things, they are determined, from indolence or despair, not to attempt to correct them,—then indeed the efforts of individuals may be ineffectual, but they cannot be injurious to the peace of the community. If the spirit of the constitution be dead in the hearts of the people, no human industry can revive it.—To affirm that extensive mischief may be done by a statement of facts or arguments which make no general impression on the public mind, is a proposition that contradicts itself, and requires no other refutation. We trust it will be proved by experiment, that these inconsistent assertions are equally unfounded, and that the people of this country are no more disposed to submit to abuses without complaint, than to look for redress in any proceedings repugnant to the laws, or unwarranted by the constitution. Between anarchy and despotism, speaking for ourselves, we have no choice to make; we have no preference to give. We neither admit the necessity, nor can we endure the idea of resorting to either of these extremities as a refuge from the other. The course we are determined to pursue, is equally distant from both.

Finally, we assert, what it must be blindness not to see, and treachery not to acknowledge,

That "* the instruments of power are not perhaps so open and avowed as they formerly were, and therefore are the less liable to jealous and invidious reflections; but they are not the weaker upon that account. In short, our national debts and taxes have, in their natural consequences, thrown such a weight of power into the executive scale of government, as not think was intended by our patriot ancestors, who gloriously struggled for

* Jan. 22, 1770. † Jan. 17, 1783.

* Blackstone.

the abolition of the then formidable parts of the prerogative, and by an unaccountable want of foresight, established this system in their stead." Our general object is to recover and preserve the true balance of the constitution.

These are the principles of our Association, and on our steady adherence to them, we look with just confidence to the approbation and support of the people in the prosecution of our object. A measure, so likely to be opposed by the united strength of various interests, can never succeed but by the declared and hearty concurrence of the nation.

Resolved unanimously, That a motion be made in the House of Commons, at an early period in the next session of parliament, for introducing a Parliamentary Reform.

Resolved unanimously, That Charles Grey, Esq. be requested to make, and the Hon. Thomas Erskine to second, the above motion.

Signed by the unanimous order of this Meeting.—W. H. LAMBTON, Chairman.

Authentic Copy of a Petition praying for a Reform in Parliament, presented to the House of Commons by Charles Grey, *Esq on Monday,* 6th *May,* 1793 *; and signed only by the Members of the Society of the Friends of the People, associated for the Purpose of obtaining a Parliamentary Reform.*

To the Honourable the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament assembled.

Sheweth,

That by the form and spirit of the British constitution, the king is vested with the sole executive power.

That the House of Lords consists of lords spiritual and temporal, deriving their titles and consequence either from the crown, or from hereditary privileges.

That these two powers, if they acted without controul, would form either a despotic monarchy, or a dangerous oligarchy.

That the wisdom of our ancestors hath contrived, that these authorities may be rendered not only harmless, but beneficial, and be exercised for the security and happiness of the people.

That this security and happiness are to be looked for in the introduction of a third estate, distinct from, and a check upon the other two branches of the legislature; created by, representing, and responsible to the people themselves.

That so much depending upon the preservation of this third estate, in such its constitutional purity and strength, your Petitioners are reasonably jealous of whatever may appear to vitiate the one, or to impair the other.

That at the present day the House of Commons does not fully and fairly represent the people of England, which, consistently with what your Petitioners conceive to be the principles of the constitution, they consider as a grievance, and therefore, with all becoming respect, lay their complaints before your honourable House.

That though the terms in which your petitioners state their grievance may be looked upon as strong, yet your honourable House is intreated to believe that no expression is made use of for the purpose of offence.

Your Petitioners in affirming that your honourable House is not an adequate representation of the people of England, do but state a fact, which, if the word "Representation" be accepted in its fair and obvious sense, they are ready to prove, and which they think detrimental to their interests, and contrary to the spirit of the constitution.

How far this inadequate representation is prejudicial to their interests, your Petitioners apprehend they may be allowed to decide for themselves; but how far it is contrary to the spirit of the constitution, they refer to the consideration of your honourable House.

If your honourable House shall be pleased to determine that the people of England ought not to be fully represented, your petitioners pray that such your determination may be made known, to the end that the people may be apprized of their real situation; but if your honourable House shall conceive that the people are already fully represented, then your petitioners beg leave to call your attention to the following facts:

Your Petitioners complain, that the number of representatives assigned to the different counties is grossly disproportioned to their comparative extent, population, and trade.

Your Petitioners complain, that the elective franchise is so partially and unequally distributed, and is in so many instances committed to bodies of men of such very limited numbers, that the ma-

jority of your honourable House is elected by less than fifteen thousand electors, which, even if the male adults in the kingdom be estimated at so low number as three millions, is not more than the two hundredth part of the people to be represented.

Your Petitioners complain, that the right of voting is regulated by no uniform or rational principle.

Your Petitioners complain, that the exercise of the elective franchise is only renewed once in seven years.

Your Petitioners thus distinctly state the subject matter of their complaints, that your honourable House may be convinced that they are acting from no spirit of general discontent, and that you may with the more ease be enabled to enquire into the facts, and to apply the remedy.

For the evidence in support of the first complaint, your Petitioners refer to the return book of your honourable House.—Is it fitting, that Rutland and Yorkshire should bear an equal rank in the scale of county representation; or can it be right, that Cornwall alone should, by its extravagant proportion of Borough members, outnumber not only the respresentatives of Yorkshire and Rutland together, but of Middlesex added to them? Or, if a distinction be taken between the landed and the trading interests, must it not appear monstrous that Cornwall and Wiltshire should send more borough members to parliament, than Yorkshire, Lancashire, Warwickshire, Middlesex, Worcestershire and Somersetshire united? and that the total representation of all Scotland should but exceed by one member, the number returned for a single county in England?

The second complaint of your Petitioners is founded on the unequal proportions in which the elective franchise is distributed, and in support of it,

They affirm, that seventy of your honourable members are returned by thirty five places, where the right of voting is vested in burgage and other tenures of a similar description, and in which it would be to trifle with the patience of your honourable House, to mention any number of voters whatever, the elections at the places alluded to being notoriously a mere matter of form. And this your Petitioners are ready to prove.

They affirm that in addition to the seventy honourable members so chosen, ninety more of your honourable members are elected by forty-six places, in none of which the number of voters exceeds fifty. And this your Petitioners are ready to prove.

They affirm, that in addition to the hundred and sixty so elected, thirty-seven more of your honourable members are elected by nineteen places, in none of which the number of voters exceeds one hundred. And this your Petitioners are ready to prove.

They affirm, that in addition to the hundred and ninety-seven honourable members so chosen, fifty-two more are returned to serve in parliament, by twenty-six places, in none of which the number of voters exceeds two hundred. And this your Petitioners are ready to prove.

They affirm, that in addition to the two hundred and forty-nine so elected, twenty more are returned to serve in parliament for counties in Scotland by less than one hundred electors each, and ten for counties in Scotland by less than two hundred and fifty each. And this your Petitioners are ready to prove, even admitting the validity of fictitious votes.

They affirm, that in addition to the two hundred and seventy-nine so elected, thirteen districts of burghs in Scotland, not containing one hundred voters each, and two districts of burghs, not containing one hundred and twenty-five each, return fifteen more honourable members. And this your Petitioners are ready to prove.

And in this manner, according to the present state of the representation, two hundred and nine-four of your honourable members are chosen, and, being a majority of the entire House of Commons, are enabled to decide all questions in the name of the whole people of England and Scotland.

The third complaint of your Petitioners is founded on the present complicated rights of voting. From the caprice with which they have been varied, and the obscurity in which they have become involved by time and contradictory decisions, they are become a source of infinite confusion, litigation, and expence.

Your Petitioners need not tender any evidence of the inconveniences which arise from this defect in the representation, because the proof is to be found in your journals, and the minutes of the different committees who have been appointed under the 10th and 11th of the king. Your honourable House is but too well acquainted with the tedious, intricate, and expensive scenes of litigation which have

been brought before you, in attempting to settle the legal import of those numerous distinctions which perplex and confound the present rights of voting. How many months of your valuable time have been wasted in listening to the wrangling of lawyers upon the various species of burgagehold, leasehold, and freehold! How many committees have been occupied in investigating the nature of scot and lot, pot wallers, commonalty, populacy, resiant inhabitants, and inhabitants at large! What labour and research have been employed in endeavouring to ascertain the legal claims of borough-men, aldermen, port men, select men, burgesses, and council-men! And what confusion has arisen from the complicated operation of clashing charters, from freemen resident and non resident, and from the different modes of obtaining the freedom of corporations by birth, by servitude, by marriage, by redemption, by election, and by purchase! On all these points it is however needless for your Petitioners to enlarge, when your honourable House recollects the following facts; namely, that since the twenty-second of December 1790, no less than twenty-one committees have been employed in deciding upon litigated rights of voting. Of these, eight were occupied with the disputes of three boroughs, and there are petitions from four places yet remaining before your honourable House, waiting for a final decision to inform the electors what their rights really are.

But the complaint of your Petitioners on the subject of the want of an uniform and equitable principle in regulating the right of voting, extends as well to the arbitrary manner in which some are excluded, as to the intricate qualifications by which others are admitted to the exercise of that privilege.

Religious opinions create an incapacity to vote. All Papists are excluded generally, and, by the operation of the test laws, Protestant Dissenters are deprived of a voice in the election of representatives in about thirty boroughs, where the rights of voting is confined to corporate officers alone; a deprivation the more unjustifiable, because, though considered as unworthy to vote, they are deemed capable of being elected, and may be the representatives of the very places for which they are disqualified from being the electors.

A man possessed of one thousand pounds per annum, or any other sum, arising from copyhold, leasehold for ninety-nine years, trade, property in the public funds, or even freehold in the city of London, and many other cities and towns having peculiar jurisdictions, is not thereby intitled to vote. Here again a strange distinction is taken between electing and representing, as a copyhold is a sufficient qualification to sit in your honourable House.

A man paying taxes to any amount, how great soever, for his domestic establishment, does not thereby obtain a right to vote, unless his residence be in some borough where that right is vested in the inhabitants. This exception operates in sixty places, of which twenty-eight do not contain three hundred voters each, and the number of householders in England and Wales (exclusive of Scotland), who pay all taxes, is 714,911, and of householders who pay all taxes, but the house and window taxes, is 284,459, as appears by a return made to your honourable House in 1785; so that even supposing the sixty places above mentioned to contain, one with another, one thousand voters in each, there will remain 939,370 householders who have no voice in the representation, unless they have obtained it by accident or by purchase. Neither their contributions to the public burdens, their peaceable demeanor as good subjects, nor their general respectability and merits as useful citizens, afford them, as the law now stands, the smallest pretensions to participate in the choice of those, who, under the name of their representatives, may dispose of their fortunes and liberties.

In Scotland, the grievance arising from the nature of the rights of voting, has a different and still more intolerable operation. In that great and populous division of the kingdom, not only the great mass of the householders, but of the landholders also, are excluded from all participation in the choice of representatives. By the remains of the feudal system in the counties, the vote is severed from the land, and attached to what is called the superiority. In other words it is taken from the substance, and transferred to the shadow, because, though each of these superiorities must, with very few exceptions, arise from lands of the present annual value of four hundred pounds sterling, yet it is not necessary that the lands should do no more than give a name to the superiority, the possessor of which

may retain the right of voting notwithstanding he be divested of the property. And on the other hand, great landholders have the means afforded them, by the same system, of adding to their influence, without expence to themselves, by communicating to their confidential friends the privilege of electing members to serve in parliament. The process by which this operation is performed is simple. He who wishes to increase the number of his dependent votes, surrenders his charter to the crown, and, parcelling out his estate into as many lots of four hundred pounds per annum, as may be convenient, conveys them to such as he can confide in. To these, new charters are, upon application, granted by the crown, so as to erect each of them into a superiority, which privilege once obtained, the land itself is reconveyed to the original granter; and thus the representatives of the landed interest in Scotland may be chosen by those who have no real or beneficial interest in the land.

Such is the situation in which the counties of Scotland are placed. With respect to the burghs, every thing that bears even the semblance of popular choice, has long been done away. The election of members to serve in Parliament is vested in the magistrates and town councils, who, having by various innovations, constituted themselves into self-elected bodies, instead of officers freely chosen by the inhabitants at large, have deprived the people of all participation in that privilege, the free exercise of which affords the only security they can possess for the protection of their liberties and property.

The fourth and last complaint of your Petitioners is the length of the duration of Parliament. Your honourable House knows, that by the ancient laws and statutes of this kingdom frequent parliaments ought to be held; and that the sixth of William and Mary, c. 2. (since repealed) speaking while the spirit of the revolution was yet warm, declared, that "frequent and new parliaments tend very much to the happy union and good agreement between king and people;" and enacted, that no parliament should last longer than three years. Your Petitioners, without presuming to add to such an authority by any observations of their own, humbly pray that parliaments may not be continued for seven years.

Your Petitioners have thus laid before you the specific grounds of complaint, from which they conceive every evil in the representation to spring, and on which they think every abuse and inconvenience is founded.

What those abuses are, and how great that inconvenience is, it becomes your Petitioners to state, as the best means of justifying their present application to your honourable House.

Your Petitioners then affirm, that from the combined operation of the defects they have pointed out, arise those scenes of confusion, litigation, and expence, which disgrace the name, and that extensive system of private patronage which is so repugnant to the spirit of free representation.

Your Petitioners entreat of your honourable House to consider the manner in which elections are conducted, and to reflect upon the extreme inconvenience to which electors are exposed, and the intolerable expence to which candidates are subjected.

Your honourable House knows that tumults, disorders, outrages, and perjury, are too often the dreadful attendants on contested elections as at this time carried on.

Your honourable House knows that polls are only taken in one fixed place for each county, city, and borough, whether the number of voters be ten or ten thousand, and whether they be resident or dispersed over England.

Your honourable House knows that polls, however few the electors, may by law be continued for fifteen days, and even then be subjected to a scrutiny.

Your honourable House knows that the management and conduct of polls is committed to returning officers, who, from the very nature of the proceedings, must be invested with extensive and discretionary powers, and who, it appears by every volume of your Journals, have but too often exercised those powers with the most gross partiality, and the most scandalo corruption.

Of elections arranged with such little regard to the accommodation of the parties, acknowledged to require such a length of time to complete, and trusted to the superintendance of such suspicious agents, your Petitioners might easily draw out a detail of the expence. But it is unnecessary. The fact is too notorious to require proof, that scarce an instance can be produced where a member has

obtained a disputed seat in parliament at a less cost than from two to five thousand pounds; particular cases are not wanting where ten times these sums have been paid, but it is sufficient for your Petitioners to affirm, and to be able to prove it if denied, that such is the expence of a contested return, that he who should become a candidate with even greater funds than the laws require him to swear to as his qualification to sit in your honourable House, must either relinquish his pretentions on the appearance of opposition, or so reduce his fortune in the contest, that he could not take his seat without perjury.

The revision of the original polls before the committees of your honourable House, upon appeals from the decisions of the returning officers, affords a fresh source of vexation and expence to all parties. Your honourable House knows, that the complicated rights of voting, and the shameful practices which disgrace election proceedings, have so loaded your table with Petitions for judgment and redress, that one half of the usual duration of a parliament has scarcely been sufficient to settle who is entitled to sit for the other half; and it was not till within the last two months that your honourable House had an opportunity of discovering, that the two gentlemen, who sat and voted near three years as the representatives of the borough of Stockbridge, had procured themselves to be elected by the most scandalous bribery; and that the two gentlemen, who sat and voted during as long a period for the borough of Great Grimsby, had not been elected at all.

In truth all the mischiefs of the present system of representation are ascertained by the difficulties which even the zeal and wisdom of your honourable House experiences in attending to the variety of complaints brought before you. Though your committee sit five hours every day from the time of their appointment, they generally are unable to come to a decision in less than a fortnight, and very frequently are detained from thirty to forty days. The Westminster case in 1789, will even furnish your honourable House with an instance, where, after deliberating forty-five days, a committee gravely resolved, that, "From an attentive consideration of the circumstances relating to the cause, a final decision of the business before them could not take place in the course of the session, and that not improbably the whole of the parliament" (having at that time near two years longer to sit) "might be consumed in a tedious and expensive litigation;" and they recommended it to the Petitioners to withdraw their Petition, which, after a fruitless perseverance of above three months, they were actually obliged to submit to.

Your Petitioners will only upon this subject farther add, that the expence to each of the parties, who have been either plaintiff or defendant in Petitions tried before your honourable House in the present session, has, upon an average, amounted to above one hundred pounds per day; and that the Attornies' Bills in one cause, the trial of which in point of form only lasted two days, and in point of fact only six hours, amounted to very near twelve hundred pounds. And this your Petitioners are ready to prove.

Your Petitioners must now beg leave to call the attention of your honourable House to the greatest evil produced by these defects in the representation of which they complain, namely, the extent of Private Parliamentary Patronage; an abuse which obviously tends to exclude the great mass of the people from any substantial influence in the election of the House of Commons, and which in its progress, threatens to usurp the sovereignty of the country, to the equal danger of the king, of the lords, and of the commons.

The patronage of which your Petitioners complain, is of *two* kinds: *That* which arises from the unequal distribution of the elective franchise, and the peculiar rights of voting by which certain places return members to serve in parliaments; and *that* which arises from the expence attending contested elections, and the consequent degree of power acquired by wealth.

By these two means, a weight of parliamentary influence has been obtained by certain individuals, forbidden by the spirit of the laws, and in its consequences most dangerous to the liberties of the people of Great Britain.

The operation of the *first* species of patronage is direct, and subject to positive proof. Eighty-four individuals do by their own immediate authority send one hundred and fifty-seven of your honourable members to parliament. And this your Petitioners are ready, if the fact be disputed, to prove, and to name the members and the patrons.

The *second* species of patronage cannot be shewn with equal accuracy, though it is felt with equal force.

Your Petitioners are convinced, that in addition to the one hundred and fifty-seven honourable members above mentioned, one hundred and fifty more, making in the whole three hundred and seven, are returned to your honourable House, not by the collective voice of those whom they appear to represent, but by the recommendation of seventy powerful individuals, added to the eighty-four before mentioned, and making the total number of patrons altogether only one hundred and fifty-four, who return a decided majority of your honourable House.

If your honourable House will accept as evidence the common report and general belief of the counties, cities, and boroughs, which return the members alluded to, your Petitioners are ready to name them, and to prove the fact; or if the members in question can be made parties to the inquiry, your Petitioners will name them, and be governed by the testimony which they themselves shall publicly give. But if neither of these proofs be thought consistent with the proceedings of your honourable House, then your Petitioners can only assert their belief of the fact, which they hereby do in the most solemn manner, and on the most deliberate conviction.

Your Petitioners entreat your honourable House to believe that, in complaining of this species of influence, it is not their intention or desire to decry or to condemn that just and natural attachment which they, who are enabled by their fortune, and inclined by their disposition, to apply great means to honourable and benevolent ends, will always ensure to themselves. What your Petitioners complain of is, that property, whether well or ill employed, has equal power; that the present system of representation gives to it a degree of weight which renders it independent of character; which enables it to excite fear as well as to procure respect, and which confines the choice of electors, within the ranks of opulence, because, though it cannot make riches the sole object of their affection and confidence, it can and does throw obstacles, almost insurmountable, in the way of every man who is not rich, and thereby secures to a select few the capability of becoming candidates themselves, or supporting the pretensions of others. Of this your Petitioners complain loudly, because they conceive it to be highly unjust, that while the language of the law requires from a candidate no greater estate, as a qualification, than a few hundred pounds per annum, the operation of the law should disqualify every man whose rental is not extended to thousands; and that, at the same time that the legislature appears to give the electors a choice from amongst those who possess a moderate and independent competence, it should virtually compel them to choose from amongst those who themselves abound in wealth, or are supported by the wealth of others.

Your Petitioners are the more alarmed at the progress of private patronage, because it is rapidly leading to consequences which menace the very existence of the constitution.

At the commencement of every session of parliament, your honourable House, acting up to the laudable jealousy of your predecessors, and speaking the pure, constitutional language of a British House of Commons resolve, as appears by your journals, "That no peer of this realm hath any right to give his vote in the election of any member to serve in parliament;" and also, "That it is a high infringement upon the liberties and privileges of the Commons of Great Britain, for any Lord of Parliament, or any lord-lieutenant of any county, to concern themselves in the elections of members to serve for the Commons in Parliament."

Your Petitioners inform your honourable House, and are ready to prove it at your bar, that they have the most reasonable grounds to suspect that no less than one hundred and fifty of your honourable members owe their elections entirely to the interference of Peers; and your Petitioners are prepared to shew by legal evidence, that forty Peers, in defiance of your resolutions, have possessed themselves of so many burgage tenures, and obtained such an absolute and uncontrouled command in very many small boroughs in the kingdom, as to be enabled by their own positive authority to return eighty-one of your honourable members.

Your petitioners will, however, urge this grievance of the interference of peers in elections no farther, because they are satisfied that it is unnecessary. Numbers of your honourable members must individually have known the fact, but collectively your honourable house has un-

doubtedly been a stranger to it. It is now brought before you by those who tender evidence of the truth of what they assert, and they conceive it would be improper in them to ask that by petition, which must be looked for as the certain result of your own honourable attachment to your own liberties and privileges.

Your petitioners have thus laid before your honourable house, what the mischiefs are which arise from the present state of the representation, and what they conceive to be the grounds of those mischiefs, and therefore pray to have removed.

They now humbly beg leave to offer their reasons, why they are anxious that some remedy should be immediately applied.

Your petitioners trust they may be allowed to state, because they are ready to prove, that seats in your honourable house are sought for at a most extravagant and increasing rate of expence.

What can have so much augmented the ambition to sit in your honourable house, your petitioners do not presume accurately to have discovered, but the means taken by candidates to obtain, and by electors to bestow that honour, evidently appear to have been increasing in a progressive degree of fraud and corruption. Your petitioners are induced to make this assertion by the legislature having found it necessary, during the last and present reigns so much to swell the statute book with laws for the prevention of those offences.

As far as conjecture can lead your petitioners, they must suppose, that the increasing national debt, and the consequent increase of influence, are the causes of the increased eagerness of individuals to become members of the House of Commons, and of their indifference as to the means used to gratify their speculations. To prove that they do not state this wantonly, or without substantial grounds, they humbly beg to call your attention to the following table, all the vouchers for which are to be found in the journals of your honourable house, or in different acts of parliament.

It is upon this evidence of the increase of taxes, establishments and influence, and the increase of laws found necessary to repel the increasing attacks upon the purity and freedom of elections, that your petitioners conceive it high time to inquire into the premises.

Your petitioners are confident that in what they have stated, they are supported by the evidence of facts, and they trust that, in conveying those facts to your honourable house, they have not been betrayed into the language of reproach or disrespect. Anxious to preserve in its purity a constitution they love and admire, they have thought it their duty to lay before you, not general speculations deduce from theoretical opinions, but positive truths susceptible of direct proof, and if in the performance of this task, they have been obliged to call your attention to assertions which you have not been accustomed to hear, and which they lament that they are compelled to make, they intreat the indulgence of your honourable house.

Your petitioners will only further trespass upon your time, while they recapitulate the objects of their prayer, which are,

That your honourable House will be pleased to take such measures, as to your wisdom may seem meet, to remove the evils arising from the unequal manner in which the different parts of the kingdom are admitted to participate in the representation.

To correct the partial distribution of the elective franchise, which commits the choice of representatives to select bodies of men of such limited numbers as renders them an easy prey to the artful, or a ready purchase to the wealthy.

To regulate the right of voting upon an uniform and equitable principle.

And finally to shorten the duration of parliaments, and by removing the causes of that confusion, litigation and expence, with which they are at this day conducted, to render frequent and new elections, what our ancestors at the revolution asserted them to be, the means of a happy union and good agreement between the king and people.

And your petitioners shall ever pray.

DISSENTERS' MEETING.

(Concluded from page 1376.)

Resolved, That the cordial thanks of this Deputation be given to the Committee, for the zeal and promptitude which they have so long and so constantly manifested, in the protection of the civil rights of Protestant Dissenters, both in the metropolis and in the country, from every part of which, applications on the subject have been so frequently received; for their watchful and anxious regard to these im-

portant interests ever since Lord Sidmouth announced his intention respecting the *Toleration Act*; and especially for the unshaken firmness with which they have maintained the inalienable rights of conscience, and deprecated the interference of magistrates in matters of religion, as a violation of those sacred principles, which (in their judgment) human laws ought never to control.

Resolved, That the foregoing Resolutions be signed by the Chairman, and inserted in all the morning papers.

W. Smith, Chairman.

Resolved, That William Smith, Esq. M. P. the Chairman of this Deputation, be desired to accept our warmest thanks for his vigilant attention to the subject of the late measure, ever since it was first announced in Parliament; for his ready and obliging communications with the Committee in their attempts to dissuade the noble author from actually bringing the same forward; and for his able and active assistance in obtaining its rejection; and that this Deputation entertains a strong and grateful sense of his constant and zealous support of civil and religious liberty, and of the rights of Protestant Dissenters on all occasions.

PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.

Resolutions of the Livery of London, passed 30th May, 1811.—Smith, Mayor.

At a Meeting, or Assembly, of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Liverymen, of the several Companies of the City of London, in Common Hall assembled, at the Guildhall of the said City, on Thursday, the 30th day of May, 1811:—

Resolved,—That the Livery of London have, for the last 40 years, felt and declared the corrupt and inadequate state of the Representation of the People in Parliament to be the great source of all our national grievances and misfortunes.

That to this cause alone can be ascribed the unjust and unfortunate war with America, at the close of which they declared in Common Hall, "that our excellent Constitution appeared in no circumstances more grievously defaced than in the unequal Representation of the People in Parliament, which continual experience had proved to be no less productive of calamities to this country, than depredatory to the rights of Englishmen."

That the subsequent enormous increase of debt and taxes, the increased and increasing corruptions and abuses of the State, and all our grievances and misfortunes, arise from the same cause, and convince us that a Constitutional Reformation can no longer with safety be delayed.

That we concur in opinion with the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, "That England can never be ruined but by a Parliament."

That we agree with that enlightened Philosopher, Statesman, and Christian, Locke, "That employing the force, treasure, and offices of the Government to corrupt the Electors, is to cut up the Government by the roots, and poison the very fountain of public security."

That we agree with that great Lawyer, Patriot, and Statesman, Lord Somers, "That it belongeth to our Parliaments, as being one of the great ends as well as reason for which they ought to be frequently called and assembled, to enquire into and punish the crimes of Judges and all others employed by and under the King in the executive part of the Government, from whence it is, as the House of Commons, among other capacities in which they sit and act, are by the Constitution to be the great inquest of the kingdom, to search into all the oppressions and injustices of the King's Ministers; so the House of Lords among their several other rights and privileges, stand clothed with the power and authority of the High-Court of Judicature of the nation to punish those who have misbehaved themselves in all Courts.

That we agree with Baron Montesquieu, "That the English Constitution will perish whenever the Representative Power is more corrupted than the Executive."

That we agree with the great Earl of Chatham, "That Parliament must reform itself from within, or it will be reformed from without with a vengeance."

That we agree with that venerable Statesman and Lawyer Lord Camden, "That Taxation, without Representation, is tyranny."

That we agree with Judge Blackstone, "That if any change were to be desired, it was in favour of a more equal Representation of the People in Parliament."

(To be continued.)

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

BATTLE OF ALBUERA.——This again is called a "*Victory*;" nay, and a "*glorious* "victory."——In a country, where it is possible to make any considerable number of persons look upon such an event in such a light, it may be thought absurd to attempt to place the matter in its true light; but, when one views the use that is made of the *press*; when one considers to what an extent the influence over that instrument is carried; when one considers how small a chance the great mass of the people have of obtaining any true information; when one considers with what boldness, with what a cool disregard of the contempt of the well informed, the venal writers propagate falsehood upon every subject, where falsehood best suits their purpose, and especially upon subjects connected with the war; when one considers all these things, the matter for wonder is, that any portion of the people in common life are able to form correct opinions as to what is, upon any occasion, doing in the countries where we are carrying on war.——But, though the deceptions propagated through these prints spread so wide, there are still some people, especially in the large towns, who think rightly; who are not to be cheated; and who serve as the channels for *conveying truth to others*, a duty, by the bye, that no man ought ever to neglect, when he has it in his power to perform it.——To such persons I address the remarks, which I am about to offer upon the *Battle of Albuera*, as the history of it has been given in our news-papers, having inserted, below the official dispatches as published by the government, in the London Gazette.——In the first place, whatever may be the real character of these dispatches; whatever we may think of their contents; whatever degree of reliance we may be disposed to place upon their several statements and conjectures; we are to observe, and bear in mind, that they are only "*Extracts*. "Dispatches of which the following are "EXTRACTS." This is what is laid before the English people.——Now, what is an extract? *To extract* means *to draw out*; and the word *extract*, used in the sense in which it is here used, means *pieces*, or *parts, drawn out*, or *taken out*. So that we have here, for the information of "the "*most thinking* people" that Lord Stormont, now Earl Mansfield, ever met with, *pieces* of the dispatches relating to the battle of Albuera.——*What parts* have been left in I cannot pretend to say; but, this I will venture to assert, without the least fear of contradiction, that the pieces of the Dispatches which are not published are not likely to contain any thing *more favourable* than those which are published; and, that the chances are about ten million to one on the other side. In short, it is only necessary to point out to the reader, the circumstance of this being a publication of *extracts* only; for, he will not want any thing to enlighten his mind as to what may be done when the publisher has the absolute power of selecting and culling paragraphs, sentences, and even words. What would any one say to a jury's giving their verdict upon extracts of evidence?——But, these remarks are quite useless. The reader must see through the whole of the matter in a moment; and, as we proceed, he has only to bear in mind, that we are remarking upon *Extracts* of Dispatches. ——We will now take a view of these Extracts, and see whether *even they* warrant the appellations of *Victory*, and of *Triumph*, bestowed so lavishly upon the result of the battle in question.——From these Extracts, it appears, that the Spaniards, under their two chief commanders, and the Portuguese, under several British Brigadier Generals, were engaged on our side. The *numbers* of the allied army are not stated by Lord Talavera or by Marshal Beresford, at which we may be allowed to express our disappointment, especially as the Marshal has told us what were the *numbers* of the *enemy*. He says that the Duke of Dalmatia (whom he calls plain *Soult*) had 16 thousand men, and that he was joined by General Latour Maubourgh with five thousand men, making, in the whole, 21 thousand men. He afterwards says the enemy had 26,000 men. But, not a syllable does

he say about *his own* numbers, though they were certainly as easily known to him as those of the French. *Why* he did not do this, I shall leave to the reader to guess; and, we will, if the reader likes it, just inquire a little for ourselves into this essential point; for, as to victory, what is it unless we speak of numbers? If six men beat one, they do indeed gain a victory over him; but, they will hardly, unless they belong to a very impudent and bragging race, *boast* of such victory.——To judge, then, of the character of this affair, we must come to something like a certainty as to the numbers; remarking by the way, that the Marshal never says, in any part of his dispatch, or, at least, in any of the parts that are *published*, that his numbers were *inferior*, or, indeed, that they were *not superior*, to those of the French.——This inquiry is, too, the more necessary as our venal prints have, since the facts about our loss in *prisoners* and *artillery* and *colours* are come to light, been hard at work to *diminish* our numbers, and thereby to deceive and cheat the people into hopes that have, perhaps, no foundation, and, which is of more importance, into approbation of a contest which may finally lead to great national mischief.——Before we enter upon our estimate of numbers in this particular battle, let us, however, take a sort of bird's eye view of the armies, as to numbers.——We know very well, that, last Summer, we had 30 thousand *British* troops in Portugal, and 30 thousand Portuguese troops "*as good as any in the world*," these being the Marshal's own words. Since that we have sent to Lisbon more than 30,000 British troops; and, we have doubled the sum which was allowed for keeping up Portuguese troops, and, consequently, we ought to have 60,000 of each nation. Now, these troops have *died, deserted*, or been *killed*, or they are in being under our Marshal and Lord Marshal. If the latter, *where* are they? Or, rather, where were they at the time of the two last battles? If the army was equally divided between the Wellesley and the Beresford, then they had 60,000 each; and, if the latter had less than half, the former had more than 60,000 men and then what shall we say of his being *attacked* by the "*run-away*" MASSENA; and what shall we say, of the escape of BRENNIER from Almeida? If the Marshal had an army inferior to the Duke of Dalmatia (whom our "*coarse*" news-paper people call *Soult*), the Lord Marshal must have had with him about 100,000 men, British troops, and Portuguese "as good as any troops in the world." Or, as I before said, if these men are not with our Marshal and Lord Marshal, *where* are they? That is the question that I should like to see answered. It is useless to jostle and boggle and shuffle about it: we are *paying* for all these men, and if they are not upon the spot with arms in their hands, *where are they?* We were told but a few weeks ago, that Massena was totally "*hors-de-combat;*" that his army was *no more;* that he was now *out of the question*. And, in about 20 days after this comes the news that he has *attacked* our Lord Marshal with a *superior force*, and, after a long battle, *carried off some hundreds of prisoners*.——Oh! "*thinking* people," how long will you continue to be the dupes of the base and venal scribes, who fatten upon your credulity!——Let us now, however, come to the particular case before us.—The Marshal tells us that the French had 21,000 men; but he does not tell us how many he had. We will, therefore, endeavour to form *an estimate of his* force, since he has been so obliging as to estimate that of the French for our information.——The news-papers told us, *before* the battle, that the Marshal had under him 22,000 British troops and about 20,000 Portuguese; but, we will not rely upon what they said, which was, I dare say, for the purposes of deception as usual.——One way of estimating the Marshal's force would be to take his number of *Generals* and give each of them the command of so many men; for, if they have not men to command, what use is there in our *paying* so many of them?——The Marshal gives us no return of his generals any more than of his other people; but, in the course of his dispatch, we find him bestowing praises upon no less than 5 British Major Generals and 1 German Major General. Here, then, are no less than SIX MAJOR GENERALS, and that, too, you will observe, *exclusive* of the Spanish army. Why, six Major Generals are sufficient for an army of 120 thousand men, and more than sufficient. Each of them has, or ought to have, several Brigadiers under him; and each Brigadier General has the command of several Battalions. In this battle I do suppose that there were not less than 30 Generals, of all sorts. It has been remarked by foreign officers, that our army is always well stocked with generals. We have, I should suppose, *some*

hundreds of Generals in our service; but, at any rate, we *pay* them, and, if they had not men to command at Albuera, they might as well have been at home.—— That they had men, there can be no doubt; and, if the Marshal did not name his numbers, we will endeavour to come at them by calculation.——If we knew what Regiments or Battalions he had with him, we could come very near to the mark. However, we will take all that he has *named* in his return of *killed and wounded.* Some of the corps had, perhaps, no killed or wounded at all, and, of course, those corps are not named; but, I will take those that *are* named, and I will give the list and the *strength* of them, as that strength was *stated to the House of Commons in February last;* and, upon which statement *pay* was voted by that most Honourable House. I, of course, cannot come at the strength of the *Portuguese* battalions; but, we must guess at that: to get at the real strength of the British and the Germans is the main thing; and this we shall do pretty nearly in spite of the frauds, in spite of the millions of lies, of the venal news-papers.——The following Regiments and Battalions are, as the reader will see, named in the Return of the Killed and Wounded, being No. IV of the Returns, as published in the Gazette. All these corps, of which he gives the return of the killed and wounded, he had with him in the battle, of course. Nobody can deny that, and therefore, these we will take as their strength was laid before the Honourable House in February last, and, as I said before, according to which strength, *pay* has been voted for them out of the people's taxes by that Honourable House. ——— The Artillery and Engineers I have been obliged to guess at; and whether I have over-rated the numbers, or under-rated them, I must leave the reader to judge.

BRITISH.

3rd Dragoon Guards	916	
4th Dragoons	916	
13th Light Dragoons	916	
Total British Cavalry	———	2,748
3rd Foot, 1st Battalion	805	
7th - - - 1st and 2d Batt.	2,299	
23rd - - - 1st Batt.	805	
27th - - - 3rd Batt.	1,359	
28th - - - 2nd Batt.	929	
29th - - -	930	
31st - - - 2nd Batt.	824	
34th - - - 2nd Batt.	929	
39th - - - 2nd Batt.	1,039	
40th - - - 1st Batt.	1,120	
48th - - -	1,648	
57th - - - 1st Batt.	910	
60th - - - 5th Batt.	1,059	
66th - - - 2nd Batt.	718	
97th - - -	720	
Total British Foot	———	16,094

GERMANS.

1st Light Battalion	888	
2nd Do.	888	
	———	1,976
		20,818
British Artillery British Artillery Drivers German Artillery Engineers		3,500
		24,318
Deduct for deaths, desertions, sickness, &c. since the month of February, being *one fifth* of the strength of the above named Corps		4,163
Total British and Germans in the field		20,155

Now, I should be glad to know what any venal man could say against the fairness of this estimate. That I have taken the numbers as returned to the Honourable House on the 20th of February last cannot be denied. It cannot be denied, that that Honourable House have voted *pay* for these corps *agreeably to those numbers;* and, therefore, to suppose that the men were *not in existence* is to suppose that the money would be misapplied. At any rate, we were *paying* for these men. And, indeed, there can be little doubt of their having actually been present in the battle, except such of them as may have died or deserted since February; and, for these casualties, I have made a pretty liberal allowance in deducting one man out of every five.——As to the Artillery and Drivers and Engineers; we do not pay for much less than *forty thousand* altogether, and, perhaps, 15 or 20 thousand horses; so that, if there were not 3,500 present at a battle like this, *what are they kept for?* Indeed, there is every reason to suppose that there were more than 3,500, when we consider that our army was just beginning

the siege of a strongly fortified town.—— *To me, therefore, it appears very evident,* that there could not have been less than 20,155 British and German troops in this battle. The Spaniards could hardly have been under 12 or 14 thousand; for, we find them forming the right wing of the army and in *two lines;* and, the Portuguese, who do not appear to have had much to do in the battle, but who made part of the force, and are *known* to be "as "good as any troops in the world," could not be less in number than the British; or, at least, what reason is there to suppose that they were? For again I ask, *where were they,* if they were not at that battle? We, the people of this kingdom, are paying for an army of 60,000 Portuguese, paid and kept in all respects like British troops. The reader knows, that the Honourable House long ago voted 2 millions of pounds for the Portuguese army this year. Now, observe, that 141,000 British Infantry cost us in a year £.4,248,669; and, if the reader will be at the pains to make the calculation, he will find, that, at *this rate,* 60,000 men cost us £.1,807,944 So that, for the £.2,000,000 we ought to have more than 60,000 Portuguese for the *whole year*; and, observe, always *effective;* always *in existence;* always, as Mr. Villiers said, actually in soldiers cloaths ——Well, then, my friends and countrymen of this "most *thinking,*" nation, were could our 60,000 Portuguese soldiers be, if there were not a good 20,000 of them at this battle? The *money* was long ago voted; and, surely, the *men* ought to be forth-coming; and, if ever forth-coming that day was the day.——To do them justice, however, they appear from the Dispatches (I beg pardon, I mean *Extracts*) to have been there in great numbers; for mention is frequently made of the deeds of valour and sagacity of those who *commanded* them; and, of course, the men themselves must have been these.—— Upon a review of what has been said, the reader will, I should think, have no doubt that our Marshal must have had nearly 40 thousand men in the field exclusive of Spaniards, and that, in the whole, there were not opposed to Dalmatia less than 50,000 men at the *very lowest.* Indeed, from all that I have seen, I am convinced, that the French commander made little or no account of any but the British troops; and, supposing himself a match for them, he marched to the attack with little apprehension of failure.——Such is my estimate of numbers; and I am satisfied, that it will be very difficult for any one to show, that I have estimated unfairly.

Let us now look a little at the *result* of the battle.——We are said to have *kept our ground.* How! The enemy found us besieging a town, and he compelled us to raise that siege for a time at least. But, he retreated. He went back the way he came. And so does a sallying party; but it does not follow that such party is not successful. That Dalmatia attacked our army with *greatly inferior numbers* is manifest. He might exceed us in *Cavalry;* but as to general force he must have been muck inferior; and that he mauled us pretty decently we have the proof in the list of killed and wounded. It is said, that *dead* men tell no tales; but, the lists of dead men tell tales, and such tales too as require all the powers of even our venal press to hush to silence. But, there is one description of men who blab more, and tell more ugly tales than either killed or wounded, and these are the *missing;* that is to say, those who either *desert* to the enemy during the battle, or who are *taken prisoners* by him; for, in a case where you keep the ground you fight on, you cannot lose any of your men from wandering.——Now, in this battle there were a good many of these blabbers; and the reader may assure himself, that their number has not been *over*-stated, either by the author of the Dispatches, or by those who have treated us with *extracts* from them ——This is a capital consideration. This *making of prisoners* is the great feature in a battle, and, it is in fact, the best criterion of real victory. Our army is said to have made some prisoners too. "We have taken," says the Marshal, "from 900 to 1,000 prisoners!" Why not tell us *exactly* how many? Why not regale our longing ears with the names of the officers taken?" Alas! the Lord Marshal, in his dispatch, explains this: "The enemy," says *he,* "left between "900 and 1,000 WOUNDED on the "ground." Our prisoners are the *wounded* men, then, who were unable to follow, or keep up with the army! Our venal prints say, that we have found many officers, and several *generals* amongst the *dead;* but, we have not had the luck to take any of them *alive.*——The French, who are, by these venal scribes, represented as having been covered with disgrace, have carried their prisoners *off;* they have carried them away; and they have *got officers* as

well as men. The prisoners they have taken form a list:

Majors	1
Captains	4
Lieutenants	9
Ensigns	1
Serjeants	38
Drummers	10
Rank and File	526
	589

Here is a good half of a Battalion of British and German troops. Here are officers of all ranks under a Lieutenant Colonel. When have we seen such a list of French officers taken? And, if we lose officers and men thus, when we are *triumphant*, when we gain victories, and even *glorious* victories, what have we to expect in cases of defeat?——We shall hear what the French will say, in their account of this battle; but, I think we may anticipate no small boastings at this circumstance of having carried off so many officers and men from a field where they were compelled to yield to superior numbers, and numbers too so greatly superior.——Our venal prints have stated the British and German force at 8,000 men. How false this must be I have shown; but, if it were true, what a fact would it be, when viewed in conjunction with this statement of missing? If it were true, that there were in the battle only 8,000 British and German troops, then the world would have to note down, that the French carried ONE THIRTEENTH *part of the whole of them off prisoners from the field of battle!* The venal newspapers confess (by way, I suppose, of being beforehand with the French), that two of our regiments had *their colours taken from them* and carried off. But, this is no matter. The fact, that *one thirteenth part* of the whole of the British and German troops were taken alive and carried off bodily out of the field of battle would be such a fact as would beggar all the others that could be mentioned. It would be in vain to talk after that; in vain for the TIMES to exclaim: "Gallant hearts! "the tears that fall from the eyes of rela-"tives in England are not the only ones "that will be shed for the heroes of this "day!" in vain for the same paper to ask, "what is a greater proof of discomfi-"ture than their abandoning their wound-"ed;" in vain for the COURIER to talk about the enemy's "*choosing* his *place* of "attack," when it is notorious that he came to the spot where our army lay; in vain for the same print to tell us, that "*now* the nations of the Continent will no "longer believe in French invincibility;" in vain for this print to trump up the story that the two colours said to have been lost were taken one from an Ensign who refused to accept of life on the condition of surrender, and the other from an Ensign, who, being wounded, and on the ground, had tore them from the staff and secreted them in *his bosom*. In vain for them to attempt any such means; for, if they continue to assert, that the Marshal had but 8,000 British and German troops, we and all the world know, from his own account, that the enemy took away *one thirteenth* part of the whole of them; actually *took them off out of the field of battle*, and that, amongst the prisoners, were no less than *fifteen Commissioned Officers*; and, this fact is quite sufficient to fix the character of the battle. No man will ask for any thing more. No man that once hears this fact will ever ask *who gained the day*.

Therefore, these attempts so much to lower the number of our own army makes against the character of what these same persons choose to boast of; for, no human creature will ever believe, that the French, who were able to carry off half a battalion of our men, did not retire before a greatly superior force upon the whole.——There is, too, not a word said about the loss of the Spaniards. The Marshal says he is unable to state *their* loss. And yet, one would suppose, that it was full as easy for him to state *that* as to state the loss of the *French*, all about which he is very circumstantial. The probability is, that the French may have *carried off* some of the Spaniards too. Nay, there is, perhaps, more than a probability of it. And, what a thing, then, is this to *boast* of! What an event is here to excite new hopes of the *deliverance* of Europe!—The circumstance of our chief annoyance having proceeded from the *Polish* troops is also worthy of particular notice; for, as this "*thinking* people" can hardly have forgotten, the Polish troops were said all to have revolted last year against their French officers.——These Polish troops had, however, singular advantages, it seems, the *thickness of the atmosphere* was in their favour; and they were mistaken for *Spanish horse*. This is very strange, and will, I imagine, plead but very feebly in palliation of our wonderful loss in pri-

soners.——The Marshal says, that Soult (Duke of Dalmatia) has retired with "a "*tarnished reputation;*" and the *Times* news-paper says, that the "*proof* of his "*discomfiture* is, that he *left his wounded at* "*the place of his retreat.*"——This paper has recently become devoted to the Wellesleys. But, did the writer perceive what his argument might lead to? Did he recollect, that we boasted of a Victory at *Talavera;* nay that we fired Park and Tower guns; and, what is more, gave Parliamentary Thanks, two Titles, and a pension of 3,000*l.* a year for three generations, to him who left his sick and wounded at that very Talavera? Did this newly-converted writer remember that? If he did, he would hardly have assumed, that the fact of the Duke of Dalmatia having left some of his wounded behind him at Albuera was a proof of his discomfiture. ——Some of the papers of to-day state, that the Duke of Dalmatia has issued Thanks to his Army for the valour which enabled him to obtain so signal a victory; and, it is added, that he boasts of having taken *three pair of colours, several guns,* and a *great number of prisoners,* and that the colours will be sent to Paris.——How such a story as this comes to be afloat I leave the reader to guess. The Duke of Dalmatia had hardly sent his orders to our camp. How, then, could this be known otherwise than from conjecture; and to that conjecture what could give rise?——Let us now, however, wait for the *French* account. "Hear both sides" is an old and good maxim, and *one side* we have heard.—— We know that a *howitzer* was taken from *us.* What was taken from the Spaniards we have not been told; but, I, at present, see no reason to doubt the fact of the French having taken "*several guns.*"—— There really is about this victory something more marvellous than about any other that I ever before heard of. It would seem to have been a sort of *coup-de-main* on the part of the French. They seem to have rushed forward and killed and carried off a great part of their opponents without any serious design to remain upon the ground, and without supposing it possible to remain there.——We are told by our news-papers, that the French were superior *in artillery*; and this, too, you will observe, though they had come about *a hundred miles* to the attack. Good heavens what people these French must be! We were, too, setting about a regular siege. We ought to have had some artillery there. We had long been collecting stores together for this siege; and, while this is going on, the French start out at 100 miles distance, and bring up to our very noses a superior artillery!——Now, then, reader, look back over all that we have been remarking on; and say, whether there is any ground for hope, *that we shall be able to drive the French out of the Peninsula*; and, observe, if we do not, all this expence in life as well as in money is lost. To me it has long appeared, that the true policy of Napoleon was to incite us to waste our force in that country. A war there which occupies all our attention, and draws off every man and every pound of food that we can raise, serves him surprizingly, while he is settling the northern part of his Empire to his liking, and building ships in all his arsenals. A reinforcement of 10 or 20 thousand men sent from France twice a year, will feed the war in Spain and Portugal without absolutely disheartening the people of England. Such "victories" as we have recently gained seem to me to be the very things that suit him. We are thereby induced to hasten off more troops, and consequently more money. The war in the Peninsula has come to supply the place of all others. It leaves France in perfect tranquillity, and, at the same time, gives us full occupation. There are only three sufferers; *England, Spain,* and *Portugal.* The French empire does not taste of the war, which affects it in so trifling a degree as for the people to have almost all the advantages of peace. They feel no *alarms*; they are in no "*crisis*;" they merely *hear* of the war in Spain and Portugal as we do of the endless wars in the East-Indies, to which it bears some resemblance; it is with them a matter of curiosity rather than of concern. How different is it with us! We look upon this war, and, indeed, we are told to consider it, as a war for our existence; our eyes are constantly upon the stretch towards Lisbon; we wish for, and yet we fear, the arrival of every packet boat; at the most trifling success, nay, at the escape from overthrow, we rejoice without moderation, and yet, in the midst of our exultation, our hearts bid us fear, that, in the end, we shall see the Peninsula in the hands of our enemy.——Reader, is not this the *truth*? Is not this our situation *truly* painted? Such, then, is the state at which we have arrived at the end of eighteen years of Anti-Jacobin war; of a war for the deliverance of Europe; and

still are there men to cheer us on in this pursuit.——The cause of the exultations which, upon occasions like this, we hear, is, our general dread of the power of the enemy. We imagine, that these "victories," as they are called, tend to keep him from our doors; without reflecting, that he carries on the war against us with a *tenth* part of his force, that he makes the seat of war maintain his armies, and that he exhausts and enfeebles us against the day of his meditated attack, taking into view the state of our internal affairs, and especially the state of our *paper-money*. It is in his power to send 200,000 men into Spain and Portugal; but it is not yet his interest to do it. His object is to make use of the Peninsula as a drain of the resources of England; and, at the rate we are now proceeding, a more effectual drain could not, surely, have been imagined.——Such is my view of this matter; and, though it may tend to check the exultation of my countrymen, I am sure it is less likely to lead them into mischievous error than the sanguine expectations encouraged by the writings of the venal journalists.

W^M. COBBETT.

State Prison, Newgate, Friday, 7th June, 1811.

PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.

Resolutions of the Livery of London, passed 30th May, 1811.—SMITH, MAYOR.

(Concluded from page 1408.*)*

That we agree with Mr. Pitt, whose words were exemplified in his own Administration, "That without a Reformation in Parliament, neither the liberty of the subject can be preserved, nor can we expect to have a virtuous or disinterested Administration."

That we agree with Mr. Fox, "That unless there is an entire radical Reform, not only in the House of Commons, but in every branch of the Executive Government, there is no chance for this country to enjoy any blessing, or even to remain safe long; and that this Reform can never be obtained, unless there is a general and unequivocal expression in its favour by the people at large."

That we agree with Mr. Burke, "That the virtue, spirit, and essence of a House of Commons consists in its being the express image of the feelings of the nation. It is not instituted to be a control upon the People, as of late it has been taught by a doctrine of the most pernicious nature and tendency; it was intended as a control for the People."

That agreeing, as we do, with the above authorities, as well as the concurrent opinions of the greatest Lawyers, Historians, and Statesmen, which might be adduced; and observing, as we have done, the daily and lamentable departure from the principles of the Constitution—the rapid and unceasing progress of overwhelming influence and corruption, which threaten its overthrow—it is with the highest satisfaction, we see a considerable number of the most respectable characters in rank, talents, and property, now standing forward to endeavour to remove these formidable evils, and to restore the Constitution to its true principles, by a Reform in the Representation of the People in Parliament.

That we do therefore highly approve of the Vote of the last Court of Common Council, and do hereby concur with them in granting the use of the Guildhall on the 3d of June next, for the purpose of holding a General Meeting of the Friends of Parliamentary Reform.

That without attaching improper motives to such of our fellow citizens as may have been misled by the misrepresentations and unfounded calumnies of interested, designing, and unprincipled Jobbers, Contractors, and Placemen, who have long fed, and still hope to feed, upon our taxes, we cannot sufficiently reprobate their base attempts to divert the public mind from this great national question, to sow the seeds of dissension, and by every possible means to excite, whilst, at the same time, they hypocritically express their apprehension of, tumult and alarm.

Resolved,—That a Deputation of Liverymen be now appointed to present the Resolutions of this day to the Court of Common Council on Friday next, requesting their concurrence therein, as well as their co-operation with the Livery of London, in their endeavours to obtain a Reform in the Representation of the People in Parliament.

Resolved,—That Messrs. Billinge, Bromly, Blackett, Cole, Esce, Thorpe, Bedder, Bumsted, Scot, Peacock, Stevenson, Pearson Rosser, Stooks, Pickard, Manning, Piper, Littell, Banks, Wort, and Letts, be the said Deputation.

Resolved Unanimously,—That the thanks of this Common Hall be given to the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor, for his upright and impartial conduct on all occasions, and particularly for the firm an

independent manner in which he has, in the present instance, resisted all attempts to intimidate him in the exercise of his duty. WOODTHORPE.

SMITH, MAYOR.

A Common Council holden in the Chamber of the Guildhall of the City of London, on Friday, the 31st of May, 1811.—The Right Hon. the Lord Mayor informed the Court, that he had convened them together this day, in consequence of a requisition he had received from a great number of respectable Members of this Court, which was read.

The Right Hon. the Lord Mayor laid before this Court a copy of sundry Resolutions of an Especial Court of Aldermen, agreed to on the 29th inst. in relation to a Public Meeting of the Friends of Parliamentary Reform being holden in the Guildhall of this City, on Monday, the 3d day of June next, which were read.

The Deputation of the Liverymen of London, appointed at the Common Hall holden yesterday in the Guildhall of this City, attended at the Bar of this Court, and presented sundry Resolutions agreed to in the said Common Hall, which were read, and ordered to be entered on the Journals.

The Memorial of Sir John Throckmorton, Baronet, Chairman of the Committee of the Friends of Parliamentary Reform, in relation to postponing the public Meeting of the Friends of Parliamentary Reform from the 3d to the 10th day of June, was this day presented unto this Court and read.

The humble Petition of a great number of Liverymen of the City of London, against granting the use of Guildhall for a public Meeting of the Friends of Parliamentary Reform, to be holden on the 3d day of June next, was this day presented unto this Court and read.

A Motion being made, and Question proposed, that the Prayer of the said Petition of the Liverymen be complied with, and that the Resolution of this Court of the 22d inst. granting the use of the Guildhall for a public Meeting of the Friends of Parliamentary Reform, be rescinded accordingly;

An Amendment was moved by leaving out all the words after the first word "That," and substituting the following in lieu thereof:—"In an Address to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, agreed to on the 7th of February last, this Court did express the following sentiments, viz. 'Numerous other grievances we forbear even to mention, but there is one so prominent in the odiousness of its nature, as well as in the magnitude of its mischievous consequences, that we are unable to refrain from marking it out as a particular object of our complaint, and of your Royal Highness's virtuous abhorrence of the present Representation in the Commons House of Parliament—a ready instrument in the hands of the Minister for the time being, whether for the purpose of multiplying the just prerogatives of the Crown, or insulting and oppressing the people; and a Reform in which is therefore absolutely necessary for the safety of the crown, the happiness of the people, and the peace and independence of the country.

"That on other occasions similar sentiments have been decidedly expressed by this Court.'

"That so far from this Court experiencing any change in these sentiments, it is at this moment more strongly (than at any former period) impressed with the justice and truth of them, and doth therefore concur in the Resolutions of the Livery of London in Common Hall assembled, presented this day to this Court, expressing at the same time its unalterable determination to persevere by all legal and Constitutional means in obtaining an efficient Reform in the Commons House of Parliament." And on the question being put, the Lord Mayor declared the same to be carried in the negative; and a division being demanded, and granted, there appeared 4 Aldermen, and 74 Commoners, besides the 2 Tellers, for the affirmative; and 13 Aldermen, and 104 Commoners, besides the 2 Tellers, for the negative—whereupon the same was carried in the negative;—then the main question being put, "That the Prayer of the said Petition of the Liverymen be complied with, and that the Resolution of this Court of the 22d instant, granting the use of the Guildhall for a Public Meeting of the Friends of Parliamentary Reform, be rescinded accordingly," the same was resolved in the affirmative.

Ordered, that the above proceedings be signed by the Town Clerk, and published in all the London Morning and Evening Papers. WOODTHORPE.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

PORTUGAL.—THE WAR.—*London Gazette Extraordinary. Monday, June 3, 1811.*

Downing Street, June 2, 1811.—Dispatches, of which the following are Extracts, have been this day received by the Earl of Liverpool, addressed to his Lordship by Lieutenant-General Viscount Wellington, dated Elvas, 22nd May, 1811.

On the night of the 15th instant I received from Marshal Sir W. Beresford letters of the 12th and 13th inst. which reported Marshal Soult had broken up from Seville about the 10th, and had advanced towards Estremadura, notwithstanding the reports which had been previously received that he was busily occupied in strengthening Seville and the approaches to that city by works; and that all his measures indicated an intention to remain on the defensive in Andalusia.—I therefore set out on the following morning from Villa Fermosa; and having received further information of the 14th, from Sir William Beresford, of the enemy's movements, I hastened my progress, and arrived here on the 19th, and found that Sir William Beresford had raised the siege of Badajoz, without the loss of ordnance or stores of any description; and collected the troops under his command, and had formed a junction with Generals Castanos and Blake at Albuera, in the course of the 15th instant.—He was attacked there on the 16th by the French army under the command of Marshal Soult; and after a most severe engagement, in which all the troops conducted themselves in the most gallant manner, Sir William Beresford gained the Victory. The enemy retired in the night of the 17th, leaving between 900 and 1,000 wounded on the ground.—Sir William Beresford sent the allied cavalry after them; and on the 19th, in the morning, reinvested Badajoz.—I enclose reports of Sir William Beresford, of the 10th and 18th inst. on the operations of the siege to the moment of raising it, and on the battle at Albuera; and I beg to draw your Lordship's attention to the ability, the firmness, and the gallantry manifested by marshal Sir William Beresford throughout the transactions on which he has written. I will add nothing to what he has said of the conduct of all the officers and troops, excepting to express my admiration of it, and my cordial concurrence in the favourable reports by Sir William Beresford of the good conduct of all.—All has remained quiet in Castile since I quitted that part of the country.—The battalions of the 9th corps, belonging to regiments serving in the Corps d'Armée in Andalusia, had marched from Salamanca on or about the 15th, and went towards Avila, and were to come by Madrid.—I send this dispatch by Major (Lieutenant-Colonel) Arbuthnot, the Secretary of Marshal Sir William Beresford, who was present in the battle of Albuera, and can give your Lordship any further information you can require; and I beg leave to recommend him to your Lordship.

Extract of a Letter from Marshal Beresford to Lord Wellington, dated Albuera, May 16, 1811.

In conformity to your Lordship's instructions given to me on the 24th ultimo, in consequence of the then state of the weather, and our means of communication across the Guadiana having been destroyed by the sudden flooding of that river, and leaving my cavalry in Zafra, Los Santos, and Villa Franca, I placed the infantry with its head at Almandralejo, Aznechal, and Villa Alva, where were the divisions of Major-General the Honourable William Stewart and Major-General Hamilton; and the Honourable Major-General Cole's division with Brigadier-General Madden's brigade of cavalry in Merida, the infantry brigade of it commanded by Brigadier-General Kemmis, and that was intended for the attack of Fort Saint Christoval, at Montejo, and the light brigade German Legion under Major-General Baron Alten, at Talavera Real, leaving the light battalion L. L. Legion in Olivenca, during the period of waiting the fall of the water of the Guadiana, and the re-establishment of our bridge, it being of considerable importance to push the enemy from us as far as possible during the siege, as he had on our obliging him to retire from Llerana to Guadalcanal held the latter place.—I directed a small column of two thousand men composed of the 1st brigade 2d division, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel-Colborne, with two squadrons of cavalry and two Spanish four-pounders, to proceed from Almandralejo, by Ribera and Maguilla to Azuaga to threaten his right, sending at the same time four squadrons of cavalry from Brigadier-General Long at Villa Franca to Llerana, to support the Count de Penne Villamur, who was then with the Spanish cavalry of Ge-

neral Castano's corps, to make him fear an attack in front, and General Ballasteros went from Monasterio to Montemolin to threaten his left. These manœuvres had the desired effect; as soon as the enemy saw the advance of Lieutenant-Colonel Colborne near Azuaga, where he had five hundred infantry and three hundred cavalry, he abandoned precipitately the place, and retired to Guadalcanal, which place the General Latour Maubourg with the 5th corps quitted in two hours after the arrival of this detachment, and at eleven o'clock at night retired near to Constantino. Lieutenant-Colonel Colborne performed this service in a most judicious and handsome manner.—The weather having been some time fine, and the waters of the Guadiana having subsided, and our preparations having by Lieutenant Colonel Fletcher's activity been nearly completed for the siege of Badajoz, on the 3rd of May I sent three brigades of infantry, a brigade of six pounders, and two squadrons of cavalry, under the orders of Major General the Honourable William Stewart, to invest more close Badajoz, on the south of the River, which he performed with his usual zeal and attention on the 4th. On the 6th instant, I directed the march of the remaining divisions on Badajoz, one by Albuera, the other by Talavera, leaving the cavalry as before placed. On the 7th I came before Badajoz with these divisions. General Castanos furnished also to co-operate in the siege 2,000 men, under the command of Brigadier Don Carlos D'Espagne. On the 8th I directed the brigade of Brigadier-General Kemmis, which had been previously placed on the Chebora, to proceed to the Torre of St. Ingracia, about two miles from Badajoz, on the Campo Maior Road, and to be joined there by the 17th Portuguese regiment, two squadrons of cavalry, and four six-pounders from Elvas; the force to meet at three o'clock in the morning, and the whole to be placed under the orders of the Honourable Major-General William Lumley, to invest the north side, and to attack Fort St. Cristoval. By some accident to the bearer of the orders to Brigadier-General Kemmis, the Officer did not arrive at his post till nine o'clock, the Honourable Major-Gen. Lumley on the approach of the light companies of the brigade, advancing towards the town, with the force he brought from Elvas, the Garrison made a sortie upon it, but was immediately drove back, and the Grenadiers of the 17th regiment particularly distinguished themselves by charging the enemy, headed by Colonel Turner; the detachment suffered the loss as per Return No. 1.—On the 8th, Lieutenant-Colonel Fletcher, to protect the further approaches, constructed batteries against the Pardalleiras and Piquerino, on the heights commanding them, though at a considerable distance; and Captain Squire whom the Lieutenant-Colonel had sent to superintend the works intended to be erected against St. Cristoval, began his operations on the 8th. The breaking ground on that side immediately caused great jealousy to the enemy, and he opposed it by a most heavy fire of shot and shell, and on the morning of the 10th, he made a sortie against the battery constructing, with about twelve hundred men, being within five hundred yards of the place. He soon reached the battery, and it having of the covering party allotted to it, only one light infantry company in it, the enemy got possession of it, but had it not for two minutes, as the whole of the covering party that was close to the battery on the slope of the hill, immediately seized their arms and drove the enemy back with considerable loss to him, but I regret to say ours on this occasion must have been considerably greater, from our troops having exposed themselves to the shot and shell of the town and fort of Saint Cristoval, and the musquetry from this latter.—I annex the return of our loss on this day, and in it I have to lament being deprived of the services of Colonel Turner, who in the very short time he had been in the Portuguese service, had given me the greatest satisfaction, and in these two days, the most conspicuous proofs of his gallantry.—I annex the returns of our further loss of men on the respective days that our operations against Badajoz continued, and the Honourable Major-General Lumley's Reports on the circumstances and consequences of the enemy's sorties.—On the 12th I received information from General Blake that Marshal Soult had left Seville on the 10th, and with the avowed intention of coming to Badajoz, his force stated to be fifteen thousand men; and General Latour Maubourg had already again moved upon and occupied Guadalcanal and Llerena, from which places the Count de Penne Villamur had been obliged to retire. As General Blake had come down to Frejenal, and General Ballasteros from

Monasterio had pushed his advances within a league of Seville, I could not judge if this advance of Marshal Soult was merely to oblige these Generals to retire, and leave him undisturbed in Seville, or really as it was given out to be, against me, and with the object of raising the siege of Badajoz, and therefore continued my operations against the place, until the further advance of Soult should more clearly determine this point; but in the middle of the night I received information from General Blake and other quarters of the rapid advance of Marshal Soult, and which left no doubt as to his intentions. I immediately sent to suspend operations against Badajoz, and to commence to remove to Elvas our guns and stores, which unfortunately had been nearly completed to what would have been wanted for the siege. By great exertions of Lieutenant-Colonel Fletcher of the Royal Engineers, and Major Dixon of the Artillery, every thing was removed on the evening of the 15th. To Lieutenant-General Leite's (the Governor of the province of Alemtejo) zeal and unwearied activity in whatever regards the service and welfare of his country, it is but just to say, we are on all occasions much indebted; and particularly on this in the getting together the transports necessary to us, and in furnishing and forwarding whatever else could be useful. I seize with pleasure this opportunity of giving to General Leite that praise which he has ever so fully merited. I had been obliged to cover the removal of the stores, &c. to leave the division of Major General the Honourable G. L. Cole before Badajoz. Major-General Cole marched from before Badajoz to join the army here at two o'clock on the morning of the 16th; and arrived at about half an hour before the enemy made his attack. I have, however, the satisfaction to inform your Lordship that the enemy cannot boast of having got a particle of our stores; they were all safely lodged in Elvas, and with the exception of Brigadier-General Kemmis's brigade, which was on the North side of the Guadiana, our troops were all united on the morning of the 16th, to meet the attack and oppose the march of Marshal Soult.

My Lord, *Albuera, 18th May,* 1811.

I have infinite satisfaction in communicating to your Lordship, that the allied army united here under my orders, obtained on the 16th inst. after a most sanguinary contest, a complete victory over that of the enemy, commanded by Marshal Soult; and I shall proceed to relate to your Lordship the circumstances.—In a former report I have informed your Lordship of the advance of Marshal Soult from Seville, and I had in consequence judged it wise, entirely to raise the siege of Badajoz, and prepare to meet him with our united forces, rather than by looking to two objects at once, to risk the loss of both. Marshal Soult, it appears, had been long straining every nerve to collect a force which he thought fully sufficient to his object for the relief of Badajoz, and for this purpose he had drawn considerable numbers from the corps of Marshal Victor and General Sebastiani, and also I believe from the French army of the centre. Having thus completed his preparations, he marched from Seville on the 10th instant, with a corps then estimated at fifteen or sixteen thousand men, and was joined on descending into Estremadura by the corps under General Latour Maubourg, stated to be five thousand men. His Excellency General Blake, as soon as he learnt the advance of Marshal Soult, in strict conformity to the plan proposed by your Lordship, proceeded to form his junction with the corps under my orders, and arrived at Valverde in person on the 14th instant, where, having consulted with his Excellency and General Castanos, it was determined to meet the enemy, and to give him battle.—On finding the determination of the enemy to relieve Badajoz, I had broken up from before that place, and marched the infantry to the position in front of Valverde, except the division of the Honourable Major General G. L. Cole, which, with two thousand Spanish troops, I left to cover the removal of our stores.—The cavalry, which had, according to orders, fallen back as the enemy advanced, was joined at Santa Martha by the cavalry of General Blake; that of General Castanos under the Count de Penne Villamur had been always with it.—As remaining at Valverde, though a stronger position, left Badajoz entirely open, I determined to take up a position (such as could be got, in this widely open country) at this place; thus standing directly between the enemy and Badajoz.—The army was therefore assembled here on the 15th instant. The corps of General Blake, though making a forced march to affect it, only joined in the night, and could not be placed in its posi-

tion till the morning of the 16th instant, when General Cole's division, with the Spanish Brigade under Don Carlos d'Espagne, also joined, and a little before the commencement of the action.—Our cavalry had been forced on the morning of the 15th instant to retire from Santa Martha and joined here. In the afternoon of that day the enemy appeared in front of us. The next morning our disposition for receiving the enemy was made, being formed in two lines, nearly parallel to the river Albuera, on the ridge of the gradual ascent rising from that river, and covering the roads to Badajoz and Valverde; though your Lordship is aware that the whole face of this country is every where passable for all arms. General Blake's corps was on the right, in two lines; its left on the Valverde road, joined the right of Major-General the Honourable William Stewart's division, the left of which reached the Badajoz road; where commenced the right of Major General Hamilton's division, which closed the left of the line. General Cole's division, with one brigade of General Hamilton's formed the second line of the British and Portuguese army.—The enemy, on the morning of the 16th, did not long delay his attack; at eight o'clock he was observed to be in movement, and his cavalry was seen passing the rivulet of Albuera, considerably above our right, and shortly after he marched out of the wood opposite to us, a strong force of cavalry, and two heavy columns of infantry, pointing them to our front, as if to attack the village and bridge of Albuera; during this time, under cover of his vastly superior cavalry, he was filing the principal body of his infantry over the river beyond our right, and it was not long before his intention appeared to be to turn us by that flank, and cut us off from Valverde. Major General Cole's division was therefore ordered to form an oblique line to the rear of our right, with his own right thrown back. And the intention of the enemy to attack our right becoming evident, I requested General Blake to form part of his first line, and all his second, to that front, which was done.—The enemy commenced his attack at nine o'clock, not ceasing at the same time to menace our left; and after a strong and gallant resistance of the Spanish troops, he gained the heights upon which they had been formed: meanwhile the division of the Honourable Major-General William Stewart had been brought up to support them; and that of Major General Hamilton brought to the left of the Spanish line, and formed in contiguous close columns of battalions, to be moveable in any direction. The Portuguese brigade of cavalry, under Brigadier General Otway, remained at some distance on the left of this, to check any attempt of the enemy below the village.—As the heights the enemy had gained, raked and entirely commanded our whole position, it became necessary to make every effort to retake and maintain them; and a noble one was made by the division of General Stewart, headed by that gallant officer. Nearly at the beginning of the enemy's attack, a heavy storm of rain came on, which, with the smoke from the firing, rendered it impossible to discern any thing distinctly.—This, with the nature of the ground, had been extremely favourable to the enemy in forming his columns, and in his subsequent attack.—The right brigade of General Stewart's division, under Lieutenant-Colonel Colborne, first came into action, and behaved in the most gallant manner, and finding that the enemy's column could not be shaken by fire, proceeded to attack it with the bayonet; and, while in the act of charging, a body of Polish lancers (cavalry) which the thickness of the atmosphere and the nature of the ground had concealed, (and which was, besides, mistaken by those of the brigade when discovered for Spanish cavalry, and therefore not fired upon,) turned it; and being thus attacked unexpectedly in the rear was unfortunately broken and suffered immensely. The 31st regiment, being the left one of the brigade, alone escaped this charge, and under the command of Major L'Estrange kept its ground, until the arrival of the 3d brigade, under Major-General Hoghton. The conduct of this brigade was most conspicuously gallant, and that of the 2d brigade, under the command of the Honourable Lieutenant-Colonel Abercrombie was not less so. Major General Hoghton, cheering on his brigade to the charge, fell pierced by wounds. Though the enemy's principal attack was on this point of the right, he also made a continual attempt upon that part of our original front at the village and bridge, which were defended in the most gallant manner by Major-General Baron Alten and the light infantry brigade of the German Legion, whose conduct was, in every point of view, conspicuously good. This point now formed our left, and Major-General Hamilton's division had been brought

up there; and he was left to direct the defence of that point, whilst the enemy's attack continued on our right, a considerable proportion of the Spanish troops supporting the defence of this place. The enemy's cavalry, on his infantry attempting to force our right, had endeavoured to turn it; but by the able manœuvres of Major-General the Honourable William Lumley, commanding the allied cavalry, though vastly inferior to that of the enemy in number, his endeavours were foiled. Major-General Cole, seeing the attack of the enemy, very judiciously bringing up his left a little, marched in line to attack the enemy's left, and arrived most opportunely to contribute, with the charges of the brigades of General Stewart's division, to force the enemy to abandon his situation, and retire precipitately, and to take refuge under his reserve; here the Fuzileer brigade particularly distinguished itself. He was pursued by the Allies to a considerable distance, and as far as I thought it prudent with his immense superiority of cavalry; and I contented myself with seeing him driven across the Albuera.—I have every reason to speak favourably of the manner in which our artillery was served, and fought; and Major Hartman, commanding the British, and Major Dickson, commanding the Portuguese, and the officers and men, are entitled to my thanks. The four guns of the horse artillery, commanded by Captain Lefebure, did great execution on the enemy's cavalry, and one brigade of Spanish artillery (the only one in the field) I saw equally gallantly and well served. We lost, in the misfortune which occurred to the brigade commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Colborne (whom General Stewart reports to have acted and was then acting in a most noble manner, leading on the brigade in admirable order) one howitzer, which the enemy, before the arrival of the gallant General Hoghton's brigade, had time to carry off, with two hundred or three hundred prisoners of that brigade. After he had been beaten from this, his principal attack, he still continued that near the village, on which he never could make any impression or cross the rivulet, though I had been obliged to bring a very great proportion of the troops from it, to support the principal point of attack; but the enemy, seeing his main attack defeated, relaxed in his attempt there also. The Portuguese division of Major-General Hamilton, in every instance evinced the utmost steadiness and courage, and manœuvred equally well with the British.—Brigadier-General Harvey's Portuguese brigade, belonging to General Cole's division, had an opportunity of distinguishing itself when marching in line across the plain, by repulsing with the utmost steadiness a charge of the enemy's cavalry.—It is impossible to enumerate every instance of discipline and valour shewn on this severely contested day. But never were troops that more valiantly or more gloriously maintained the honour of their respective countries. I have not been able to particularize the Spanish divisions, brigades, or regiments, that were particularly engaged, because I am not acquainted with their denominations or names; but I have great pleasure in saying that their behaviour was most gallant and honourable; and though from the superior number and weight of the enemy's force, that part of them that were in the position attacked were obliged to cede the ground, it was after a gallant resistance, and they continued in good order to support their Allies; and I doubt not, his Excellency General Blake will do ample justice on this head, by making honourable mention of the deserving.—The battle commenced at nine o'clock, and continued without interruption till two in the afternoon, when the enemy having been driven over the Albuera, for the remainder of the day there was but cannonading and skirmishing.—It is impossible by any description to do justice to the distinguished gallantry of the troops, but every individual most nobly did his duty, and which will be well proved by the great loss we have suffered, though repulsing the enemy; and it was observed, that our dead, particularly the 57th regiment, were lying, as they had fought, in ranks, and every wound was in the front.—The Honourable Major-General William Stewart most particularly distinguished himself, and conduced much to the honour of the day; he received two contusions, but would not quit the field. Major General the Honourable G. L. Cole is also entitled to every praise; and I have to regret being deprived for some time of his services, by the wound he has received. The Honourable Lieutenant-Colonel Abercrombie, commanding the 2d brigade, 2d division, and Major L'Estrange, 31st regiment, deserve to be particularly mentioned; and nothing could exceed the conduct and gallantry of Colonel Inglis, at the head of his regiment. To the Honourable Major-General William Lumley,

for the very able manner in which he opposed the numerous cavalry of the enemy, and foiled him in his object, I am particularly indebted. To Major General Hamilton, who commanded on the left, during the severe attack upon our right, I also much indebted; and the Portuguese brigade of Brigadier-Generals Fonseca and Archibald Campbell, deserve to be mentioned. To Major-General Alten, and to the excellent Brigade under his orders, I have much praise to give; and it is with great pleasure I assure your Lordship that the good and gallant conduct of every corps, and of every person, was in proportion to the opportunity that offered for distinguishing themselves. I know not an individual who did not do his duty. I have, I fear, to regret the loss to the service of Colonel Collings commanding a Portuguese Brigade, his leg having been carried off by a cannon shot. He is an officer of great merit; and I deeply lament the death of Major-General Hoghton and of those two promising officers Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Wm. Myers and Lieutenant-Colonel Duckworth.—It is most pleasing to me to inform your Lordship, not only of the steady and gallant conduct of our allies, the Spanish troops, under his Excellency General Blake, but also to assure you that the most perfect harmony has subsisted between us, and that General Blake not only conformed in all things to the general line proposed by your Lordship, but in the details and in whatever I suggested to his Excellency, I received the most immediate and cordial assent and co-operation; and nothing was omitted on his part, to ensure the success of our united efforts; and during the battle, he most essentially, by his experience, knowledge, and zeal, contributed to its fortunate result.—His Excellency the Captain General Castanos who had united the few troops he had in a state to be brought into the field, to those of General Blake, and placed them under his orders, assisted in person in the field; and not only on this, but on all occasions, I am much indebted to General Castanos, who is ever beforehand in giving whatever can be beneficial to the success of the common cause.—Though I unfortunately cannot point out the corps or many of the individuals of the Spanish troops that distinguished themselves, yet I will not omit to mention the names of General Vallesteros, whose gallantry was most conspicuous, as of the corps he had under his command; and the same of Generals Zayas and of Don Carlos D'Espagne. The Spanish cavalry have behaved extremely well, and the Count de Penne Villamur is particularly deserving to be mentioned.—I annex the return of our loss in this hard contested day: it is very severe, and in addition to it is the loss of the troops under his Excellency General Blake, who are killed, missing, and wounded, but of which I have not the return. The loss of the enemy, though I cannot know what it is, must be still more severe. He has left on the field of battle about two thousand dead, and we have taken from nine hundred to one thousand prisoners. He has had five generals killed and wounded; of the former Generals of division Werle and Pefim; and Gazan and two others amongst the latter. —His force was much more considerable than we had been informed of, as I do not think he displayed less than from twenty to twenty-two thousand infantry, and he certainly had four thousand cavalry with a numerous and heavy artillery. His overbearing cavalry cramped and confined all our operations, and with his artillery saved his infantry, after its rout. He retired after the battle to the ground he had been previously on, but occupying it in position; and on this morning, or rather during the night, commenced his retreat on the road he came, towards Seville, and has abandoned Badajoz to its fate. He left a number of his wounded on the ground he had retired to, and to which we are administering what assistance we can. I have sent our cavalry to follow the enemy, but in that arm he is too powerful for us to attempt any thing against him in the plains he is traversing.—Thus we have reaped the advantage we proposed from our opposition to the attempts of the enemy; and whilst he has been forced to abandon the object for which he has almost stripped Andalusia of troops, instead of having accomplished the haughty boasts with which Marshal Soult harangued his troops on leaving Seville, he returns there with a curtailed army, and what perhaps may be still more hurtful to him, with a diminished reputation.—In enumerating the services received from the Officers of my own Staff, I must particularly call your Lordship's attention to those of Brigadier-General d'Urban, Quarter-Master-General to the Portuguese army; and which I cannot sufficiently praise, though I can appreciate. On all occasions I have felt the benefits of his talents and services, and

more particularly on this, where they very essentially contributed to the success of the day; and I cannot here omit the name of Lieutenant-Colonel Hardinge, Deputy Quarter-Master-General to the Portuguese troops, whose talent and exertions deserve my thanks. To Brigadier-General Mosinho Adjutant-General of the Portuguese army, and to Lieutenant-Colonel Rooke, Assistant-Adjutant-General to the united British and Portuguese force, and to Brigadier-General Lemos, and to the Officers of my own personal Staff, I am indebted for their assistance.—To the services of Lieutenant-Colonel Arbuthnot (Major in his Majesty's service), I am also much indebted, and he is the bearer of this to your Lordship, and is fully enabled to give you any further information you may desire, and is most deserving of any favour your Lordship may be pleased to recommend him for, to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent.—I have, &c.

(Signed) W. C. BERESFORD,
Marshal and Lieut. Gen.

P. S. Major-General Hamilton's Division, and Brigadier-General Madden's Brigade of Portuguese cavalry march tomorrow morning to re-invest Badajoz on the South Side of the Guadiana.

W. C. B.

No. I.

Return of killed, wounded, and missing of the Corps of the Army under the Command of Lieutenant-General Lord Viscount Wellington, K. B. under the immediate Orders of Marshal Sir W. Carr Beresford, K. B. in an Attack of the Enemy's Post before Badajoz, on the 8th May, 1811.

3d Batt. 27th Foot—5 rank and file wounded.

97th Foot—6 rank and file wounded.

Total British Loss—11 rank and file wounded.

Portuguese Loss—1 rank and file killed; 1 Ensign, 18 rank and file wounded.

General Total—1 rank and file killed; 1 Ensign, 29 rank and file wounded.

Name of Officer wounded.

17th Portuguese Regiment—Ensign Luiz Valoza.

(Signed) CHARLES STEWART,
Major-Gen. and Adj.-Gen.

No. II.

Return of killed, wounded, and missing of the Corps of the Army under the Command of Lieutenant General Lord Viscount Wellington, K. B. under the immediate Orders of Marshal Sir W. Carr Beresford, K. B. in the Repulse of a Sortie from Badajoz, on the Morning of the 10th May, 1811.

Royal Engineers—1 Lieutenant wounded.

3d Batt. 27th Foot—1 Captain, 8 rank and file, killed; 1 Major, 1 Captain, 1 Lieutenant, 2 Ensigns, 1 Serjeant, 102 rank and file, wounded.

1st Batt. 40th Foot—1 Serjeant, 11 rank and file killed; 1 Lieutenant-Colonel, 1 Major, 5 Lieutenants, 5 Serjeants, 3 drummers, 180 rank and file, wounded.

2d Batt. 48th Foot—1 rank and file killed.

5th Batt. 60th Foot—1 rank and file, killed; 1 Captain, 7 rank and file wounded.

97th Foot—1 Serjeant, 8 rank and file killed; 3 Lieutenants, 2 Ensigns, 3 Serjeants, 58 rank and file, wounded.

Total British Loss—1 Captain, 2 Serjeants, 29 rank and file, killed; 1 Lieutenant Colonel, 2 Majors, 2 Captains, 10 Lieutenants, 4 Ensigns, 9 Serjeants, 3 drummers, 347 rank and file wounded.

Portuguese Loss—1 Colonel, 2 Captains, 1 drummer, 34 rank and file, wounded; 12 rank and file missing.

General Loss—1 Captain, 2 Serjeants, 29 rank and file, killed; 1 Colonel, 1 Lieutenant-Colonel, 2 Majors, 4 Captains, 10 Lieutenants, 4 Ensigns, 9 Serjeants, 4 drummers, 381 rank and file wounded; 12 rank and file missing.

(Signed) CHARLES STEWART,
Major-Gen. and Adj.-Gen.

Names of the Officers killed, wounded, and missing, on the 10th May, 1811.

Killed.

3d Batt. 27th Foot—Captain Smith.

Wounded.

Royal Engineers—Lieutenant Reid, slightly.

3d Batt. 27th Foot—Major Birmingham, (since dead); Captain Pring, severely; Lieutenant Levinge, Ensigns M'Coard and Hanley.

1st Batt. 40th Foot—Lieutenant-Colonel Harcourt, slightly; Major Thornton, do.; Lieutenant Street, slightly; Lieutenant Thoreau; Lieutenant Strawbenzie, severely; Lieutenants Kelly and Brown.

5th Batt. 60th Foot—Captain Prevost, severely.

97th Foot—Lieut. Coppinger, severely; Lieutenant Daunt, slightly; Lieutenant Kettlewell, Ensign Dowman, lost an arm; Ensign Downing, severely.

Portuguese wounded.

17th Regiment—Colonel Turner severely; Captains Baquet and Maxwell.

No. III.

Return of killed, wounded, and missing, of the Corps of the Army under the Command of Lieutenant-General Lord Viscount Wellington, K. B. under the immediate Orders of Marshal Sir W. C. Beresford, K. B. in the Trenches and Batteries before Badajoz, between the 8th and 15th of May, 1811, inclusive.

Royal Engineers—1 Captain, 1 Lieutenant, killed; 2 Captains wounded.

3d Batt. 27th Foot—1 Serjeant, 4 rank and file, killed; 1 Lieutent-Colonel, 2 Lieutenants, 8 Serjeants, 1 drummer, 52 rank and file, wounded.

2d Batt. 34th Foot—1 rank and file wounded.

1st Batt. 40th Foot—10 rank and file killed; 2 Captains, 1 Lieutenant, 18 rank and file, wounded.

5th Batt. 60th Foot—1 rank and file wounded.

97th Foot—7 rank and file killed, 19 rank and file wounded.

2d Light Battalion, King's German Legion—1 rank and file wounded.

Total British Loss—1 Captain, 1 Lieutenant, 1 Serjeant, 21 rank and file killed; 1 Lieutenant-Colonel, 4 Captains, 3 Lieutenants, 8 Serjeants, 1 Drummer, 92 rank and file, wounded.

Portuguese Loss—1 Lieutenant, 1 Ensign, 2 Serjeants, 40 rank and file killed; 1 Lieutenant, 1 Ensign, 4 Serjeants, 1 Drummer, 88 rank and file wounded; 1 Lieutenant, 22 rank and file missing.

General Loss—1 Captain, 2 Lieutenants, 1 Ensign, 3 Serjeants, 61 rank and file killed; 1 Lieutenant-Colonel, 4 Captains, 4 Lieutenants, 1 Ensign, 12 Serjeants, 2 Drummers, 180 rank and file wounded; 1 Lieutenant, 22 rank and file missing.

(Signed) CHARLES STEWART, Major-Gen. and Adj Gen.

Names of Officers killed, wounded, and missing of the Army between the 8th and 15th May, inclusive.

Killed.

Royal Engineers—Captain Dickinson, Lieutenant Melville.

Wounded.

Royal Engineers—Captain Ross, Captain Boteler, severely.

3d Batt. 27th Foot—Lieutenant-Colonel M'Lean; Lieutenants Gordon and Dobbins, slightly.

1st Batt. 40th Foot—Captains Heyland and Wood, Lieutenant Butler.

Portuguese killed.

17th Regiment—Ensign Raymond de Viagas.

1st Batt. L. L. Leg.—Lieut. Cæsar de Fontes.

Wounded.

17th Regiment—Lieut. John Iniceps, Ensign Joao Anselmo.

Missing.

1st Batt. L. L. Leg.—Lieut. Joaquim de Pinto. (Signed) CHARLES STEWART, Major-Gen. and Adj. Gen.

No. IV.

Return of killed, wounded, and missing of the Corps of the Army under Command of Lieut. General Viscount Wellington, K. B. under the immediate Orders of Marshal Sir William Carr Beresford, K. B. in the Battle with the French Army commanded by Marshal Soult, at Albuera, on the 16th May, 1811.

General Staff—1 killed, 7 wounded.

Royal British Artillery—3 rank and file, 9 horses killed; 1 Captain, 10 rank and file, 10 horses, wounded; 1 rank and file, 1 horse missing.

Royal Germany Artillery—24 horses killed; 1 Lieutenant, 16 rank and file wounded; 1 Lieutenant, 1 Trumpeter, 29 rank and file, 10 horses missing.

3d Dragoon Guards—1 Lieutenant, 9 rank and file, 9 horses, killed; 9 rank and file, 6 horses, wounded; 1 rank and file, 4 horses, missing.

4th Dragoons—1 Serjeant, 2 rank and file, 11 horses, killed; 1 Captain, 1 Lieutenant, 1 Serjeant, 1 Trumpeter, 15 rank and file, 10 horses wounded; 2 Captains, 2 rank and file, 2 horses, missing.

13th Light Dragoons—1 horse killed; 1 rank and file wounded.

(To be continued.)

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

BATTLE OF ALBUERA.——In my last, beginning at page 1409, I made some remarks upon the dispatches, or, rather, *Extracts* of Dispatches, relating to this battle; and, I think, I placed the matter in a clear and fair point of view. What, then, must have been my astonishment, when I read, in the newspapers of the next day, a report of a parliamentary debate, from which it appeared, that the *Thanks* of the Honourable House, had, without the slightest opposition, been voted to those who, on our side, commanded in that battle, the result of which, has even in Parliament, been styled "a *glorious* victory?" ——From this it appears manifest, either that I am a very much deceived man; that, from some cause or other, I am wholly ignorant of what is passing in Spain and Portugal; or, that others are in that state; or, that one or the other of us wilfully misrepresent facts.——It is possible, that the walls of a prison have benumbed my intellectual faculties as well as cut me off from the cheering sight of my home and my family. This is possible; but, as to the question before us, I flattered myself that I saw very clearly; and I yet think that I see clearly; though, from the positive assertions, and the loud boasts, in the reported speech of the minister, PERCEVAL, one would really suppose, that I must be infatuated in the same way as was the poor Archbishop of Granada, who, in spite of a monitor, could not be made to think that he was become weak and stupid.—— This is, however, a state, in which a man does not readily acknowledge himself to be, and, therefore, it will not be thought unnatural in me to endeavour to shew that I was right in the opinions, which I have before expressed upon this subject, though differing so very widely from those so boldly expressed, and so heartily cheered in the Honourable House.——It never has been my custom to *garble*, or to suppress. I always like that my opponents should be heard as well as myself; and, upon this principle I have inserted below, the whole of the report of Mr. PERCEVAL's speech, as I find it given in the COURIER news-paper of the 8th instant; and which speech I must beg of the reader to peruse carefully, attending in particular to the parts, which I have designated by *Italic characters*; for, the thing which I am about to answer should, of course, be read, before the answer itself be read.——Mr. PERCEVAL sets out by taking much merit to himself and his colleagues for their *abstinence* in moving for votes of thanks to their generals and other commanders; and, indeed, he expresses his fear, that the Honourable House may think, that they have been rather *remiss* in the discharge of this part of their duty. He says, that it is *remarkable*, that, in so short a period of the present session, this is the third time they have been impelled to move for votes of thanks; that they have been careful *not* to make such motions in any case of an *equivocal* character or *inferior importance*; that the Honourable House must be convinced that they have not come forward to ask for its thanks, except in cases where the duty was imposed upon them by "the *blessings of Providence*" upon his Majesty's Arms; that they have moved, in this way, in no cases, which might admit of *a doubt* as to a just claim to the thanks of Parliament; that scarcely *a day* has, of late, passed without an expectation of some victory, which expectation had been *uniformly realized* by the accounts; and, that, in short (and I beseech the reader to mark well the words) "such a *tide and flood of victory* flowed in "our favour, that *the enemy served now* "*only as a fund to supply materials for* "*the accumulating glories of the British* "*army*"——Such, as the reader will see, is the substance of what he is reported to have said as to our victories in general. And this, the reader will observe, is reported to have been stated in the Honourable House, and to have been *loudly cheered*.——Now, I differ completely in opinion with this minister. I do not agree with him in any one point. The events of the war, the votes of thanks, and the state of the war now, compared with what it was last year, does not, in my opinion, justify any one

of these positions. As to the war *in general*, what have we gained in this year? The French occupy more ground than they occupied last year at this time. In the month of June last, they had not taken Ciudad Rodrigo, and they had not taken Badajoz. They are now in possession of the former; and, we do not yet know, that they are not in possession of the latter also, notwithstanding it has been besieged; and, let it not be forgotten, that a great part of Portugal has since been laid waste by that very enemy, to keep whom out of Portugal was, a year ago, our professed object. The killed and wounded, the cost in blood and in taxes, I shall, for the argument's sake, reckon as of no account at all. Yet it might be reckoned, especially when we know, that the war has been carried on, on the part of France, without any reinforcements of any sort from France, while it is equally well known, that the reinforcements and supplies from England have been incessant, and when we also know, that the money voted for the keeping up of Portuguese troops has been *doubled*.——These, however, I leave out of the question; and ask of "the "*thinking* people" merely to put this question to themselves; "have our armies "gained *one inch of ground* from the French, "since the month of June, 1810?" If this question be answered in the negative, it must inevitably follow, that the war has not been successful *upon the whole*, but the contrary, because it cannot be denied, that Portugal as well as England have paid most dearly for the year's war.——But, now, as for this particular battle. I was before of the opinion, that we had nothing (except, perhaps, some individual acts of bravery) to boast of; and this opinion has not been at all shaken by the reported speech of Mr. PERCEVAL, loudly as it appears to have been applauded, in those parts where victory was most unequivocally claimed.——I observed, in my last, that we had accounts of the *strength* of the French, but no accounts of the *strength of our own army*. This want of information as to the numbers on *our side* I exceedingly dislike, because it deprives us of the power of judging as to the character of the result of the action. And, the want of such information is the less easily to be excused when we see our General stating with such apparent certainty the numbers of the enemy. He tells the ministers, not only what were the actual numbers of the Duke of Dalmatia (Soult); but, he also tells them whence he had drawn those numbers together. Some he had got from Marshal Victor, some from General Sebastiani, and some from General Latour Maubourg; and yet, he says not (in what has been *published* of his dispatch) one single word of *his own numbers*, of which, however, he could not be less ignorant, at any rate, than he must have been of those of the enemy; or, if he was, it will, I think, be allowed, that his inquiries and his information must have been of a very singular cast, of a cast quite peculiar to himself.——Had he, indeed, said *nothing at all about numbers*. Had he been *quite silent* upon this point, there would have been no room for complaint; but, if he gave the numbers on one side, surely he ought to have given them on the other. The reason, doubtless, for giving the numbers of the French, was, that we might see what a force it was that our army had overcome. Indeed, the numbers of the enemy are manifestly and avowedly given for this purpose; and, if so, why were not our numbers given for the same purpose? How were we to know any thing of the *merits* of the case, unless we had the numbers on *both* sides?——It may be said, perhaps, that for Marshal Beresford to state *his* numbers to the ministers would have been useless, seeing that they must always be in possession of the state of his army, having regular Returns thereof sent to them by every post. Yes, it was useless as far as regarded the ministers; but, not as towards the public and the world. If, indeed, the Dispatches had been kept by the ministers unpublished; or, had been intended for that purpose, the omission to state our own numbers would have been natural enough; but, as the account was intended for *publication*, as the battle was to be recorded in this dispatch, it surely ought to have contained the numbers *on both sides*.——The reason of this is so plain, that it will be utterly impossible to persuade any man of common sense, that the suppression of the knowledge of the numbers on our side arose from any persuasion, that such knowledge would have contributed towards producing a conviction of our having gained the victory. It is quite impossible to make any man believe, that, if stating the numbers or our side would have added to our pretensions, those numbers would not have been stated. In short, it is clear, that our commander had a great superiority of numbers; and that this is the true cause

of the numbers not being stated on both sides.——If there had been any doubt of this before, there could be none after, the speech of Mr. PERCEVAL, who talked, it would seem, about every thing but the *numbers*; that is to say, about every thing except that which would have enabled the public to judge of the real merits of this battle, respecting which he was calling for a vote of thanks.——Me, however, no one shall so put off. I will get at the *truth* if I can, and will communicate it to my readers.——In the last Number of the Register I gave some details that must have staggered a great many people. I should suppose them to have been quite sufficient; but, as I see the venal prints still insisting upon an *inferiority of Numbers* on our part, I will now confront their present statements, with the statements they gave us *before* the battle.——Let us first see what they *then* said of the *force of the enemy*; and let us quote solely from the COURIER news-paper. This paper told us,

On the 7th of May, that SOULT was in so low a plight at Seville, that his Infantry, Cavalry, and Civic Troops altogether amounted to only	1,884
That Sebastiani was ill of a consumption, and that he had altogether but 6,000. And, observe, it was only *a part* of these that Soult drew away, as Marshal Beresford says, for the battle of Albuera. Let us suppose that he took, however, even two-thirds of Sebastiani's force, that would make but	4,000
Victor, in the same paper, was represented as unable to meet a force of 10,000 men, consequently he could not spare many, without abandoning the *siege of Cadiz*; but, supposing Soult to have got a couple of thousand from Victor (as Marshal Beresford says he got *some* from him), and then it must be matter of astonishment how Victor could continue the siege of Cadiz	2,000
The French *army of the centre* was stated to consist of 14,000 men. Give Soult one half of them......	7,000
Marshal Beresford says, that Latour Maubourg joined him with	5,000
	19,884

Thus, according to the accounts which these prints gave us *before* the battle, it appears, that by leaving the other parts of the French army naked, SOULT would be able to collect only about 19 or 20,000 men. And, observe, that, at this time, he was *at Seville*, more than a *hundred miles* from Albuera, and that our people were taking measures to go and *capture* his army bodily.——Our army, on the contrary, was an immense force. The COURIER told us,

On the 7th of May, that General Blake had 12,000 infantry and 600 horse	12,600
On the 17th of May, that the Spanish General Ballesteros had, at Zafra, on the road between Badajoz and Seville	6,000
That there were on the line from Zafra to Valverde and at Santa Martha, English infantry amounting to	20,000
That there were along with these, Portuguese Infantry ("*as good* "*as any in the world*")...........	15,000
That there were, accompanying these Infantry, English and Portuguese *Cavalry*.....................	6,000
	59,600

Here, then are 59,000 men; but, we have not yet got the army of Spaniards under the Captain General, Castanos, who, as the reader will observe, joined Marshal Beresford before the battle.

However, leave this army out; for, surely, we have enough.——Marshal Beresford puts the French force, at the very highest, only at 26,000 men; and, there is, I think, little reason to suppose, that, after the battle, and *such* a battle, he *under-rated* them. Here, then, we have many more than two for one; and, out of them 41,000 English, and Portuguese "as good "as any troops in the world." *One* Englishman used to be thought, or at least, said to be, equal to *three* Frenchmen; but, now, it would seem, that it is a *glorious* act for two Englishmen to beat one Frenchman.——Am I told, that these statements of the COURIER and other venal prints were *false*? May be so; but, then, never ask me to believe them again; and never expect any body but this "*thinking* "nation" to put any trust in their future statements.——I do not, for my part, care which they choose. Their former state-

ments were false, or their latter ones; but, then, observe, there is *no believing them at all*; and, of course, what they now say about our army being *inferior in number* to that of the French, is not to be believed. It is to pass for nothing; and, we have to rely upon the estimate made in my last, according to which our army was upon this occasion upwards of 50,000 strong, including the Spaniards and Portuguese. And, observe, we must not suffer it to be said, that the troops of our allies were not equal to our own troops; for, we have it under MARSHAL BERESFORD'S own hand, that the Portuguese were, eight months ago, "as good "as any troops *in the world*," and, of course, as good as English troops; and, as to the Spaniards, shame will surely prevent us from decrying them, when it is known that they occupied *the post of honour* in this very battle; that they were placed where the most furious onset was expected and where it took place. No: shame upon the man who, after this, affects to consider the troops of our allies as not to be included to their full amount in our statement of numbers.——Thus, then, I think, that the question of numbers is pretty well settled. I think it will be impossible, after this, to make any one believe, that the army of the allies was not in numbers more than double the strength of the enemy.——We will now advert to other circumstances.—We are repeatedly told in the *extracts* of the Dispatch, that the enemy had a *vast superiority of cavalry*. I have shown that the corps of *English* cavalry in the battle, did, according to the *pay* accounts laid before the Honourable House, on the 20th of February last, amount to 2,748 men, and, if we deduct a *fifth* for *deaths* and *desertions* since that time, there would be 2,199 left to be present at the battle, besides the Portuguese and Spanish Cavalry. The Marshal's estimate carries the French horse only to 4,000 men; and, I think, we may be very well satisfied that he did not *under*-rate them. Where, then, could have been this vast superiority in the cavalry? Besides, our venal prints told us, *before the battle*, that the English and Portuguese cavalry under Marshal Beresford amounted to 6,000; and, they also told us, that the few horses that Soult had were in *such a miserable state*, that they were obliged to be *led*, being unable to carry their riders! See the COURIER of the 7th of May, and compare what it *then* said with what it says *now*; and then Oh! "*thinking* people!" pray do *think* a little before you believe it another time.——But, there is one consideration that all these writers and that Mr. PERCEVAL seem wholly to overlook, and that is, that this account which is now given us of the great *strength* of the French armies agrees but very badly with the hopes held out to us, of a speedy ejection of those French from the peninsula; for, if they are so strong, what reason have we to suppose that they will not remain where they are? And, especially if they are made of that sort of stuff that enables them to spring up in such force after having been so recently annihilated. Just a month ago we were told, that all the French troops in Spain were drawing together towards the North, preparatory to their evacuating the country. And now, behold! up jump two armies, both of them said by those same writers, to be superior to ours in number, and stated by our commanders themselves to be vastly superior in cavalry. If this be all true, then, what is the use of fighting with fellows like these. They take as much killing as a serpent; and if you cut them up into morsels, you must absolutely throw away those morsels, or, serpent-like, they re-unite and come at you again. They appear to possess the powers of necromancy. They assume all sorts of shapes and qualities. Sometimes, they cut and slash about them with the arm of flesh; and at others, they, like ghosts, elude our grasp and even our sight, a remarkable instance of which was afforded us by GENERAL BRENNIER, whose affair I do not observe to have been mentioned in the Honourable House.——With such fellows what are we to do? They are *conjurers*; or, at least, if they are not, our venal newspapers are *liars*.——The French were, too, we are told, *superior in Artillery* at ALBUERA. How very surprizing this is! We, observe, were beginning a siege of a great town; and yet we had not artillery equal to the enemy, who, in the course of 5 days, or 6 days at most, had brought his army all the way from Seville, *a distance of more than a hundred miles*! What devils these Frenchmen must be! Marshal Beresford tells us, that Soult marched from Seville on the 10th; the battle was *fought* on the 16th; and the distance is about 130 English miles. Here was a distance of more than 20 miles a day to go for 6 days running and to get along cannon, ammunition, provisions, and every thing necessary for the support of an army. And, yet, we are

told, not only that Soult had Artillery; but that he was superior to us in that sort of arm.——There was our army upon the spot; it had no fatigues recently undergone; it had all possible advantages; it had its ground to choose; it did, in fact, place itself behind a river; it had time for every thing; and, this army, so rested, so situated, so prepared and so provided, was attacked by an army who had just performed a march of 130 miles in the space of 6 days. And yet Mr. PERCEVAL is reported to have talked of the *disadvantages* under which the allies laboured!——While, however, this gentleman is talking in a very loud strain about *our* victory, he discovers some apprehension, that the *enemy* will also boast of victory; and, therefore, after the manner of *Nisi Prius* pleading, he very judiciously anticipates master Soult. The words of this part of his speech are worthy of particular notice. "But," says he, "in the circumstances of this action, "there are some particulars, which may "afford the enemy *a pretext to claim a victory*. "In the charge which the Brigade of Co- "lonel Colborne sustained from the Polish "Cavalry, the *three* regiments of which, "it was composed, *undoubtedly lost their* "*colours*. The colours of one of them "were afterwards *recovered*, one standard "retaken from the enemy, and the other "preserved for his corps in an exemplary "manner by the gallant officer who had "the charge of it. The colours of the "*two* other regiments *undoubtedly are in* "*possession of the enemy*, and will, in *all* "*probability*, be made the grounds of *a* "*claim of victory*."——There must have been some mistake on the part of the reporter here; for the confusion is manifest; but at any rate, the fact is, *that the standards of two of our regiments remain with the enemy*. That is the fact; and why were not these regiments *named*? Why are we not to be told these particulars as well as others? Why did not somebody cry out *name! name!* as to this point? Be this as it may, however, the standards of two of our regiments, English regiments, remained with the enemy; and, let it be observed, that these two regiments were *thanked* as well as the rest. ——Mr. PERCEVAL appears not to have followed up the *Nisi Prius* practice any further, upon this occasion, than merely anticipating the boast of the enemy. The *Nisi Prius* practice, is generally not only to anticipate what the adversary will say, but to *answer* him by anticipation. This it does not appear that Mr. PERCEVAL did, or even attempted. He merely said, that the enemy having actually carried off the standards of two of our regiments, that would, *in all probability*, be made the grounds of *a claim of victory*.——*Probability*! Why *probability*? Why not *certainty*? Why should it be supposed that Soult would not boast of this as a proof of victory? Did not we ground such a claim upon the having taken *an Eagle* at Barrosa? What a noise did that capture make! How was the statement of the fact cheered in the Honourable House! How was Mr. Sheridan *overpowered* in echoing the statement! The good folks, the "most "*thinking* people," out of doors were affected in as great a degree, making allowance for the comparative *coarseness* of their feelings. What parade, what pomp, what solemnity, at the lodging of these colours at Whitehall! What branches of *bay* and what airs of *victory*.——I will put this matter upon record in its official form, it having been thus called forth by the speech of Mr. Perceval.——COURIER, 17 May, 1811.—"The Royal Depositing of "the Colours, taken from the French by "Gen. Graham, will take place to morrow, "the 18th inst. in Whitehall Chapel by "order of the Prince Regent.—BRIGADE "ORDERS.—PAROLE, *honorary*.—The fol- "lowing arrangement is made for the "Ceremonial of lodging the Standard and "Colours taken from the enemy, in White- "hall, on Saturday, the 18th inst.:—His "Majesty's Guard to be formed at half- "past ten in the morning, on the Parade, "Horse-Guards, and facing the edifice, as "usual, in black gaiters.—A detachment "of Grenadiers, consisting of one Captain, "three Subalterns, four Serjeants, and 100 "Rank and File, from the Brigade, in full "dress, will be on the left of the King's "Guard.—The Bands of the 1st Regiment "and Coldstream to attend, and the de- "tachment of Grenadiers in white gaiters, "and a detachment of 100 rank and file, "and Officers in proportion, in black "gaiters, will parade at ten o'clock, to "preserve order, and keep the way open "during the march to Whitehall. The "recruits to attend to keep the ground "clear on the parade.—The men of the "brigade off duty to be formed on the pa- "rade at a quarter before ten o'clock, "with side-arms only, from whence they "will be marched on to the Chapel.—A "SPRIG OF GREEN to be worn in the "hats of Officers and men.—LONDON RE-

"CRUITING ORDERS, MAY 15, 1811.—In "consequence of Orders from General his "Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge, "the whole of the Staff and Recruiting "Party will assemble at Horse Guards on "Saturday morning, at ten o'clock, for "the purpose of attending the ceremony "of depositing the French Eagles at "Whitehall.—The Officers are expected "to appear in *their best uniforms*, and "POWDERED, the parade to be ready "to march off at half-past ten o'clock.— "(Signed) ROBERT ELLIS, MAJOR.—The "Ceremony will be very grand, and the "martial music appropriate to the occa- "sion.——MAY 18. This morning the "French Eagles, taken in the battle of "Barrosa, were deposited in Whitehall "Chapel. The particulars of the Cere- "monial we gave in our Paper yesterday. "The *concourse of spectators was very "great*. The Band of the Guards played "God save the King, *Rule Britannia*, and "other *national tunes*."——Well, now, what better answer does Mr Perceval want than this? Why are not the French to boast of having got *our* colours? We must expect them to boast of course; unless, indeed, "the most *thinking* people in the world" set up pretensions to a monopoly in boasting as well as in *thinking*. They crowded here, we see, in vast numbers to regale their eyes with these symbols of victory, sent home by General Graham; and why are they to expect, that the French will not make as much of the colours they have taken from us? We shall hardly say, that to take colours is no *rarity* to the French. To say that would not bespeak any great overstock of *thinking*.——Neither will it do to tell us, that there is no merit in taking colours, unless those who take them retain the ground they fight on; for, we all know well, that General Graham did not retain the ground he fought on, but got away from it as fast as possible and went over into the Isle of Leon. Yet, we called his a victory; and now we claim the victory, because the French did not keep the field. General Graham was *thanked* by the Honourable House; he was praised in scores of columns of our newspapers; bombastical prose and doggerel poetry poured forth their souls in his praise; it was lamented that the Restrictions prevented the Prince from making him into a Lord; and it was even stated, in the public prints, that his Royal Highness had written to him with his own hand, promising him a peerage as soon as he was in a state to bestow it! This is all well known to be true. And, shall we, then, pretend, that we ought to conclude that Soult can have gained no victory, merely because he *retreated after the battle*? What assurance, what intolerable, what disgusting impudence we must have, to pretend this, at the very moment, in the very same breath, when we are boasting of the *victories* of *Talavera, Busaco*, and *Barrosa*?——Mr. PERCEVAL, after having stated the fact about the colours, flies off to the curious adventures of Ensigns *Thomas* and *Walsh*; but, why did he not go on to shew, that the claim of the French to victory, grounded on the capture of our colours, would be *ill-founded*? He should have done this, or else he should have held his tongue upon the subject of the anticipated claim of the French; for, by leaving the anticipated claim unrebutted, he left us to conclude, of course, that he could not rebut it. ——I should content myself with what has been said, but I am convinced, that to place every part of this transaction in a proper light is of the greatest importance, seeing that upon these *victories* will probably be built projects of new expeditions and wars. For this reason I will go on and notice the particular adventures, related in this speech of Mr. PERCEVAL, respecting Ensigns *Thomas* and *Walsh* and *Marshal Beresford*, not stopping, in this place, to ask *how he came to the knowledge of them*; who told him about them; seeing that not a word of the matter is to be found in the dispatches, or *extracts*, of dispatches, published in the Gazette.—— Ensign Thomas, he tells us, "was *sur- "rounded* by the enemy, and, when asked "to give up his colours, answered: "*not "but with my life;* and his life was the *in- "stant* forfeit of his refusal."——Now, *who* could tell Mr. PERCEVAL this? Who wrote to him about it? Nay, who told, or could tell, any body of it? Who *heard* the words and saw the action?——Mark, this Ensign was *surrounded* by the enemy. There was no one with him, then. Who, then, could have brought the account? If any of our people were *with him*, they must have been surrounded too; and, of course, must have been taken *prisoners* if not *killed*; and, in either case, they could not bring the account. Did some of the enemy tell the tale? Through what channel did they communicate it? For, they would hardly come and be taken prisoners for the mere pleasure of giving

us a satisfactory account of the manner in which Ensign Thomas came by his death. It is possible, indeed, that those of the enemy who surrounded and killed Ensign Thomas were afterwards taken by our people, and that they then related to our army the story which was re-told by MR. PERCEVAL. This, indeed, appears to me to be the only possible way in which the intelligence could have reached our army, that is to say, unless we believe in supernatural agency. And, here again our faith is put to a pretty severe test; for, let it be observed, that the Ensign must have given his refusal in the *French language*, or the French soldier must have understood the *English language*. So that, for there to be a *possibility* of this story being true; I say a *possibility*; for there to be a *possibility* of its being true, there must have been this almost miraculous coincidence: Ensign Thomas must have been killed by a Frenchman who was afterwards taken by our army; that Frenchman must have understood English or Ensign Thomas must have spoken in French; and, lastly, the said Frenchman, so taken, must have thought it prudent in him to tell our people that he had killed one of our officers with his own hand. This, as I said before, is *possible;* but, what degree of probability there is in it I will leave "this most *thinking* people" to decide.——Ensign *Walsh*'s affair is, if possible, still more wonderful. Mr Perceval said, that "Ensign Walsh, having *the staff* "of the colours broken by a *cannon ball*, "which also severely wounded himself, "fell upon the field of battle, and, more "anxious about the *precious charge* than "for himself, contrived *to separate the* "*flag from the remnant of the staff*, and "secured it *in his bosom*, from which he afterwards produced it, when his wounds were "dressed after the battle."——Reader, do you consider of what nature is the blow of "a *cannon ball*? Suppose yourself with a staff eight feet long in your hands, with a flag hanging from the top half of it; suppose this flag held up before you; do you conceive how a cannon ball could strike it *without fetching off your arms?*——But, what part of the staff was hit by the ball? The part above the Ensign's head to be sure, else the ball would have cut his body asunder. Now, then, imagine yourself standing with such a thing in your hands, and then imagine the effect of a cannon ball in striking the staff. Would not the staff give you such a blow upon the head or shoulder as to leave but little life in you? Well, but Ensign Walsh was *wounded* by the ball. Yes, but he found the broken staff laying by the side of him, and, who does not perceive, that a blow of a cannon ball would have driven the staff away to perhaps several hundreds of yards distance; and, how, then, was the wounded man (who was found, mind, upon the ground unable to get away), how was he to get at the staff to take the flag from it? Observe, too, that this Mr. *Walsh* must also have been *alone* when this happened to him; for, otherwise, some one would have taken the colours up for him. And, it is a little odd, that a man with a standard in his hand should be straggling about by *himself*. Colours are always placed in the centre of the regiment and guarded by a select body of men; and, before colours can be thus exposed, there must be a *route*, a complete *route*, all must be in confusion, and the "devil "take the hindmost" must be the word. ——In the *first* place, then, for this story to be true, Ensign *Walsh* must have been alone, or, at least, in company with none but dead men, else some one would have taken up the colours for him; *secondly*, the cannon ball must have been very singular in its effects to strike the staff in his hand without killing him; and *thirdly*, it must have been a most wonderful cannon ball to have hit the staff in his hand and broken it without driving it to a distance from the spot; a marvellously civil cannon ball to strike a staff and break it, and then lay the parts down upon the ground just on the spot where the blow was given; a miraculously polite cannon ball! ——Nevertheless, the thing is *possible*; or, at least, it may *possibly* be *possible*, though to my dim intellectual vision the possibility is not visible; but, this I must say, that, if I had taken a Frenchman with his colours crammed under his clothes, I should have suspected, that finding himself alone and not able to defend himself if attacked and seeing himself exposed in a ten-fold degree by having the colours in his hands; I should have suspected, that, under such circumstances, he had cut the flag off and thus hid it from the enemy. ——I shall, I know, be told, that, by its cheers, the Honourable House expressed its belief in the story of Mr. PERCEVAL; upon which I have only to remark, that that Honourable body of men frequently see things in a light very different indeed

from that in which the same things strike me.——We now come to the perilous adventure of *Marshal Beresford himself*, which is thus related in the reported speech of our Minister. "One of the Polish horse-"men, separated from his corps, and *un-"supported by any others*, approached so "near Marshal Beresford; either from the "effects of *intoxication*, or the *phrenzy* of "military enthusiasm, as to aim a blow at "his life. The General, *anxious only to "preserve the life of the man*, evaded the "blow by his dexterity, and, availing him-"self of his superior strength, pulled him "to the ground; but, no sooner was he "perceived still meditating a blow at the "General, than he was instantly dis-"patched *by one of his orderlies*." Upon this, it is stated, that the Honourable House exclaimed "*hear! hear! hear!*" It is added, that Mr. PERCEVAL said, "that "he mentioned this *only to show*, that this "unforeseen accident might have deprived "the country of the services of this gal-"lant officer."——Yes, but what was the *use* of this? *Why* shew us this? There requires no conjuror to tell us, that we may lose any thing or any body from an unforseen accident. There was no feat of valour performed in this case, except by the Frenchman. The Marshal appears to have been surrounded by attendants and guards. As to his having *no anxiety* about any thing but *preserving the life of the man*, I can only say, that, if it was so, it was a very rare instance of magnanimity; and, that I do not wish to deprive the Marshal of the honour, though I must say, that I do not see how Mr. Perceval could possibly have ascertained the fact, except he had received the assurance of it from the Marshal himself, who alone could know what was passing in his own mind.——But, what did Mr. Perceval mean by the "*intoxication*," or "*phrenzy*," by which the French, or Polish, horseman was inspired? Are we to gather from this, that the man was *drunk* or *mad*? It is reported of George II, that some one having told him, that General Wolfe was *mad*, he said: "I wish "he would *bite* some of my other com-"manders" And, surely the bite of this man must be excellent in any army; for a braver action has seldom been heard of. He was "*separated from any others*." That is to say, he rushed forward *alone*, and in that state attacked our Commander in Chief, though surrounded by guards and attendants; and, even when he was *unhorsed*, persevered in his endeavours to slay him. *Intoxication* means a state of *drunkenness*, and *phrenzy* means a state of *madness*; but, to say that the man was drunk or mad is surely not to do justice to him. If he was drunk, why, then, the whole of the French army may be thought to have been drunk; and, then, see where we are led to: our two colours and our missing men were carried off by a drunken enemy. Should this prove to have been the real fact, it would not be amiss to find out *what sort of liquor* the French Generals give to their troops. Oh, no! drunkards never yet won a battle. Drunkards never yet did any thing praiseworthy. The courage inspired by drink was never yet of any value. The enemy was *sober*, we may be assured, and this Polish horseman was as sober as the best of them. He risked a great deal, to be sure, but we ought not to say, or insinuate, that it was not *valour* which urged him forward to that risk.——I now come to the conclusion of this speech, the substance of which I shall briefly state.——Mr. PERCEVAL begged the House to allow him to allude to the *moral* consequences of this great victory, and said, that it was evident that the late movements of the French against us proceeded from *despair*; that he had to acquaint the Honourable House, that it was now ascertained, that Marshal Soult, previous to the battle, had issued boasting proclamations; that while this victory raised the spirit of the allies, it must lower the tone and pretensions of the enemy; that it must be considered as opening a new and flattering prospect to us in the peninsula; that Napoleon would not find it easy to send a large body of troops into the peninsula, especially as there was a prospect that he might have employment for so many of his forces elsewhere; that, when he (Perceval) looked at the grievous disappointment of the enemy, he could not think that he entertained any exaggerated confidence in the operations of the war; that, whether his pleasing hopes were well-founded he would *leave the public to decide*; but, that, *whatever might be the foundation* of his hopes, "he *prayed God*, in whose "disposal the issue of all contests was "placed, to grant *that they should be "realized*."——Pious to the last! *Whatever might be the foundation* of his hopes, he prayed God *to let them be realized*. I remember a prayer of some people in the Critic, I think it was, where those who pray are about to enter upon a war, and the object of their supplication not being

very clear in their own minds, they pray that whatever they undertake, a *blessing* may be conferred upon their endeavours, and that whatever means they use, those means may be *sanctified*. I was a boy when I saw this; but I never shall forget how earnest they all looked up towards the top of the playhouse. But, I think, one ought to look a little at the *foundation of any hope*, before one prays to have that hope realized. A man ought, indeed, to be very clear as to such foundation before he puts up such prayer; and, I cannot help thinking, that, in this part of the report, Mr. PERCEVAL's speech must have been misrepresented. Indeed, I do not give the speech as *his*. It is a thing which I have found published in the COURIER news-paper, under his name, and as such, finding in it matter that called for commentary, I have commented upon it. It may be a fictitious speech for any thing that I know to the contrary; but, with Mr. PERCEVAL's name to it, it would, of course, have more weight than if it had no sanction but that of the Editor; and, therefore, I have paid more attention to it, seeing that I think it likely to lead to great errors and mischief to the country, if suffered to pass unnoticed.——The main tendency of it is to cause people to believe, that we shall have little difficulty in beating the French in Spain and Portugal; and, my opinion is that we shall find great difficulty in doing that. If I am right in this opinion, then would the nation be disappointed in being led to expect an easy task in accomplishing the object; and, all the world knows how fatal are the effects of such disappointment. For this reason, amongst many others, the people of every country at war, ought to have the *truth* and the *whole truth* told them as to all the actions and operations of the war. It has been remarked of the English, that they are more easily elated as well as depressed than most other nations. Alternate elation and depression are extremely injurious at all times, and especially at a time like this, when there is not the most distant prospect of a termination of the war.

VICE ADMIRALTY COURTS.——In another part of this Number will be found a brief account of what passed in the Honourable House on the 7th instant upon the subject of the conduct and charges of the law officers in the courts of Vice Admiralty, on a motion of LORD COCHRANE for papers relative to the Court at *Malta*. Surely such things were never heard of before in the whole world. The relation really seems like a dream. I trust his lordship will follow up this motion by some very serious proceeding; for, that such things should be suffered to exist, when once they come to be fully exposed, is not to be believed. The whole Naval Service, and, of course, the nation at large, of which that service is one of the chief bulwarks, are indebted to LORD COCHRANE, who, with his usual perseverance and disregard of self-interest, has pursued this object for so long a time, and, I trust, now with a fair prospect of final success. At any rate, *the facts will now be made known*; and, when that is done, the rest must be left to time.

PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.——A Meeting of Parliamentary Reformers took place yesterday at the Freemason's Tavern, SIR JOHN THROCKMORTON, Bart. in the Chair. The report of the proceedings are this day published at great length in all the news-papers. These proceedings exhibit a very lively picture of the interest excited by the *all-in-all* question. There appears to have been great freedom of discussion. The gentlemen assembled evidently were men in *earnest*. It was not an assemblage of *dull, stupid,* PACKED people, whose object was to carry on a *sham* discussion, and to decide as their leaders had previously resolved, right or wrong, wise or foolish; not a set of fellows ready to shout out that black was white, or white was black, as they might be commanded. But a meeting of men capable of distinguishing between right and wrong, and free to follow the dictates of their minds.——There appears to have been some difference of opinion expressed; and so there must be, where men are not packed; but, the differences were only such as served to show the independence of mind of the parties present. Their Resolutions I shall insert another time; but, indeed, with the *cause* every man is now well acquainted; and, with that support which I am confident it will meet with from the Prince Regent, that cause, the cause of the King and people, will and must ultimately prevail. There will require *perseverance*. Talent and zeal and experience will all be wanting; but, the quality never to be lost sight of is *Perseverance*, an example, such, perhaps, as the world never before exhi-

bited, the Reformers have in MAJOR CARTWRIGHT, the author of the Westminster Address to the Prince Regent, the publishing of which Address in the Gazette has excited towards His Royal Highness the gratitude of hundreds of thousands of the best men in the kingdom, men who will never be found crawling at his court, but whom he will always find ready to stand by him in the field. The publishing of this Address must have been the act of His Royal Highness. We receive it from him as an earnest of his disposition in favour of Reform; and, for my part, while I see marks so manifest of such a disposition in His Royal Highness, I shall not be disposed severely to criticise any of the minor acts in the exercise of his power, being confident that he will never use that power for the oppression of any part of the people.

WM. COBBETT.

State Prison, Newgate,
Tuesday, 11th June, 1811.

BATTLE OF ALBUERA.

Report of Mr. Perceval's Speech in moving the Thanks of the Honourable House to Marshal Beresford, &c.—June 7th, 1811.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER observing, that, according to the course of proceeding adopted by the House in the present Session, Orders of the Day were to have precedence of motions on this day, still felt a conviction, that the motion which he had to make, recognising the merits of the General, the Officers, and gallant army engaged in the battle of Albuera, would be allowed by the House to take precedence of any other business. *(Hear, hear!)* He collected from this cheer an admission on the part of the House, and should therefore proceed. Now again he felt himself placed in the situation, in which he had imposed upon him the agreeable duty, which several times during the present Session he had had to perform, of presenting to the consideration of the House the eminent services of the British and Allied armies—services which had been so frequently crowned with the most signal and brilliant success. He had again to bring under the notice, and recommend to the attention and approbation of that House, the meritorious conduct of the officers and men of that army, who had so nobly distinguished themselves in the glorious cause in which they were engaged—the defence of the oppressed people of the Peninsula, against the most grinding system of tyranny and oppression to which any nation had ever been exposed. He had on this happy occasion to enrol upon the illustrious list of those heroes who had signalised their valour and skill in their country's service, the names of General Beresford, who so ably commanded the allied army at Albuera, and of the other Officers, whose eminent merits contributed to the brilliant victory obtained in that part of the Peninsula. To himself it was grateful, as he was convinced it would be satisfactory to every Gentleman who heard him, and to the country, that, although they might feel a pride in contemplating the accumulated glories and honours acquired by particular Generals, yet the Country could reflect with exultation that it was not to one or two Generals they could look with confidence for signal talents and heroic achievements in the field, but that the Country had several Generals *competent to meet any General of France, with an army nearly equal in numbers,* not only with glory to themselves, but with defeat to their enemies. *It was remarkable,* that, in the short period of the present Session, this was the third time when it had become his duty to bring the eminent services of the Army under the consideration of the House, introductory of a vote of its thanks, the highest honour it could bestow. And here, he trusted, that the House would do his Majesty's Ministers the justice to allow, that they had not studiously taken the advantage of gallant exploits of *any equivocal character* or *inferior importance,* to call upon the House for its thanks, for the purpose of obtaining an indirect attestation of their own merits and exertions in providing the means of accomplishing such successes. The House would, therefore, he was fully persuaded, give them credit for not having multiplied their applications to parliament for the high honour of their thanks to reward eminent military services, with any such paltry view. No, it was a duty imposed upon them *by the blessings of Providence,* which enabled his Majesty's forces to achieve in the short period which had elapsed of the present campaign, more signal and glorious successes than had been heretofore obtained in almost any space of a tedious and protracted war. *(Hear.)* Sure he was that upon this point the House would be more disposed

to censure the conduct of Ministers for having been *too sparing in their applications*, for having withheld the thanks of that House from meritorious services, than to complain of their having multiplied too much the instances in which they called upon the House to record their high approbation of the gallantry and good conduct of their brave officers and troops. He need not here allude to the capture of the island of Banda in a most romantic and chivalrous stile by a small but heroic band; an enterprize entitled to rank for decision and intrepidity with any to be found in the annals of military achievements. Neither need he point out the masterly, gallant manner in which the conquest of the islands of Bourbon and Mauritius had been accomplished; an object of so much importance, not only from the annoyance which they enabled the enemy to give to British commerce, but from the anxiety which every Minister of this country had manifested to obtain possession of them. The House would acquit Ministers of any anxiety to drag before their view services, however important, which may *admit of doubt as to their claim to the thanks of Parliament.* The occasions to which he had alluded particularly, as having submitted for the approbation of the House, were the gallant exploits performed in the Peninsula; from the glories of the victory of Busaço, obtained by Lord Wellington in his retreat to his lines, to what surpassed all—the important victory at Almeida. Under all the circumstances of the case, it would be admitted that they had *rather abstained from overloading the Journals with Votes of Thanks*, than unnecessarily squandered that proud distinction; and if any Gentleman were to criticise their conduct, his animadversion would be directed to their forbearance, at a period when *scarce a day passed without an expectation of some victory; which expectation was uniformly realized by the next accounts.* In short, such a *tide and flood of victory flowed in our favour*, that of our army it might be said, as of an army of old,

"Hostis nihil aliud est nisi perpetua gloriæ materia vestræ."

The enemy, by the incessant victories gained over them *seemed to serve only as a fund to supply materials for the accumulating glories of the British army.* He had only to refer to the manner in which the former votes had been received, to shew that he had not been lavish in bringing these votes forward.—Having stated thus much as to the circumstances in which he brought forward the motion of this night, he should proceed next to state the circumstances of the action to which his motion applied. It appeared by the dispatches, that General Beresford was engaged in the siege, when he received intelligence that Marshal Soult, having collected from the corps of Victor, Sebastiani, and from the interior of Spain, all the force which he could assemble, had broken up on the 10*th of May from Seville*, to march to the relief of Badajoz. Upon receipt of this intelligence, it appeared that he considered how he should meet the attack; whether he should raise the siege of Badajoz and wait the attack of Soult, or provide for both objects. He determined to prepare for the attack, lest by endeavouring to attend also to the siege, he might risk the loss of both objects. He then took up a position on the river Albuera, where he was joined in the evening preceding the action by the allied force under Generals Blake and Castanos, in pursuance of a previous arrangement with those officers; and it was not till the morning of the day on which the battle was fought that he was joined by the corps under General Cole, which had been left to cover the conveyance of the heavy ordnance and stores from before Badajoz to Elvas. The Right Hon. Gentleman then proceeded to detail from the official dispatches, the order of battle—the Spaniards on the hill on the right, General Stuart's division on the left of them, and General Hamilton's on the left of General Stuart's. The enemy made a demonstration on the left of them, and taking advantage of the weather, which masked his operations, directed the main body of his force and all his attention to an attack upon the position occupied by the Spaniards on the right. The Spanish troops resisted this concentrated attack with intrepidity and courage, but were at length obliged to give way to superior forces, and were driven from the hill. To the immortal honour, however, of these gallant troops, they rallied at the bottom of the hill, turned upon the enemy, and kept them in check by their fire, till the brigade of Lieut.-Colonel Colbourne came to their support. The brigade of General Cole was stationed in the rear of the Spaniards. The brigade of Colonel Colbourne, not being able to dislodge the enemy from their position by their fire,

proceeded to charge them with the bayonet: and it was in this charge that *that brigade, consisting of three regiments*, suffered so severely from an unexpected charge by a division of Polish cavalry. A small regiment, the 31st, kept this cavalry in check, till the brigade of General Hoghton came up; when that brave and distinguished officer fell, cheering his men to the charge. Whilst stating this circumstance, he trusted the House would agree with him as to the propriety of marking their admiration of the glorious circumstances of his death, by erecting a monument to the hero at the public expence; at once a testimony to posterity of their gratitude and his glory. *(Hear, hear!)*—In the course of this contest it would be observed that every man did his duty. But it was against the right that the principal efforts of the enemy were directed. In this point, the brigade of General Cole, and particularly the fusileers, took the French on their left flank, and making a combined charge with the other troops, drove them from the eminence which commanded the British line, and which was the great object of their efforts to acquire, and of their ambition to retain. It was upon being driven from this hill that the French were broken, and forced with great slaughter down the hill. Never had there fallen in so small a space so many victims to the fury of war as on the acclivity of this hill, after the enemy had been driven from the summit to the bottom. When he stated that the whole of the battle took place on the right, he did not mean to be understood that no efforts had been made in any other part of the line. The enemy had directed serious attacks in other quarters, and if no other action had been fought but what had taken place at the bridge of Albuera, that alone would be enough to immortalize the glory of that day. Such had been the circumstances of this glorious battle, the consequences of which were—the flight of the enemy from the scene of action—the abandonment of their wounded: and the situation of the miserable remnant of the French army may be estimated from the intercepted letter of General Gazan to Marshal Soult, which represented the force under him of wounded to amount to four thousand men. But the usual consequences of this glorious victory would prove most highly beneficial to the cause in which we were engaged. When they considered the effect that must necessarily be produced by the signal disappointment of all the boasts of the enemy, by the frustrating of all their proud pretensions and anticipated triumphs, it was impossible to describe that effect in stronger terms than in the language of General Beresford, who alluded to the impression that would be made by the return of Marshal Soult, after all his boasts, "to Seville with a broken army, and what was worse, a diminished reputation." But in the circumstances of this action *there were some particulars which might afford the enemy a pretext to claim a victory.* In the charge which the brigade of Col. Colbourne had sustained from the Polish cavalry, the *three regiments* of which it was composed, *undoubtedly lost their colours.* The colours of one of them were afterwards recovered, one standard re-taken from the enemy, and the other preserved for his corps in an exemplary manner by the gallant officer who had the charge of it. *The colours of the two other regiments undoubtedly were in the possession of the enemy,* and would *in all probability* be made the ground of *a claim of triumph.* Whilst upon this topic, he trusted the House would excuse him for adverting to the very gallant and heroic conduct of the two officers who bore the colours of the Buffs, which had been preserved. One of them was surrounded by the enemy, and when asked to give up his colours, answered, *not, but with his life;* and his life was the instant forfeit of his refusal. *(A call of name! name!)* The name of this heroic individual was Ensign *Thomas.* The standard thus taken was afterwards recovered from the enemy. The manner in which the other standard was preserved was marked by circumstances equally meritorious and honourable to the individual who preserved it, and equally entitled to the applause and admiration of his country. Ensign *Walsh* was the officer he alluded to. This gallant individual, having the staff of the colours *broken by a cannon ball,* which also severely wounded himself, fell upon the field of battle, and more anxious about the precious charge than for himself, *contrived to separate the flag from the remnant of the staff,* and secured it *in his bosom,* from which he afterwards produced it when his wounds were dressed after the battle. *(Hear, hear!)* He was rejoiced to name these heroic individuals, and to give all the splendour to their reputation, which the mention of their deeds in that House was calculated to confer.

He knew not whether it might be permitted him here to mention also the case of General Beresford himself. After the charge of the Polish cavalry, which had proved so disastrous to the brigade of Col. Colbourne, one horseman, separated from his corps, and *unsupported by any others*, approached so near Marshal Beresford, either from the effects of *intoxication* or the *phrenzy* of military *enthusiasm*, as to aim a blow at his life. The General, *anxious only to preserve the life of the man*, evaded his blow by his dexterity, and, availing himself of his superior strength, pulled him to the ground; but no sooner was he perceived *still meditating a blow* at the General, than he was instantly dispatched by one of his orderlies. *(Hear, hear!)* He mentioned this only to shew that this unforeseen accident might have deprived the country of the services of this gallant officer.—He begged the House now to allow him to allude to the *moral* consequences which must result from this victory—such a victory occurring at such a time and under such circumstances. When they considered the attempt of Massena to relieve Almeida, and the almost contemporaneous effort of Soult to relieve Badajoz, they could not consider both in any other light than as a desperate attempt, undertaken in pursuance of orders from their government to retrieve the character and honour of the French arms in the Peninsula. He had also to acquaint the House, that it was now well ascertained, that Marshal Soult, on leaving Seville, in the confidence of anticipated victory, published *one of those boasting proclamations* for which the *French* Generals are so remarkable; and that he had frequently on his march addressed his troops upon the certainty of their success. The utter disappointment of all these confident expectations of victory must raise the hopes and increase the confidence of the Allies, at the same time that it must *lower the tone and the pretensions of the enemy*. He could not but consider it as opening *new and flattering prospects* to us in the Peninsula. He was aware that some Gentlemen were of opinion, that there was no limit to the means of the French Emperor, and that he could have no difficulty in sending three or four hundred thousand men into the Peninsula. For himself he should say, that he did not think it so easy for him to send any large force thither; *particularly when there was a prospect that he might have employment for so many of his forces elsewhere.* But even if he should be able to place his force in the Peninsula on the same footing as before, he would find the Allies better prepared to meet him—he would find from the glorious example set by the Spanish troops at Albuera, far different enemies to contend with. When he looked to the grievous disappointment of the hopes of the enemy, he could not think he entertained any exaggerated confidence in the operations of war: their issue was *in other hands*. Whether the pleasing hopes he entertained were well founded, under all the circumstances, he should leave to the public to decide; but whatever may be the foundation of his expectations, *he prayed God, in whose disposal the issue of all contests was placed, would grant that they should be realised.* He should move, then, "The Thanks of that House to Major-General Beresford, for the distinguished ability displayed by him on the 16th of May, in the glorious battle of Albuera, in which he had defeated the French army under Marshal Soult."

Vice Admiralty Courts.

Lord Cochrane's Motion, and Debate thereon in the Honourable House, 7th June 1811.

Lord Cochrane, in rising to call the attention of the House to the subject on which he had given notice of a motion, did not intend entering into it at length, but he pledged himself to disclose abuses of almost sufficient magnitude to paralyse the energies of the nation. [He then read a letter from an Officer in the East Indies, in which it was stated, that the charges of the Vice-Admiralty Courts were so exorbitant, that it required a good prize to satisfy them, though nothing were left for the captors. In one instance (his Lordship proceeded), a vessel had been condemned which was worth 11,000 rupees; the charges of the Vice Admiralty Court amounted to more than 10,000. After some observations on the extent of the Commerce of France, and the erroneous statements made of English prosperity, his Lordship adverted to the charges made by the Proctor at Malta. His bill on one occasion he stated to have measured six fathoms and a quarter. The noble Lord here produced a copy of the Bill, which was immensely long, and excited much risibility in the House while he unrolled it. Whatever credit he might be disposed to give that person for his integrity, he felt that something was due to his inge-

nuity. He had contrived to unite in himself the two offices of Proctor and Marshal, and in this double capacity, he feed, advised, instructed, and consulted himself, made affidavit that he had so consulted himself, and extracted his own oath for another purpose, for which also he was paid. His Lordship here recounted some of his (the Proctor's) charges for attendance on himself, and asserted an annual saving of five millions might be made by a reform of abuses in the Navy. When the Proctor's Bill came to be taxed, 50 crowns were taken off, and for the trouble of doing this, the charge of the Court was 35 crowns. He then instanced the case of the Britannia, which was valued at 8,600 crowns. The charges made by the Vice-court of Admiralty reduced the nett proceeds to 1,900. The Vice-Admiralty Court, he contended, had no right to alter the table of fees, nor to make one for themselves. In one instance when the cargoes were taken out of some small vessels condemned at Malta, which could not cross the sea, the charges of the Vice-Admiralty Court amounted to no less a sum than 3,767 crowns. Captain Brenton made a strong remonstrance on this occasion, and so desirous were they not to have the affair taken up in England, that in consequence of this proceeding on his part, they deducted from the charge 3,504 crowns, contenting themselves with 236 crowns, four reals, and four scendin, in the hope of preventing any thing being said in this country. He charged the Judge there with a violation of his commission, and of the law, and he would also prefer similar charges against the Proctor and Registrar. The Noble Lord concluded, by moving for "A copy of the appointment or commission of Dr. Sewell, to officiate as Judge of the Vice-Admiralty Court of Malta;" for "A copy of the commission or appointment of Mr. J. Jackson, to officiate as Marshal;" for "A list of the Proctors, with the dates of their admission;" for "A copy of the appointment or commission of Mr. Locker to be Registrar;" for "Copies of the several deputations of the Marshals given to their Deputies, together with the notifications from the Admiralty;" for "A copy of the tables of fees established by the King in Council, and furnished to the Vice-Courts of Admiralty, under the 45th of his present Majesty, or any other Act;" for "A copy of the table of fees by which the charges made on Suitors in the Vice Admiralty Court at Malta are regulated;" for "A copy of the authority, by virtue of which the Judges alter the established table of fees or make a new table to regulate the charge made on the Suitors in the Vice Admiralty Court at Malta;" for "copies of all the official demands made, or copies of the official correspondence between Vice Admiralty Judges of the Courts of Gibraltar and Malta, and the Court of Admiralty, requiring proper tables of the fees to be charged in the prize causes;" for "a list of the number of vessels prosecuted in the Vice Admiralty Court of Malta which had been liberated, paying costs and damages;" for "a copy of the appointment of Mr Wood, late Secretary to Lord Castlereagh, to the situation he now holds, and which situation yields him £.7,500 a year *without any services performed by him.*"

Mr. Yorke admitted that the Noble Lord had made out a *prima facie* case, which called for an inquiry. It was possible some reform in the Vice Admiralty Courts was necessary; and, feeling this, he was not at all averse to the motion of the Noble Lord. He objected to the production of the private correspondence moved for. The Noble Lord must know that some of the other papers must be procured from Malta, and therefore the subject could not be gone into in the present Session of Parliament. He hoped the Noble Lord would bear this in his mind, and not impute to the House, from the delay which must take place, any disinclination to investigate the whole business, and supply a proper remedy.

Sir John Nicholl, while he admitted with the first Lord of the Admiralty, that the case, as it stood at present, called for inquiry, thought proper at the same time to state, in the absence of his Learned Friend (Sir W. Scott) that he had no controul over the Vice Admiralty Court of Malta in matters of prize. The Appeal lay to the King in Council, and his Learned Friend was not in the smallest degree responsible. If the abuses charged by the Noble Lord existed, they ought to be corrected: but his doubt was as to the means. His Majesty in Council had authority to correct abuses as to fees, &c.; but no application, as far as he knew, had been made in that quarter. It was the fashion now to come to Parliament in such cases. As to the character of the Judge of the Prize Court at Malta, he (Sir J. Nicholl) not having been in the habit of corresponding

with him, could not undertake to speak positively to that point. But having practised with him for some time at the same bar, he had every reason to believe that he was a man of talent and integrity, and the Noble Lord knew that he was not wanting in spirit to execute what he thought right. He was absent, and he was a Judge—(Hear, hear!)—and no prejudices ought to be admitted against him till he had an opportunity of being heard in his defence. He hoped the Noble Lord was under a misapprehension. The regulation of the fees had been probably left to the Judge, because he himself could hardly have any interest in augmenting them. They could hardly fall below 2000*l.* to which sum only he was entitled out of them. From the failure of the Noble Lord in substantiating charges made by him on former occasions, it might be fairly inferred that accusations preferred by him might possibly turn out to be unfounded.

Sir FRANCIS BURDETT thought it a little hard that his noble friend should be charged with not having made good his former charges by those very persons who had denied him the opportunity of proving them. If there was no official correspondence, the return to the order would state that circumstance.

Mr. ROSE said, that when abuses in the Vice-Admiralty Courts abroad were detected, measures were always taken to rectify them, and proceedings were at present pending against three of these Courts. But he defied the Noble Lord to point out any impropriety in the Admiralty Courts at home. After the minutest investigation, he could not find a single ground of complaint against the officers of that Court. The Proctor for the Navy was remarkable for his attention and integrity, and his charges were more moderate than those of any other Proctor. The interests of the officers of the Navy were as well attended to as those of any individual. The Noble Lord had failed in two charges on former occasions. He had brought charges against the Admiralty Court, and against the Government for the treatment of the prisoners of war. —Both were utterly unfounded. The prisoners, as had been found on inquiry, were even more healthy than our Militia regiments.

Mr. LYTTLETON had heard from several officers that abuses existed.

LORD COCHRANE stated, that having complained to the Admiralty here of a grievance in being obliged to submit to exorbitant charges in the prosecution of a prize cause at Malta, the opinions of the Attorney and Solicitor General and other lawyers, had been put into his hands, purporting that his plan was to apply to the Judge at Malta. He wrote to the Judge accordingly, who referred him to the Proctor, as he did not choose to enter into private correspondence with suitors in causes before him. He then wrote to the Proctor, who sent for answer that it was unprecedented to demand a bill to be taxed that had been paid so long ago as 1808: so that he thought his having got the money a good reason for not parting with it. He then wrote to the Judge, but got no answer; and this was the redress he got in the quarter where the Crown Law Officers had advised him to apply. His Lordship further observed, that in opposition to the Act of the 45th of the King, the Judge at Malta had not only established, but altered a table of fees. No allusion had been made to the spirited conduct of the Judge; but he had affidavits of Captain Maxwell and others, who were present, that the Judge had admitted that he had no proof of the crime for which he (Lord C.) had been sent to gaol. Against him, however, he would proceed in another way, unless he should find it necessary to call for the interference of the House to bring this Judge home. He had consulted lawyers, and understood that he could not proceed against him till he came to this country. As to his former charges, he had been denied the opportunity of proving them. He concluded by repeating his charges of extortion, &c. against the Judge and Marshal.—Some alterations were then made in the motions, in consequence of a difference of opinion as to the construction of the 45th of the King, relative to the establishment of Tables of Fees in the Prize Courts; after which they were all carried.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

PORTUGAL.—THE WAR.

No. IV.

Return of killed, wounded, and missing of the Corps of the Army under Command of Lieut.-General Viscount Wellington, K. B. under the immediate Orders of Marshal Sir William Carr Beresford, K. B. in the Battle with the French Army commanded

by Marshal Soult, at Albuera, on the 16th May, 1811.—*(Continued from p. 1440.)*

1st Batt. 3d Foot, or Buffs—1 Captain, 1 Lieutenant, 2 Ensigns, 4 Serjeants, 208 rank and file killed; 4 Captain, 9 Lieutenants, 1 Ensign, 11 Serjeants, 1 Drummer, 222 rank and file wounded: 2 Lieutenants, 15 Serjeants, 1 Drummer, 161 rank and file missing.

1st Batt. 7th Royal Fusileers—2 Serjeants, 62 rank and file killed; 1 Lieutenant Colonel, 3 Captains, 11 Lieutenants, 14 Serjeants, 263 rank and file wounded.

2d Batt. 7th Ditto—1 Captain, 1 Lieutenant, 1 Serjeant, 46 rank and file killed; 1 Major, 3 Captains, 9 Lieutenants, 1 Staff, 16 Serjeants, 1 Drummer, 269 rank and file wounded.

1st Batt. 23rd Royal Welsh Fusileers—1 Captain, 1 Ensign, 1 Serjeant, 73 rank and file killed; 1 Lieutenant Colonel; 3 Captains, 4 Lieutenants, 3 Ensigns, 1 Staff, 12 Serjeants, 1 Drummer, 232 rank and file wounded; 1 Serjeant, 5 rank and file missing.

3d Batt. 27th Foot—3 rank and file killed; 5 rank and file wounded.

2d Batt. 28th Foot—1 Drummer, 20 rank and file killed; 2 Captains, 3 Lieutenants, 1 Ensign, 8 Serjeants, 123 rank and file wounded.

29th Foot—1 Captain, 1 Lieutenant, 3 Ensigns, 2 Serjeants, 73 rank and file killed; 1 Lieutenant Colonel, 1 Major, 3 Captains, 4 Lieutenants, 3 Ensigns, 1 Staff, 12 Serjeants, 220 rank and file wounded; 11 rank and file missing.

2d Batt. 31st Foot—2 Serjeants, 1 Drummer, 26 rank and file killed; 2 Captains, 3 Lieutenants, 2 Ensigns, 4 Serjeants, 115 rank and file wounded.

2d Batt. 34th Foot.—1 Captain, 1 Lieutenant, 1 Ensign, 3 Serjeants, 27 rank and file killed; 2 Captains, 2 Lieutenants, 6 Serjeants, 85 rank and file, wounded.

2d Batt. 39th Foot—1 Lieutenant, 14 rank and file, killed; 1 Captain, 2 Lieutenants, 1 Ensign, 4 Serjeants, 73 rank and file, wounded; 2 rank and file missing.

1st Batt. 40th Foot—3 rank and file killed; 8 rank and file wounded.

1st Batt. 48th Foot.—1 Lieutenant-Colonel, 2 Lieutenants, 6 Serjeants, 58 rank and file, killed; 5 Captains, 7 Lieutenants, 1 Ensign, 1 Staff, 9 Serjeants, 1 Drummer, 183 rank and file, wounded; 6 rank and file missing.

2d Batt. 48th Foot—3 Lieutenants, 1 Ensign, 4 Serjeants, 40 rank and file killed; 4 Captains, 4 Lieutenants, 2 Ensigns, 3 Serjeants, 1 Drummer, 82 rank and file, wounded; 1 Major, 2 Captains, 5 Lieutenants, 1 Ensign, 8 Serjeants, 7 Drummers, 175 rank and file, missing.

1st Batt. 57th Foot—1 Major, 1 Captain, 3 Serjeants, 1 Drummer, 83 rank and file, killed; 1 Lieutenant-Colonel, 1 Major, 6 Captains, 11 Lieutenants, 2 Ensigns, 11 Serjeants, 3 Drummers, 304 rank and file, wounded.

5th Batt. 60th Foot—1 Serjeant, 1 rank and file, filled; 1 Lieutenant, 2 Serjeants, 16 rank and file, wounded.

2d Batt. 66th Foot—1 Captain, 1 Lieutenant, 1 Ensign, 1 Serjeant, 1 Drummer, 50 rank and file, killed; 1 Captain, 8 Lieutenants, 3 Ensigns, 13 Serjeants, 91 rank and file, wounded; 4 Serjeants, 1 Drummer, 96 rank and file, missing.

97th Foot—1 rank and file wounded.

1st Light Batt. King's German Legion—4 rank and file filled; 1 Major, 1 Captain, 1 Lieutenant, 1 Ensign, 1 Staff, 3 Serjeants, 55 rank and file wounded; 2 rank and file, missing.

2d Light Batt. King's German Legion—1 Lieutenant, 3 rank and file, killed; 1 Captain, 3 Serjeants, 28 rank and file wounded; 1 rank and file missing.

Total British Loss—1 General Staff, 1 Lieutenant Colonel, 1 Major, 7 Captains, 13 Lieutenants, 9 Ensigns, 31 Serjeants, 4 drummers, 815 rank and file, 54 horses, killed; 7 General Staff, 4 Lieutenant Colonels, 4 Majors, 45 Captains, 81 Lieutenants, 20 Ensigns, 6 Staff, 132 Serjeants, 9 drummers, 2,426 rank and file, 26 horses, wounded; 1 Major, 4 Captains, 8 Lieutenants, 1 Ensign, 28 Serjeants, 10 drummers, 492 rank and file, 17 horses, missing.

Total Portuguese Loss—1 General Staff, 1 Staff, 2 Serjeants, 98 rank and file, 9 horses, killed; 1 General Staff, 1 Lieutenant-Colonel, 1 Major, 5 Captains 5 Lieutenants, 2 Ensigns, 1 Staff, 14 Serjeants, 1 drummer, 230 rank and file, 9 horses, wounded; 1 drummer, 25 rank and file missing.

(To be continued.)

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SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

VICE ADMIRALTY COURTS.——In my last, at page 1466, I inserted a sketch of the debate in the Honourable House, upon the subject of these courts in general, and particularly the court *at Malta*, where, as the reader must have seen from LD. COCHRANE's speech, things are carried on in a manner to stagger credulity itself. His Lordship distinctly stated, that a man at Malta had contrived to unite in his own person the two offices of *Proctor* and *Marshal;* that in this double capacity, he *advised, instructed, consulted,* and *feed,* himself; that he *made affidavit* that he had so consulted himself, and, *extracted his own oath* for another purpose, for which also he was paid. His Lordship next spoke of some of the *charges* made by this man *for attendance upon himself,* and proceeded to give some instances, which, to be sure would not, and could not, gain belief, if the statement did not come from such high authority. He gives an instance of a prize which was valued at 8,600 crowns, which by the charges of the Vice-Admiralty Court were reduced to 1,900 crowns. He mentioned a case where the Proctor's Bill was *taxed,* and where 50 crowns were *taken off,* but the charge of the court for the trouble of taxing was 35 crowns! In short, such a scene as this was, surely, never heard of under any other system.——Lord COCHRANE moved for papers with a view of bringing this matter regularly before parliament; but, it will now be too late for the proceeding to be adopted this session, for which I am very sorry; for the matter is of such a nature that it should not be suffered to rest for a day.——No objection appears to have been made to the motion of Ld. Cochrane, but SIR JOHN NICHOLL, the king's advocate, in the Court of Admiralty, made a remark or two, which ought to be noticed.——He is reported to have said, that he had not lately corresponded with the Judge of the Vice Admiralty Court at Malta; but, that, "having *practised at the same bar* "*with him,* he had *every reason to believe that* "*he was a man of talent and integrity.*" And, was this to be an answer to Lord Cochrane? Was this to satisfy him, or any part of the people? A mere *opinion* of the judge's talents and integrity, given by one who only *remembered* him at the same *bar* with himself? Was this to have any weight in opposition to the facts, the loud speaking facts, uttered by LORD COCHRANE?——But, this judge was a man of "*spirit*" too, alluding to his having ordered Lord Cochrane to be imprisoned for a contempt of his court. He may be a man of spirit, for any thing that I know; but, how did this show it? He knew well, that LORD COCHRANE had no power of resistance. Is there any *courage,* then, in sending a man to prison? There may be times imagined, when such an act would show courage; but, such was *not* the case at Malta, where the whole government must be nearly military; and where resistance was wholly out of the question. Where there was no *public* to appeal to; and where, in short, there was no more need of courage to send a man to jail than there would have been to have eat a mouthful of water melon. The transaction took place in a country where a man consults and advises and instructs and *fees himself;* and that is enough; one need say no more about it to satisfy the world, that it required no *spirit* in a judge to send a man to jail for a contempt of him.——But, SIR JOHN NICHOLL had an argument for forbearance, which he appears to have thought of great weight; namely, that the person principally aimed at by LORD COCHRANE "was *absent,* and "was *a judge.*"——What, then, are we never to attack an absent man? If that be the case, culprits have only to keep out of the presence of those who are likely to attack them. But, how long has this been a rule of conduct? Is not the thief or the murderer attacked in his *absence,* when an information is first lodged against him? Nay, is not this the invariable march of legal proceeding? The accused is, indeed, in a subsequent stage, entitled to be confronted with his accuser; but, he is *accused* in his absence; and, if he were not, he would, to be sure, take care never to be present if he was guilty. Take this doctrine of SIR John Nicholl to Bow-street,

and hear what would be said to it. When a gentleman comes to make oath against a thief that has stolen his watch or his purse, what would he think if the magistrate were to tell him that he could not hear him (and, of course, could not grant the warrant) in the *absence* of the thief?——This brings the matter home to us at once. How, according to Sir John Nicholl's doctrine, are any of the people at Malta to be accused as long as they remain there; and, that they will like to remain there we may be very sure, as long as they can do what they are now doing. "*Ab-"sent!*" Why, who is ever to be attacked, then, that is out of the kingdom? PAINE was outlawed; because he did not come into the Court of King's Bench to answer to charges of libel, or, rather, to receive the judgment of the court. To be sure; but, according to this new doctrine, he ought not to have been proceeded against. The Attorney General ought to have stopped 'till the party prosecuted chose to come to England again.——This doctrine is the most comfortable discovery possible for all persons in authority *abroad;* for, they have only to remain there; or be kept there, and no inquiry into their conduct is to take place. You cannot even move for their *recal;* for they are *absent.* So that, as against them, there appears to be *no remedy at all,* if this new doctrine is to have any weight.——The other argument, namely, that the man was a *judge,* was, if possible, still more objectionable. A *Judge!* And what is *a Judge,* that his conduct is never to be questioned? Or, why should he, who is by his profession, amongst the keenest of men, and who ought to be doubly scrupulous in his conduct; why is he not to be subject to accusation as well as other men? *Absent,* and a *judge!* Fine reasons, truly, for a person to forbear bringing forward accusations against him. Any offence in a Judge is much greater than the same offence in a common person. People ought to be extremely watchful of them; ought never to miss accusing them, where there is good ground of accusation. They are the very public functionaries who, of all others, ought to be most carefully watched, and whose conduct, when wrong, ought never to escape exposure. I, for my part, am quite astonished that any one should hold a doctrine like this. Kings, we know, *can do no wrong;* but, surely, it is not so with Judges; or, at least, the doctrine is quite new to me.——There is a law, which says that any of the Judges at home may be removed by impeachment, or by address of the two Houses of Parliament; but, how are they to be removed, if their conduct is never to be found fault of? How are they to be impeached, or to be voted out, if no one is to speak ill of them? *Judges!* Why, how many Judges have been *accused, tried, condemned,* and *executed* in England? And, why should they not, if they deserve it, as well as Bishops and Lords. One would think, from the doctrines that are afloat now-a-days, that some people thought a judge's wig a sufficient answer to all accusations. I, for my part, can discover no solid reason, nor any shew of reason, why the conduct of Judges should not be as freely canvassed as that of any other persons in public employ. They are public functionaries as well as any of the other persons appointed by the King; they are paid out of the taxes, or, in one shape or other, out of the people's money; they are paid as well as other men in public employ; they have their places for life if they behave well; and so have many other persons who are paid out of the public money; and ought they not to be *responsible* for their conduct? Ought they not to be made *answerable* for what they do, if what they do is wrong? If not, then would the government be a *despotism;* for that means a state of things, where somebody, *no matter who,* has the power of taking people's liberty, property, and life away, without being responsible for what they do. And, if they are responsible, how is their responsibility to be brought into activity; how is it to become *real,* except they be liable to be *accused?* Indeed, the press ought to be more watchful with regard to them, than with regard to any other persons in the public employ; seeing that their actions are of more importance to the people at large than the actions of any other set of public functionaries; but, at any rate, the members of parliament ought to watch narrowly over it; and ought not to be silenced by being told that the party complained of is a *judge.*——From judges we should, of course, get to justices of the peace and Police justices; and, here, what a number of irresponsible people shall we have! The police justices, like the judges, are *paid* for their time and labour; but, this makes no distinction in the way of exemption from responsibility; and, there is, and can be, no reason for this exemption, which will not equally well apply to the justices

of the peace all through the country; and, when it is so applied, and the application acted upon, we shall have arrived at a comfortable pitch. Every village will have its irresponsible person; its person as to whose conduct no man must open his lips except in the way of *praise*.——The King's advocate concluded by observing, that, as Lord Cochrane had *failed in substantiating former charges*, it might be fairly inferred, that the accusations now preferred by him might possibly turn out to be unfounded. To which SIR FRANCIS BURDETT replied, that it was hard that his noble colleague should be accused of having failed in making out charges, by the very persons who had denied him the opportunity of proving them.——GEORGE ROSE said that Lord Cochrane had failed in two former charges; and his lordship said that he had been denied the opportunity of proving them.——He certainly did *fail*; but it was in the same way that Mr. MADOCKS failed; namely, in his endeavours to prevail upon the Honourable House to *hear his proofs*.——There can be no doubt but this subject will be revived. It cannot be suffered to rest as it is. Lord Cochrane has stated that *five millions* a year might be saved in consequence of a reform in the Admiralty Courts. George Rose said, that little or nothing could be saved. I believe Lord Cochrane; and, if any one will take the pains to look into the public accounts of the year, I am sure he will be of the same opinion; for there can, I think, be no doubt that one quarter part of the whole expence of the Navy might be saved, by the adoption of proper regulations relating to *prizes*.

SICILY.——I have not taken much notice of this country of late; but, it is high time to notice it; for, at no very distant day, we shall, I imagine, have our attention drawn to it in a manner not to be resisted.——The following, which purports to be a letter from *Sicily*, and dated at Palermo on the 27th of March, has been, in the following words, published in all our newspapers. I shall insert it here without pretending to vouch for the truth of the facts which it states.—— When the reader has gone through it, I shall trouble him with such remarks as appear to me likely to be useful upon the subject.——"A Letter, dated Palermo, the 27th of "March, states:—That a treaty of peace "was signed on the 12th of January last, between the Court and Buonaparté, in which the cession of Sicily in favour of the latter is stipulated. Notwithstanding that during the Parliament held in August last, supplies were obtained which the nation is "unable to pay, the barefaced measure 'has been resorted to, of imposing, without the consent of Parliament or of the 'Deputation of the Kingdom, and against 'the fundamental laws and inviolable 'usages of this country, a duty of one per 'cent. on all public securities or private 'payments in which the transfer of money 'is witnessed by a receipt. This has excited universal indignation. The Barons 'have stept forward to protest against it, 'but the Deputation of the Kingdom, 'through which this protest would become valid, has been interdicted from 'assembling by the Government. Besides this imposition, an Edict has appeared for the sale of all the lands belonging to the Royal demesnes *(these "belong to the Crown, but not personally to "the King)*, or townships; and another "Edict establishing a lottery of 15,000 "tickets of ten ounces each, of all property ecclesiastical, of commanderies, "abbacies, &c.; obliging every one, and "even the incumbents of these lands set "up to sale, to take a number of tickets "proportioned to the reputed property "they may possess of their own. This is "not all: the Government proposes, now "they are disappointed in the produce of "these impositions, to make a requisition "of all the plate belonging to individuals, "and to pay for the same by an issue of "paper. Officers, *who call themselves Tyrolese*, and dismissed from the Austrian "service, are arrived to command the "army, and many more are expected; "the command in chief is to be given to "the Count La Tour *(a Frenchman)* who "is daily expected. The King, frightened "by the violent proceedings of a certain "distinguished female whom he has not "energy to controul, has retired into the "country. The Duke of Orleans, inimical to these measures, had asked permission to retire either to Malta or to "England with his family, and having "been refused, has also retired from the "capital. The discontent and alarm of "every individual in consequence of these "operations, is arrived at its greatest "height! A general fermentation and a "spirit of opposition have manifested "themselves every where; incendiary "placards have been stuck on all the "walls, and have expressed the general

"sentiment. All eyes have been turned on "the English, in the hope of finding in "them their liberators; but their coldness and apathy have left every one to "the pangs of despair. All this cannot "do less than produce the saddest consequences to their own cause, in a word, "this kingdom is on the eve of its destruction, and with it the British army, the "subsidies which have been so long lavished on it, the immense sums spent "for its defence, and besides, all the views "which ever could have induced the British Government to so expensive an undertaking.—Whenever we see a man "selling off all the furniture of his house, "we conclude that he is going to leave it. "The Proclamations declaring the intended sale of all government property "were inclosed with the above letter in "their original language, and printed at "Palermo. Is it natural to suppose that "the royal family in Sicily have any intention of remaining there, when they "are selling off all the principal bases on "which the public revenue of their own "kingdom reposed?"——Now, if there be any truth as to the main points stated in this letter, what a war we are waging *in Sicily*! I have often had to observe upon our efforts to *deliver* nations against the will of the people; but if this letter speak truth, we are bent upon the deliverance of Sicily against the will of both people and sovereign. The statements may, perhaps, be untrue; but, what are we to think of *the declaration of the king of Sicily,* which will be found in another part of this Number? It has not often happened, that kings have issued declarations in contradiction to *mere rumour*——It is very curious to see what a change has been produced by our war against the Jacobins and Reformers. We seem no where to have any *cordial friends.* Those whom we side with do not seem to like us. There appears to be every where a suspicion of us; and a partiality towards the French, in spite of all they have done.——The cause is, that no people can now rely upon a defence against the French. We have not the means of affording permanent protection. Experience has now taught the governments of Europe, that our alliance is fatal, and that is the cause of their indecision. We have done, perhaps, all that we were able to do; but, then, it follows, that, in *that way,* we are not able to do *enough.* The expence of the war is now become enormous from the circumstance of the depreciation of our paper-money. The exchange is about 33 per centum against us in all the countries of Europe where we have troops; that is to say, it costs us that much more, in nominal amount, than it would cost us, if our paper-money were not depreciated. Sir JOHN SINCLAIR and Mr. PERCEVAL talk very loudly about the *paper's enabling us to gain victories;* but, it may with much greater certainty be said, that *the victories enable us to make paper-money;* or, rather, compel us to make more of it. For, it is the victories, or, rather, the valour displayed by our army, that feed the war with hopes, and encourage us to extend our military operations; these operations demand an increase of money; and that increase can now take place only *in paper.* It has, therefore, always appeared very wonderful to me, that many of those whose all depends upon the solidity of the paper, should be amongst the most forward in applauding the continuance and the extension of the war; when, if they viewed the matter aright, they would perceive, that every campaign diminished in a growing proportion, the value of their property, and that, in the end, the same cause must produce its total annihilation, unless checked by some means, which, at present, lie beyond the sight of any human being, with the exception of the members of the Bullion Committee.

NAVAL OFFICERS' PAY.——A curious debate has taken place in the House of Commons on this subject; but, it does not appear to be clearly understood by the public.——A motion was made by CAPTAIN BENNETT for causing such an arrangement to be made as that the officers of the navy might always receive their pay *at par,* when on foreign stations. ——This, though it does not appear to have excited much attention in the public, is a matter of vast moment. It is the *dawn* and only the mere *dawn* of what is to come. I will, therefore, endeavour to place it in a clear light.——Officers of the Navy, when on foreign stations, obtain their pay *by drawing bills of exchange upon the government at home;* and, of course, if the paper-money, in which those bills are finally paid at home, be depreciated, the bills will not obtain so much of the money of the country, whence they send the bills, as they would obtain if the paper-money was not depreciated. For, instance, if I am at Malta and draw a bill

for a hundred pounds upon the government at home, and that bill be *paid in guineas*, I can get 445 dollars (all but a fraction) for the bill; but, if the bill, when it comes home is paid in a paper-money, worth, as Mr. HORNER has acknowledged, only 15*s.* 10*d.* in the pound; then I cannot, of course, get so many dollars for my bill; because, when the bill comes to England, it will not fetch so many dollars here.——The real fact, at this time, is, that, at Malta, for instance, the naval bill upon the government at home will not sell for so much by 33 per centum as if we had real money in England to pay the bill with. This is what is meant when people say, that the *exchange is 33 per centum against England*.——Now, suppose a captain of the Navy to be stationed at Malta, and suppose his pay to be £.200 a-year. He draws his bill for his pay; and, if our paper-money were not depreciated, or if we paid the bill in guineas, his bill would fetch him 890 dollars at Malta. But, as things now stand, his bill will fetch him only 594 dollars. This is something worthy of attention. Aye, the reader must be as blind as some other good folks appear to be, if he does not see, that this will lead *to consequences*; for, GO ON IT MUST as sure and certain as time will go on.——Oh! they begin to *feel* the thing, do they! They will possibly begin to doubt of the wisdom of all the fine sayings about the *solidity of the Bank*. Take my word for it, that those are drollish times that make Naval Officers study and understand *Political Œconomy.*—— But, the contrast between the Naval and Military Officer makes the thing more plain. For, as the Army are *paid upon the spot*, they do not suffer from the exchange. So that, observe, the Captain in the Army gets for his £.200 of pay 890 dollars, while the Naval Officer gets for his £.200 of pay, only 594 dollars. This is droll work! This is a state of things that is not made to last for ever.——Suppose now, that the Naval Officer and the Military Officer have £.200 of pay due to each, and that they are both at Malta. The Naval Officer draws his bill and wants to get dollars for it. The Military Officer gets his pay in dollars from the paymaster; and, as he wants to send his money home to his wife, as all good husbands in the army and every where else ought to do, he buys his naval friend's bill, and gives him 594 dollars for it, of course, that being its worth at Malta; so that he gets his £.200 to send to England, and has 296 dollars left in his bag.——No, no; SIR JOHN SINCLAIR, this is not a natural state of things: it is not a state of things that can last: and, we have in these very facts another instance, and a very striking one too, of the manner, in which the paper-money will work upon us.——It will, by-and-by, be felt sensibly in the *soldier's pay* at home, who, though he has bread and meat at a fixed price, will wonder how his pay comes to produce him so much less than it used to do. It will work through all departments. It will affect every body whose income is of a *fixed* nature, as to *nominal amount*; and, in this way it will fulfil the predictions of PAINE, that "that which has been the "cause of our *strength*, will become the "cause of our *weakness*."

I had partly prepared an article upon the subject of *Parliamentary Reform*, in answer to the *Morning Chronicle*, but I have not time to finish it.——The debate, upon LORD FOLKESTONE's motion relative to the sentences upon Messrs. COLLYER and DRAKARD, which debate I insert below, shall be noticed in my next; when I shall endeavour to exhibit a true comparison between the government of Buonaparté and that of England, especially relative *to the press*, and to the *treatment of soldiers*.——In the mean while, I hope the debate will be read.

WM. COBBETT.

State Prison, Newgate, Friday, 14th June, 1811.

REFORM OF PARLIAMENT.

SIR;—I attended the Meeting at the Free-Mason's-Tavern yesterday; and it is no wonder that the impression made upon me by the sight of so many respectable men convened from all parts of the country for the best of purposes, continued after I fell asleep. I dreamed that I addressed the Meeting as soon as Mr. Northmore sat down, in the following words:—

"Sir John Throckmorton,——I can hardly hope to be pardoned, if I shew so little gratitude to the last Speaker, as to find the least fault with any part of his most excellent Speech. But I beg your patience for a few moments, while I confess that I cannot entirely agree with him in his lamentations for the out-lawed family of guineas. This subject is intimately connected with the business of the Meet-

ing, and if viewed in what appears to me to be the true light, furnishes a fresh argument for a Reform of the Commons House of Parliament. In the first place, I cannot see how those same guineas can properly be called out-laws. They are not natives of this country. They were born in America, christened in Africa, and wandered to Europe, many of them in their way to Asia. Again, be pleased to recollect how they employed themselves while they were here. What were the places which they most avoided? The purses of Patriots. What the places which they were most fond of frequenting? The pockets of Court-Sycophants. 'Sir, the gentleman who spoke last tells us that he is a West-Country-Man: He has therefore, seen rotten Boroughs as plenty as Blackberries. Into which of those boroughs have not the guinea-family crept, on dirty errands from the Treasury? Have they not been the go-betweens in every act of corruption? When you call to mind the numberless deeds of pollution in which they have been concerned, and remember, at the same time, the sacred head which is impressed upon them, you cannot but feel highly indignant. But when it occurs to you that the reverse is the arms of Great-Britain, your indignation must be unbounded.——You probably guess that I am going to be the Panegyrist of the family by which the guineas are succeeded; the ragged race of Bank-Notes. Nothing is farther from my intention. They are still worse than their predecessors. It is true, they are natives. They are cocknies. They were born and bred in Threadneedle Street: And happy would it have been if they had ended their days there. It is also true, that they are free from the guilt of disgracing the Ensigns of their King and Country. But in corrupt practices they equal, I believe they exceed the family that is gone into exile. They have moreover, a vice which, in these times, is looked upon as the worst of all vices, the vice of inherent poverty. Sir, the whole family is not worth a shilling. What then, are we to have no sort of money? neither coin nor credit? Enough of both: but upon a few suppositions. Suppose you should succeed at last in what so many good men have attempted, a Reform of the Representation. Suppose your Representatives should keep a proper watch over the expenditure of public money. Suppose they should insist upon it that the National Debt should never rise so high as to alarm the most timid with a fear of insolvency. Suppose the House of Commons would never suffer Ministers to create a debt for delivering Europe out of the hands of the Buonapartés, and into the hands of the Bourbons. Suppose it was a maxim never to be violated, that the debt of the nation should be kept so low as that any creditor might, at any time, be sure of selling his share at its full value. On these suppositions, what would be the proper circulating paper-credit of the country? What! but Bank receipts and dividend warrants? I do not at all wonder at the sensation which this proposal has caused. The very mention of Government paper is connected with the ideas of ruin. I hear a gentleman observe, that all governments who have issued paper have been bankrupt. They were bankrupt before they issued paper; or they were governments whose land and labour, on which the security of all credit must rest, were as insecure as the paper itself.—I do not say that this, or any other good may be effected without a Reform of Parliament. But with a Reform, what may not be hoped for? A million a year saved to the nation; which now goes into the pockets of the proprietors of Bank-Stock: An easy and unexpensive transfer of government securities: the whole host of stock-jobbers disbanded: Variations in the price of Stocks totally precluded: an end to the disgrace of creating a debt of 20 millions, merely that the signs of that debt may be a circulating medium; when we have a debt of 700 millions already created, without having confidence enough in government to circulate any part of the acknowledgements of this debt: saving of the expence of foreign gold, without any danger from its substitute: a legal tender to which no man could object, because every man would take it willingly and without force.—It is not my intention to go farther at present, into this intricate but interesting department of political œconomy. If the out-line which I have drawn be correct, as I firmly believe it is, there are many in this assembly who are more capable of filling it up than I am.—At all events, let Meetings, like the present, be stated, calm and constitutional. Let every thing that can with propriety, be conceded to unanimity. If, as just now, an apple of discord be thrown among us, let it not be taken up. Rejoicing in every point that may be gained, let us not remit our exertions

'till the Constitution be restored to its purity. Above all, take care not to follow the advice which is given by a friend of those recreant Reformers, the Whigs, to 'bind ourselves to ask nothing more,' if perchance some alteration, in point of form, should be made in the existing system." I was roused from sleep by a sound, whether of disapprobation or applause, I am not able to recollect.—I am, Sir, what your generous attachment to a banished family will perhaps make you readily believe,

June 11, 1811. A DREAMER.

LIBEL CASE.

Report of a Debate in the Honourable House on the 12th of June, 1811, upon a Motion of Lord Viscount Folkestone, relative to the Sentences upon Messrs. Collyer and Drakard.

LORD FOLKESTONE rose to make his promised motion for the production of the Criminal Informations against Messrs. Drakard and Collyer for libels, and he was happy that at length he was enabled to do so while the Attorney-General was in his place. The sentence that had been passed upon those men appeared to him to be of a most cruel and severe kind—and he would shortly state the circumstances of the prosecutions to the House, which he thought would abundantly prove that he was correct in his designation of the punishment. The libel for which Mr. Drakard had been prosecuted appeared first in his own paper, *The Stamford News*, from which it had been copied by a London news-paper. Against the Editor of this latter paper a criminal information had been filed by the Attorney-General. The matter came on for trial at Westminster Hall, and the accused had been acquitted by the Jury. It was not his intention to go into the details of the prosecution against Mr. Drakard at the present time—but from the complaints that had been made, that there were persons who wished to overturn all establishments, and especially the judicial establishments, he should have thought it politic not to try a man for such an undefined offence as that of libel, when another who had published the same libel had been acquitted. These, however, it appeared, were motives which did not actuate the Law Officers of the Crown, and Mr. Drakard was tried at the assizes and found guilty. At the trial he had been charged not only by the Lawyers against him, but by the Judge on the Bench, with partiality to France, and a desire of exalting the advantages of the Government of that country, in comparison with that of England. When Mr. Drakard was brought up for judgment, therefore, he produced an affidavit, containing various extracts from his paper, disproving in the most convincing manner this charge; and shewing that so far from being actuated by any favour to the Government of France, he had on many occasions written with the utmost earnestness against the mode of Government which prevailed in that country. It was most extraordinary however, that these extracts, which were a complete answer to charges alledged at the trial as an aggravation of the libel, should at the time of pronouncing sentence be held out as an aggravation—*(Hear, Hear!)*—and that all the advantage Mr. Drakard derived from having refuted the charge of partiality to France was to be told that it was no excuse for a libel against the Government of this country, to have libelled that of France. The sentence of Mr. Drakard was, that he should be imprisoned 18 months, fined 200*l.* and give security for his good behaviour for three years. He would not at present consider the nature of the libel, or whether the punishment was at all proportioned to the offence; but he would take it in this light—was it fitting to subject one man to so very severe a punishment for an offence of which another, who had published the same libel, had been acquitted by a Jury of his countrymen? The criminality of a libel, it was said, consisted in its tendency to produce a breach of the peace. One Jury had pronounced that the publication in question had no such tendency—another Jury had decided that it had; but when opinions were so nearly balanced, it was too much, he thought, to inflict a punishment which would have almost been excessive, if all mankind had been agreed that the publication was really criminal. It was on this ground that he called the attention of the House to the case of Mr. Drakard.—The other case was, in his opinion, a much more grievous one. It was that of Mr. Collyer, a dyer, at Manchester, who had been surcharged for the Income-tax. He appealed against this surcharge, and being put to his oath before the Commissioners, swore that his income was no more than 160*l.* whereas the charge was for 300*l.*

This, however, had only been reduced to 250*l.* which Mr. Collyer conceiving to be unjust, refused to pay. His goods had in consequence been distrained, and a horse and cart had been sold. Mr. Collyer found himself injured by this proceeding in two ways. In the first place, many of his neighbours began to consider him as a man in bad circumstances, and by this means his credit in trade had materially suffered—others again put a very injurious construction on the matter, and were disposed to consider him as a perjured man, the Commissioners having refused to believe him on oath. He therefore resolved to publish a vindication of his own conduct; but, being an illiterate man, he did not know how to draw it up, and applied to the editor of one of the Manchester papers, Mr. Cowdroy, stating the circumstances, and desiring him to make up a statement and publish it in his paper. This was to be paid for as an advertisement—but Mr. Collyer particularly cautioned Mr. Cowdroy to avoid all libellous matter, or any thing that might bring him into difficulty. The Editor promised to do this—and the paper being drawn up, Collyer not being very capable of judging whether it contained improper matter or not, signed his name to it, paid the money, and it was inserted. Some alterations were made in it afterwards, and it was then carried by Mr. Collyer to the Editor of another paper in Manchester, who also inserted it. From this it found its way into a London paper—*for which Mr. Lovel was now suffering imprisonment for 12 months.* An Information was filed against Mr. Collyer for this offence—he was convicted and sentenced to 12 months imprisonment. The whole of the circumstances which he had stated, appeared in Court as he had taken them from an affidavit which must have been read there. Suppose the defence of this man had contained offensive matter—still it might have been a question, whether he ought to be prosecuted, when it was considered that his only reason was to do away the injurious impressions among his neighbours that he was a man in low circumstances, or that he had been guilty of perjury—but when it was found that he was really not the author of the libel; that he had even strictly cautioned the person who drew it up not to insert any libellous matter, nor do any thing against law; it was surely an extreme measure of justice to punish him with imprisonment for 12 months. *He had on a former occasion stated, that at the Old Bailey, persons convicted of felonies, for which by law their lives were forfeited, were sentenced to imprisonment for one, two, or three months, and yet this man, under such circumstances, had been condemned to a year's imprisonment!*—He would now, with the leave of the House, read this terrible libel, which had called down so heavy a punishment. [His Lordship then read the publication, which has been already before the public.] It appeared then that this offence was really of so slight and trifling a nature, that it was hardly possible even to be angry at it. The Commissioners themselves felt no resentment for it; and so little was it thought of, that one of the persons who inserted it was a friend of the Commissioners. They themselves told this man that they had no enmity towards him, that *they would do every thing in their power to get him out of the scrape, but that the thing was in the hands of his Majesty's Government; and yet the Attorney-General, knowing all these circumstances, on a former occasion told him* (Lord Folkestone) *that he had the satisfaction to have prosecuted this man to conviction!* He hoped one of the Privy Council, or some person about his Royal Highness the Regent, would represent this case to him, when he had no doubt, from the generosity of his mind, that he would do in it what was proper. When he and others, thinking the press hardly used, and that there was even a systematic effort to subdue it, had on a former occasion thought it right to bring the subject of informations for libel before the House, he had employed a Solicitor to procure him copies of the informations. The Solicitor found it more convenient to apply to those who were employed for the several parties, than to get them from the office. He got them all, except the case of this man; for, finding that the copy was wanted for Lord Folkestone, the Attorney for the party expressed his fears, lest if the matter came to the Attorney-General's ears, the punishment would be more severe. He did not mean to say that there was any foundation for this fear; but this shewed the state of intimidation in which the Press was placed. By the negligence of the Solicitors, the instructions had not been delivered to the Counsel till a few minutes before Collyer was brought up for judgment. The Counsel therefore applied to the Attorney General to have the matter put off, when the Attorney General asked them whether

they would answer that Lord Folkestone would not accuse him of not having prosecuted their client? He would ask the Attorney-General whether this was not correct? Did the Attorney-General act differently from what he otherwise would have done, on account of any thing that he (Lord Folkestone) might say? The better way would be to act even upon his own notions of what was right. But he denied that he had ever blamed the Attorney-General for not prosecuting. He had only blamed him for his partiality for having prosecuted those who opposed the politics of Government for smaller offences, while he suffered those who supported the politics of Government to publish the grossest libels with impunity. *It had been ruled by the Court, that even putting a letter in the post-office containing libellous matter was a publication.* What man, then, would dare to complain of the conduct of men in office even in this way, if a punishment so severe as a year's imprisonment were to be inflicted for offences so slight as that of Collyer? Was he not justified, then, in calling it a *most severe and cruel punishment*? He concluded by moving for Copies of the Informations against Drakard and Collyer.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL hoped, when his conduct was called in question, that the House would indulge him while he gave an account what that conduct had been. He begged the Noble Lord not to believe that he could have talked disrespectfully in another place of any motion made by the Noble Lord in that House. He might no doubt have expressed himself in the terms retailed to the Noble Lord, and, when an application for delay was moved, might, turning to those near him, have said in an under tone, "what will such a person say, if I consent to any postponement." He verily believes he had said so, and that, too, just in the way in which he had described it, and that some busy person had thought it worth his while to retail it to the Noble Lord. He was satisfied, however, that the Noble Lord was incapable of supposing that he could have been actuated in any thing he did by the conduct of the Noble Lord in bringing the subject under the consideration of the House, or that he could ever have allowed such a circumstance to act on him in such a way as to cause him to deviate from the line of his duty, which, he was conscious, he had never transgressed on any occasion. If the Noble Lord could suppose him capable of visiting the offence of any man, with greater bitterness because he had communicated with the Noble Lord, he did him (the Att. Gen.) great injustice. He should feel mortified could he believe that the Noble Lord supposed him capable of such a violation of duty. He then proceeded to consider the two cases brought under the consideration of the House by the Noble Lord. First, as to the case of Drakard, the Noble Lord seemed to conceive that after the Hunts had been acquitted he (the Attorney-General) ought to have been contented, and should have thought the cause of justice satisfied.—Though there were many unexceptionable answers which might be given to this observation, there was one short one, which he thought was sufficient, and this was, that the Noble Lord must have been misinformed, for the two publications were not alike: Hunt's was not an exact copy of Drakard's, but there were many grossly offensive passages in Drakard's libel which had not found their way into Hunt's publication. He did not agree, however, that the acquittal of Hunt was a sufficient reason for staying the proceedings against Drakard even had the publications been exactly the same. One would suppose, however, from the statement of the Noble Lord, that he (the Attorney-General) hunted down these persons from a pleasure which he took in oppressing them. If he did use the word pleasure when he communicated to the Noble Lord the fact of Collyer's having been convicted, his using that expression did not proceed from any pleasure he felt at the circumstance itself, but, simply, from finding that he was correct in what he had stated on a former night, merely on recollection. With the sentence imposed on Drakard he (the Attorney-General) had no concern. For that he could not answer, but at the same time he must say, that it could not at all be affected by the acquittal of Hunt. The Court of King's Bench had to look to all the circumstances of the libel itself, and to apportion the punishment to the enormity of it, without regard to any extraneous circumstances. They were to say, what was a just punishment for the libel as it appeared before them. This they had done, and the Noble Lord had not thought proper to enter into an investigation of the libel, for the purpose of shewing that the punishment was disproportionate to the offence. He now came to the case of Collyer; and here the House

would please to consider who the persons were, against whom the libel was published. They were Gentlemen who undertook a laborious and invidious office for the sake of the public, and if they were not to be protected against calumny in the exercise of their duty, the office must remain unexecuted. He did assure the Noble Lord, that never in any case had more pains been taken to ascertain what were its real merits, than he had taken in this very case. He had not confined his inquiries to the consideration of the libel, but he had also exerted himself to ascertain if Collyer had any real ground of complaint. Though that would not have operated as an excuse, still he had satisfied himself on this head before he filed an information against him. The libel did not in fact apply to an appeal and oath made by Collyer at the time, but he had gone on with-holding part of his income for five years. So far, too, from the Commissioners being satisfied without prosecuting Collyer, it was only on a complaint from them that they could not go on in their office, if the matter was allowed to pass, that he was prosecuted. The two printers were first prosecuted, and the Commissioners agreed to wave the prosecution against them, if the author was given up. This he (the Attorney General) disapproved of, thinking the printer or publisher often as mischievous a character as the author, but he did not think himself warranted in refusing to accede after such an argument had been made. So far, therefore, from originating with him, the prosecution against Collyer had been undertaken at the express desire of the Commissioners themselves It was to be observed, however, that after the libel in question had been printed by Cowdroy, Collyer himself took it, and paid 15*s.* for giving it still further publicity. That these circumstances must have had some effect with the Court, no man could deny. It was impossible for any dispassionate man to look at the publication, and not to see that it imputed to the Commissioners that they acted from corrupt motives, or from the very worst of passions. These being the circumstances of the two cases, alluded to by the Noble Lord, he submitted to the House, that there could be no ground for imputing any thing improper to him; certainly there was nothing improper in the Court who had pronounced the sentences in question.

Mr. Whitbread begged to say a few words, not respecting any thing improper on the part of the Honourable and Learned Gentleman (the Attorney General) *who, he had no doubt, had acted most fairly and constitutionally,* but simply to make a general observation, that he had remarked for some time, that the punishments inflicted on offences of this kind were most exceedingly severe. He had occasion some considerable time ago to present a Petition on the part of White and Hart, whose period of imprisonment was now nearly expired. There the imprisonment was for three years; a punishment infinitely beyond what could be supposed adequate to any offence of the kind. He had since heard of another charge of a similar kind, against White; but he hoped after so long an imprisonment, it would not be persevered in. As to the case of Drakard, he could not judge, not having read the publication, but after one person had been acquitted for a similar publication, he could not but think the punishment allotted to it was severe indeed. As to Collyer, it was admitted that he was an illiterate man, and that supposing himself injured, he, in a state of irritation, employed another person to write out a statement of his case, desiring him at the same time to guard against every thing libellous. He agreed with the Attorney General in thinking that the person who composed the libel was the more proper object of punishment. He thought that the Commissioners might have been satisfied with conviction merely, without sentence;—but if sentence was necessary, he was decidedly of opinion that twelve months imprisonment for an offence of the kind was such an excess of punishment, that it ought to be mitigated in that quarter alone from whence mercy could now flow; an exercise of the prerogative which, he was convinced, would give satisfaction to the Public, and to the Attorney General himself.

Mr. Perceval said, if in the case of the libel published by Drakard, one Jury had acquitted and another had convicted, it was for the Judges, when called on to pronounce sentence on the person convicted, to satisfy their own minds which of the two verdicts had been founded on mistake, and to pass a mild or severe sentence accordingly. If the Noble Lord contended that the Court had erred in their judgment on this point, why had he not given the publication to the House? The fact however was, that the publication for

which a verdict of acquittal had been obtained, was not a copy of the whole of the publication which another Jury had declared to be a libel. As to any application at the fountain of mercy, in the case of Collyer, he begged the House to consider what was the nature of that case. It did not depend on the particular words of the publication, but on the mischief likely to be produced by it, and the effect it was calculated to produce on the minds of those against whom it was addressed. It was to be considered that they were persons who served without reward, and that they lived in a populous neighbourhood, whose indignation against them such a publication as the present was peculiarly calculated to excite, they being here held up as persons who felt delight in oppression. The Court could not but have had these circumstances in view, and, influenced by all the merciful considerations which ought to govern their minds, corrected, however, by a regard to what the public service required, they had passed the sentence now complained of. He must therefore oppose the motion.

Mr. W. Smith said, as the present motion only went the length of requiring copies of the informations and judgments in the particular cases alluded to, the question was, whether the Noble Lord had here made out a *prima facie* case to warrant such a motion? He was of opinion the Noble Lord had made out such a case, and therefore he thought the informations and judgments ought to be produced for the sake of affording to the House materials on which to build its future opinion.—The Commissioners, who acted gratuitously for the public benefit, he was fully aware, ought to be supported, and if any man libelled them he ought to be brought to justice, but that ought not, to his mind, to be carried to so violent an extent, as in the present instance. There was here an apparent harshness on the part of the Administrators of Justice, and, though it might not be desirable to seem to doubt of the decisions of our Courts of Law, that did not seem to him to be so detrimental to the public, as that the House should refuse inquiring into the extent and propriety of punishment, when *prima facie* ground was laid for such inquiry.

Mr. Lockhart thought that the positions with which the Honourable Member who spoke last had set out, would have led him to a very different conclusion. He could not conceive a more harsh accusation than that contained in the Libel against these Commissioners; and *to concur in the present motion would be to throw a reflection on the Court*, as inferring *a doubt at least of the propriety of its judgment*, which, he confessed, he saw no reason to question.

Lord Folkestone, in reply, observed, that the Honourable and Learned Gentleman had only urged, in opposition to his motion, that it would tend to throw an imputation on the Court of King's Bench without a sufficient case being made out. He still thought that nothing which had been said by the Learned and Honourable Gentleman diminished the strength of the case he had described; and he had no hesitation in saying it was a case of peculiar hardship and oppression. It had been said, that the Court could only look at the actual libel: but if this was so, what was the nature or purpose of affidavits in mitigation? With respect to the case of Drakard, he certainly was aware of the distinction between it and the Hunts, arising from an omission of a certain portion of the original libel; but as the Counsel for the prosecution had not thought proper to dwell upon the parts omitted, he conceived himself warranted in concluding that they were not peculiarly offensive. The Right Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Perceval) had said, that one libel ought not to excuse another of the same nature; but he apprehended, that as libel was an offence only cognizable by law, as tending to a breach of the peace; when public opinion, as expressed in the verdict of a jury, had decided that this tendency did not exist, it would have been but just and politic to refrain from trying again the same question in the case of another person.

The motion of Lord Folkestone was negatived without a division.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

Sicily.——*Declaration of the King relative to the Report of his being about to give up his Country to the French.—Palermo, 10th March*, 1811.

His Majesty the King of the Two Sicilies has been informed, that some malevolent persons have circulated in this capital, as also at Messina, scandalous reports of a pretended peace between his Majesty and the French, of which they have the impudence even to indicate the conditions, although contradictory—the restitution of the Kingdom of Naples, provided

the French troops occupy Sicily—the resignation of the Kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, for a supposed compensation elsewhere. Some do not mention that peace has been signed: others pretend that it has been on the 17th January.—The King, strong in his probity, and in his good faith known to his faithful friend the King of Great Britain, and to the generous English nation, would conceive it beneath his dignity to trouble himself an instant with reports as absurd as the authors of them are contemptible, if his Majesty did not behold in these vile manœuvres the instigation of the common enemy, of whom the promulgators of these falsehoods are certainly the instruments always occupied in disturbing the public tranquillity, and in sowing the seeds of distrust among loyal and faithful allies, the intimate union of whom is the greatest obstacle to the accomplishment of his perverse and disastrous designs.—This reflection has made his Majesty judge it his duty not to preserve silence in this circumstance, and he has consequently ordered the undersigned Minister and Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, to declare that the abovementioned reports are false, and entirely destitute of all foundation; that his Majesty, constant in his principles, and faithful to the system and to the engagements which have for so many years bound him to his Majesty the King of Great Britain, and to the generous English nation, to which his Majesty has united himself, and whose known fidelity assures him of the continuation of a generous aid, regards these ties, founded on good faith and reciprocal loyalty, as indissoluble.—The undersigned, therefore, in obedience to the orders of his Royal Master, has the honour to address this Declaration to his Excellency Lord Amherst, Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary of his Majesty the King of Great Britain, not that the King his Master thought it necessary to make known his unalterable sentiments, but as a means of giving an authentic contradiction to calumnies which, often repeated, might at length spread some cloud on the mind of his brave defenders and faithful allies. It is, therefore, to prevent this effect, that his Majesty desires, that his Excellency Lord Amherst would communicate this to the Commander in Chief of the British army, General Stuart.—The undersigned seizes this occasion of renewing to his Excellency Lord Amherst, the assurance of his high consideration.

MARQUIS CIRELLO.

PORTUGAL.—THE WAR.

NO. IV.

Return of killed, wounded, and missing of the Corps of the Army under Command of Lieut. General Viscount Wellington, K.B. under the immediate Orders of Marshal Sir William Carr Beresford, K. B. in the Battle with the French Army commanded by Marshal Soult, at Albuera, on the 16th May, 1811.—(Concluded from p. 1472.)

General Total—2 General Staff, 1 Lieutenant-Colonel, 1 Major, 7 Captains, 13 Lieutenants, 9 Ensigns, 1 Staff, 33 Serjeants, 4 drummers, 913 rank and file, 63 horses, killed; 8 General Staff, 5 Lieutenant-Colonels, 5 Majors, 48 Captains, 86 Lieutenants, 22 Ensigns, 7 Staff, 146 Serjeants, 10 Drummers, 2,656 rank and file, 35 horses, wounded; 1 Major, 4 Captains, 8 Lieutenants, 1 Ensign, 28 Serjeants, 11 Drummers, 517 rank and file, 17 horses, missing.

(Signed) CHARLES STEWART.
Major-Gen. and Adj.-Gen.

Names of the Officers killed, wounded, and missing in the Action on the 16th May, 1811.

Killed.

Major-General D. Hoghton.

3d Dragoon Guards—Lieutenant Fox.

1st Batt. 3d Foot, or Buffs—Captain Burke, Lieutenant Herbert, Ensigns Chadwick and Thomas.

2d Batt 7th Foot—Captain Erck, Lieutenant Archer.

1st Batt. 23d Foot—Captain Montague, Second Lieutenant Hall.

29th Foot—Captain Humphrey, Lieutenant Duguid, Ensigns King, Furnace, and Vance.

2d Batt. 31th Foot—Captain Gibbons, Lieutenant Castle, Ensign Sarsfield.

2d Batt. 39th Foot—Lieutenant Beard.

1st Batt. 48th Foot—Lieutenant-Colonel Duckworth, Lieut. Page, Lieut. Ansaldo.

2d Batt. 48th Foot—Lieutenants Liddon, Holt, and Drew; Ensign Rothwell.

1st Batt. 57th Foot—Major Scott, Captain Fawcett.

2d Batt. 66th Foot—Captain Benning, Lieutenant Shewbridge, Ensign Coulter.

2d Light Batt. King's German Legion—Lieutenant Whitney.

Portuguese.

Staff—Surgeon Bollman.

23d Regiment—P. B. Baadeira, J. Joze Montro.

Wounded.

Major-General Honourable G. L. Cole, slightly

Major-General Honourable William Stewart, slightly.

Captain Egerton (2d Batt. 34th Foot), Deputy Assistant Adj.-Gen. slightly.

Captain Waller (103d Foot), Deputy Assistant Quarter-Master General, severely.

Captain Roveria (Sicilian Regiment), Aid-de-Camp to Major-General Cole, severely.

Captain Wade, (42d Foot) Aid-de-Camp to Major-General Cole, severely.

Captain Baring, (1st Light Batt. King's German Legion) Aid-de-Camp to General Alten, slightly.

Royal Artillery—Captain Hawker, slightly.

Royal German Artillery—Lieutenant Thiele, severely.

4th Dragoons—Captain Holmes, slightly; Lieutenant Wildman, Adjutant Chantry, slightly.

3d Foot, or Buffs—Captain Marley, Captain Gordon, severely; Captain Stevens, Captain Cameron, severely and taken prisoner; Lieutenant Juxon, Lieutenant Shepherd, slightly; Lieutenants Hooper and Latham; Lieutenant Wright, slightly; Lieutenant Woods; Lieutenant Houghton, severely; Lieutenant Titlow, slightly; Lieutenant O'Donnel, severely; Ensign Walsh, severely.

1st Batt. 7th Foot—Lieut.-Col. Sir William Myers, Bt. since dead; Captains Cholwich, Singer and Crowder, slightly; Lieutenant Prevost, severely Lieutenants Moultry and Wemyss, slightly; Lieutenant S. B. Johnstone, since dead; Lieutenant Mullins, severely; Lieutenant Henry, slightly; Lieutenants Jones and Morgan, severely; Lieutenant R. Johnstone, slightly; Lieutenant Gibbons; Lieutenant Moses, slightly.

2d Batt. 7th Foot—Brevet Lieutenant Colonel Blakeney, severely; Captain Magenis, left arm amputated; Captain Orr, severely; Captain Parleton, slightly; Lieutenant Irwin, severely; Lieutenant Healy; Lieutenant Wray, severely; Lieutenant Orr; Lieutenant Seaton, severely; Lieutenant Penrice; Lieutenants Lorentz, Holden, Frazer, and Acting Adjutant Meagher, slightly.

1st Batt. 23d Foot—Lieutenant-Colonel Ellis, slightly; Captains Hurford and M'Donald; Captain Stainforth, first Lieutenant Harrison, slightly; First Lieutenant Booker, severely; First Lieutenants Treeve and Thorp, slightly; Second Lieutenant Castles, ditto; Second Lieutenant Harris; Second Lieutenant Ledwith, slightly; Adjutant M'Lellan.

2d Batt. 28th Foot—Captain Gale, severely; Captain Carrol, Lieutenants Crammer and Cottingham, slightly; Lieutenant Shelton, Ensign Ingram, slightly.

29th Foot—Lieutenant-Colonel White, severely; Major Way, Captain Hodge, slightly; Captain Tod, Captain Nestor, slightly; Lieutenant Stannus, severely; Lieutenant Brooke, slightly; Lieutenant Popham, Lieutenant Briggs, severely; Ensign Lovelock, slightly; Ensign Kearney, severely; Ensign Hamilton, Adjutant Wild, severely.

2d Batt. 31st Foot—Captain Fleming, severely; Captain Knox, slightly; Lieutenants Butler, Gethin, Cashell, severely; Ensign Willson, ditto; Ensign Nicholson.

2d Batt. 34th Foot—Captains Widdrington and Wyatt, Lieutenants Hay and Walsh.

2d Batt. 39th Foot—Captain Brine, Lieutenants Hart and Pollard, Ensign Cox, severely.

1st Batt. 48th Foot—Captains Wilson and French, slightly; Capt. Bell, Capt. Morrissett, slightly; Capt. Parsons, severely; Lieutenant Crawley, slightly; Lieutenant Herring, Lieutenant Wright, O'Donaghue, Duke, M'Intosh, and Vincent, slightly; Ensign Collin, slightly; Adjutant Steele, slightly.

2d Batt. 48th Foot—Capt. Watkins, severely; Capt. Waugh, slightly; Capt. Drought, Capt. Wood, slightly; Lieutenants Johnstone and Vander Meulen, severely; Lieutenants Shea and Sharp; Ensigns Norman and M'Dougall.

1st Batt. 57th Foot—Lieutenant-Col. Inglis, Major Spring, slightly; Captains Shadforth, M'Gibbon, Jermyn, Stainforth, Hely, Kirby; Lieutenant Evatt, and Lieutenant Baxter, slightly; Lieutenant Mc Lachlan, severely; Lieutenant M'Farlane, Lieutenant Dix, slightly; Lieutenant Patterson, severely; Lieutenant Hughes, slightly; Lieutenant Sheridan, Lieutenants Veith and Myers, slightly; Lieutenant M'Dougal, Ensign Torrens; Ensign Jackson, slightly.

5th Batt. 60th Foot—Lieutenant Ingersleben, slightly.

2d Batt. 66th Foot—Captain Ferris, Lieutenant Hicken, slightly; Lieutenants Harvey and L'Estrange, Lieutenants Chambers and M'Carthy, slightly; Lieu-

tenant Codd, Lieutenant Hand, severely; Lieutenant Crompton, Ensign Walker, Ensign Hay, severely; Ensign Mack, slightly.

1st Light Battalion King's German Legion—Major Hartwig, Captain Rudorf, Lieutenant Hartwig, slightly; Ensign Smalhausen; Adjutant Fahle, slightly.

2d Light Battalion King's German Legion—Captain A. Heise.

Portuguese.

Colonel Collins.

2d Regiment—Adjutant Jose de Mello.

5th Regiment—Captain Jose de Mattos, Captain Jas. Johnston, Lieutenant Jose Miranda, Ensign J. Sarmento Vasconcellas.

4th Regiment.—Pimontel Broquet, slightly.

11th Regiment—Lieutenant J. Paos de Carvalhos, Lieutenant Bede Napoles.

23d Regiment—Captain A. Pinheiro Daragao.

1st Battalion L. L. Legion—Lieutenant-Colonel Hawkshaw, Major Joao Paes, Captain Felipe Jacob, Captain J. Paulo Rosado, Lieutenants Antonio Carlos and Andrew Camacho.

Missing.

Royal German Artillery—Lieutenant Blumenbach.

4th Dragoons—Captains Spedding and Phillips.

3d Foot, or Buffs—Lieutenant Hannesley and Hill.

2d Batt. 48th Foot—Major Brooke, Captains Campbell and Allman, Lieutenants Ellwood, Marshal, Sach, Brotheridge, and Wood, Ensign Gilbert.

(Signed) CHARLES STEWART,
Major Gen. and Adjutant-Gen.

Elvas, May 22nd, 1811.

My Lord;—I enclose a letter of the 21st instant, which I have received from Marshal Sir William Beresford, containing a letter from General Gazan to Marshal Soult, which had been intercepted by some of our parties.—General Gazan, wounded himself, was marching with the wounded; and from his account of those with him, from the account of those at Almendralejo, and those left on the ground at Albuera, from the numbers found dead on the field, and the prisoners, the Marshal computes the enemy's loss not to fall short of 9,000 men. I have the honour to be, &c. WELLINGTON.

Camp near Albuera,
21st May, 1811.

My Lord;—I have the honour to transmit to your Lordship the accompanying intercepted letters of some importance; after the severe battle we had, it is satisfactory to know that our calculations of the enemy's loss were not exaggerated, and you will see by Gen. Gazan's letter to Marshal Soult, that in killed and wounded it cannot be less than 8,000 men; left dead on the field and taken, we have the knowledge of near three thousand; Gen. Gazan states that he has more than four thousand wounded with him; three hundred and twenty were at Almendralejo by the same letters; Gazan says many have died on the road, and which we know must have been the case, as it is in the few first days that the bad cases die in numbers, and a precipitate-retreat and want of convenient carriage must increase the mortality; thus we can scarcely calculate the loss of the enemy from these data at less than nine thousand men.—Our advance was close to Azuchal and Almendralejo, and I propose putting a strong column of Infantry in march towards those places to-morrow morning, and shall accompany it. I have, &c.

W. C. BERESFORD.

(Translation.)

Ribera, 19th May, 1811.

Monsieur le Marechal; I have the honour to report to your Excellency that I am just arrived with the whole of the column which is infinitely more numerous than I could have believed. I am endeavouring to organize it, in order to avoid disasters, and particularly plundering, which would make us die of hunger, and which I found at the highest pitch this morning upon my arrival at Almendralejo.—I found upon my arrival here a letter from M. Le Normand to Major D'Aubersher? I annex it herewith, after having acquainted myself with its contents. As I imagine that it can be only the 9th corps which is at Almaraz, I write from hence to the Count d'Erlon, in order to induce him to hasten his march and to join you. However as it is also possible that they may be troops belonging to the army of the centre, commanded by Gen. D'Armagnac, I write to him likewise, in order that he may move towards you.—I send an answer to Captain Le Normand to intimate to him that he should correspond with your Excellency, Major

D'Aubersac having rejoined the army; I have ordered him to collect a large convoy of provisions, and to accompany it to you, that it may the more securely reach you.—The great heat will do a great deal of harm to our wounded, the number of whom amounts to more than four thousand; especially as we have only five surgeons to dress them. Some have died upon the road; amongst them M. la Pierre, Chief de Battalion of the 103d regiment.—I am still without any news of the Chief d'Escadron La Barthe; I shall have the honour of informing you the very moment I shall have been able to communicate with him. Spanish parties are at Los Santos and at Fuente del Maestro; and have appeared this morning at Almendralejo and Villa Franca. They made inquiries at the latter place as to the march of our column; and they give out that four hundred horse and a strong column of infantry are to arrive to-day at Los Santos; I do not give any credit to this movement, but at all events we shall see them, and I shall try to escape them.—I beg your Excellence to receive the assurance of the sincere and respectful devotion with which I have the honour to be,

(Signed) The Gen. of Divison, GAZAN.

SPAIN.—*Cadiz, May 24, 1811.—Extract of a Dispatch from Don Francisco Xavier Castanos, dated on the Field of Battle at Albuera, the 19th of May.*

On the 26th of April last, I informed your Excellency, that the extraordinary rise of the river Guadiana, carrying off the flying bridge erected opposite to Jurumena, had cut off the communication of this part of Estremadura with Portugal, and prevented my interview with Lord Wellington at Yelves.—On this account he transmitted to me a written memorial, in which he explained his ideas as to the operations which appeared proper to him in Estramadura, and which were very conformable to mine, except in one article, which, as it directly affected myself, I did not think it right to admit. The point was this: that it laid down the principle, that wherever different corps of the allied armies should be united to give battle to the enemy, that General possessed of the highest military rank and of the longest standing should take the command of the whole. This would have necessarily imposed upon me the chief command—a circumstance which, on many accounts, and considered in every view, I found it my duty to decline, proposing that in the above-mentioned case, that General should take the command who brought the greatest number of forces, the others being to be considered as auxiliaries; a proposition which, I flatter myself, was as proper in itself as it was well received, as your Excellency will perceive from the copies of my letter to Lord Wellington, and his satisfactory answer, which are both subjoined.—I immediately addressed a copy of the memorial of Lord Wellington to General Blake, who declared his assent to the plan, and to the proposal which I had made, the propriety of which has been still more confirmed by the happy results of the glorious battle of Albuera, in which, in consequence of the above arrangement, the distinguished Marshal Beresford commanded.—On the first accounts that arrived of the approach of Marshal Soult towards Estremadura, Senor Blake made arrangements for uniting his troops with those of the allied army, with so much precision, according to the plan agreed upon, that he might be said to have calculated to a moment the time for carrying the measure into effect in all its parts, since his forces joined at eleven on the night before the battle, unknown to Soult, whose object was to attack the allied army, which he supposed not to have formed a junction with the Spanish troops, and to be alone on the heights of Albuera; that point having this particular circumstance attached to it, that it was the position which Lord Wellington had fixed on for giving battle.—There on the 16th of this month the troops of the three allied nations assembled, and there the most cordial harmony reigned among the generals, and the most fraternal union among the soldiers; the strongest disposition to give mutual aid at every risk, and the most ardent desire to assist each other by mutual efforts. The glory of the triumph has been so profusely and at the same time so equally shared, that all have gained trophies, and none are obliged to borrow from the laurels of another.—Marshal Soult, with an army somewhat inferior to ours in infantry, but superior in cavalry and artillery, did not delay for a moment his meditated attack. He advanced against our position, which was close to the village of Albuhera, and the centre of the line: but this was soon discovered to be a false attack, and that his intention

was to gain the right flank, which consisted of Spanish troops, whom he attacked vigorously with the greatest part of his force, and whom by successively deploying he must have turned, and got into their rear. Our second line and corps of reserve, however, which were skilfully posted, advanced rapidly to our relief, supporting our first line, and maintaining a most obstinate and bloody combat. The enraged enemy repeated his attacks, bringing up continual reinforcements; but he always met with other reinforcements on our side, which remained impenetrable for seven hours, though he employed, to no purpose, all the intrepidity of the Polish cavalry, and the formidable fire of a numerous artillery which thundered without intermission. At half past two in the afternoon he gave way, and began to retreat without ceasing to combat. He was then charged and pursued in his retreat towards the woods and heights which he meant to occupy, leaving the field of battle covered with his dead, and with a considerable number of wounded, whom he could not carry off; who having been inundated by the heavy showers that fell during the action, formed a most horrid spectacle, the rivulets that poured down from the heights overflowing with blood.—The loss of the enemy upon the most moderate calculation, confirmed by the reports of several deserters, amounts to 7,000 men. Among the killed is Gen. Werle, who remained on the field of battle, and General Pepin, who died during the night in consequence of his wounds. Generals Gazan and Brix retired wounded. Our loss has been very great, though inferior to that of the enemy.—General Blake, who was always at the head of the troops wherever danger called, had his left arm grazed by a musket-ball, which fortunately only tore his coat and shirt without doing him farther injury. In this way he offered the most effectual example of coolness and bravery to his officers, being constantly in the foremost ranks during the whole of the battle.—Having been a close observer of this obstinate battle, I will not attempt to particularize individuals; for all the Generals, officers, and troops surpassed themselves in valour and steadiness. They displayed a coolness, and at the same time an ardour which excited universal enthusiasm. The order, precision, and velocity of the movements, amidst a profound silence, uncommon on such occasions, were the object of general admiration. The only wish was to fight and conquer, be the danger what it might. The Generals of Brigade, without waiting for the bulk of their divisions to come into action, were already engaged by the side of the advanced troops. There was not a man who was not at his post, and every one was determined to maintain it with that valour which is the triumph of individual and military honour.—Soult, without being able to come in sight of Badajos, commenced his retreat early in the morning of yesterday by Valalba and Almendralejo, leaving in the woods where he was encamped several dead, and more than 200 wounded, whom he could not remove or send with the others to the neighbouring towns. He is pursued and observed by the Conde de Penne Villemur with the cavalry, the vanguard of General Lardizabal, and some English light troops.—These are the particulars which I have felt it my duty to lay before your Excellency of the battle of Albuera, the able manœuvres in which, directed by Marshal Beresford, in concurrence with General Blake, obtained a great victory, which promises the most important consequences. God guard your Excellency, &c.

PORTUGAL.—THE WAR.—*Proclamations of Lord Viscount Wellington, K. B. Marshal General of the Armies of H. R. H. the Prince Regent of Portugal, &c. &c &c.*

The Portuguese Nation is informed, that the cruel enemy, who had invaded Portugal, and laid waste the country, has been compelled to evacuate and retire behind the Agueda, after having suffered great losses.—The inhabitants of the invaded districts may now return with security to their homes, and begin anew their occupations, and domestic arrangements.—The Marshal General, however, reminds them of the contents of the Proclamation he addressed to them in the month of August last, a copy of which is by the side of [following] the present.

(To be continued.)

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

PARLIAMENTARY REFORM. ——— The Meeting, lately held at the Freemason's Tavern, was, let us hope, the beginning of a series of efforts, which will end in the accomplishment of this grand object. —— The nation has witnessed several struggles made before; especially those of the FRIENDS OF THE PEOPLE and of the *Corresponding Society*. The former of these gave up, being unable to withstand the torrent of abuse that was poured out against it; and the latter was stifled by means, for the use of some of which the actors obtained *a bill of indemnity*, but neither which means or the actors will, I trust, ever be forgotten. —— Things are now a good deal changed. When the Corresponding Society was stifled, the Revolution was at the full boil in France; the streets of Paris were (owing principally to the war carried on against the French people in the name of their king) stained with human blood; all law and order, all security to either property or person, seemed to be at an end; and, every one looked upon France as destined to fall a prey to the kings who had coalesced against her, and by whom it was expected she would be torn limb from limb, and divided, or, at least, plucked of her fairest plumes and most essential means of self-defence.——This was the state of things at the time when the Corresponding Society was stifled. In answer to that Society, who asked, be it observed, for *nothing but reform of parliament*, and who were never proved to have had any other object in view; in answer to that Society, it was said by the Anti-jacobins, "What, do you want to put "England in the horrid state in which "France now is? The revolutionists in "France began by asking for *reform;* "having got one step, they proceeded to "another, 'till, at last, they have mur-"dered the king and his wife and son and "sister; and, after having done that "they are now murdering one another, "having declared war against all law, "property and order." This was the substance of what was said in answer to the Corresponding Society. Their opponents reasoned syllogistically thus: "The revolutionists in France began by "calling for *reform:* you now call for "*reform:* the revolutionists in France "have ended with the destruction of all "law and property; therefore, you "would end with the destruction of all "law and property; and for *that reason* you "must be stifled in time."——How many acts, as Mr. Fox said, and such acts as I need not name, were committed upon this ground! Once persuade a people to prefer their present ease and enjoyments to the permanent freedom of their country, and you have only further to persuade them that what you do is absolutely necessary to the preservation of that ease and those enjoyments: when you have done this, you may do what you like; for they will stand by, and, as Casca says of the rabble of Rome, shout forth your praises though you were to cut the throats of their mothers.——This reasoning in the way of analogy was wholly fallacious; for, there was no comparison between the two countries in regard to a reform in the government. But, the fallacy was a convenient one for the enemies of reform, who failed not to make a most dextrous use of it, and who assumed as a proof of the revolutionary designs of the English reformers, that they *openly professed their wishes for the success of the revolutionists of France*, and even, as long as they dared, contributed in a pecuniary way towards the success of that cause. This was, by the Anti-jacobins, cited as proof that the English reformers wanted to see that done in England which had been done in France. This was another fallacy; but it was a convenient one for the enemies of reform; and as those enemies found it no very difficult matter to make a vast majority of the people of property *fear* for that property, the Corresponding Society was stifled without exciting any great opposition, and with that Society was stifled, for that time, the great cause of Parliamentary Reform.——The state of things, I repeat, is now changed. We have seen the

result of the French Revolution; and, although we have seen, that, in its progress, it has caused no small part of the property of the country to change owners, we have also seen, that it has not made France a prey to the enemies (no less than all the nations of Europe) coalesced against her; that they have not tore her limb from limb; that they have plucked out none of her plumes, nor robbed her of any of her means of defence; but, on the contrary, that they have all; yea all of them, this nation excepted, fallen before her, humbled themselves in the dust at her feet, and have had to bless her *generosity* for their existence.——Here, then, is one part of the old Anti-jacobin argument completely refuted. Time has proved to us, that *reform*, even if it lead to total revolution, to mad democracy, and end at last in military despotism, does, under every change, at every stage of its progress, tend not only to preserve the independence of a country, but to make it victorious and to bring its enemies to its feet.——Besides, the dread of *contagion* must now be removed. *French principles*, it was feared, were at work in the breasts of the reformers; and that, if reform was once begun, it would soon get into an imitation of what was going on in France. The *contagion* of French principles was an object of horror. But, in this respect also, the state of things is wholly different from what it was. The French Republicans or Jacobins or Levellers or Reformers, call them what you will, are no more. They have no longer a *political* existence. The men are alive, in body, or some of them, at least; but, as political beings they have long been defunct. The piece of clay, called ABBE' SIEYES, is still, I believe, in a state to move about and to serve as a sort of mill whereby a portion of the fruits of the earth are again returned to the element whence they sprang; but, ABBE' SIEYES the politician is as dead as Pitt or Kenyon or Melville.——France is become a military despotism; at least, *so it is said.* I do not know it, nor have I any faith in what is said about it by our venal prints; but, if what they say be true; if it be true, that there is a simple military despotism established in France; that the laws do, in fact, emanate from the will of the sovereign alone; that the legislative assemblies are a mere *sham*; that they are absolutely nothing but *tools* in the hands of the sovereign, or his ministers; that they serve merely as an instrument for *taxing* the people and passing laws to compel them to be *conscripts*; that, in short, they are no more the representatives of the people of France than they are of the Indians in America: if this be true, which I do not, by the bye, at all dispute, there can be no fear that the English reformers would *now* be disposed to imitate the example of the French, however they may have been disposed this way at the time when France called herself a Republic, and had proclaimed principles, of which every friend of freedom must have heartily approved.——The Reformers, therefore, cannot now be accused of having the *same views with the enemy*, as they were in 1794; the enemy has a government which the English reformers hate; and, Oh! strange to tell! the Anti-jacobins of England; the Anti-reformers; the Associators against Republicans and Levellers are wishing for . . . . *what?* What are they *now* wishing for? Why, for a revolution in France; aye, they actually live, they exist, upon the *hope of an insurrection and revolution in France.* This is their daily bread. They have nothing else to depend upon. Here is a change! They, who, for years, cried aloud and ceased not, against insurrection and disorder and revolution and anarchy, and who preached up obedience to the higher powers, who called upon the people to associate and subscribe and fight and *inform*, to make all sorts of exertions and all sorts of sacrifices, in defence of *order* and *law*, of *regular government* and *social order:* these very men are now filling their imaginations, feeding their fancies, staying the longing of their ardent minds with the hope of seeing *another revolution in France!* They, who dreaded nothing so much as *revolution*; they who, in answer to all that was said against the despotisms of Prussia, Austria, and even Turkey, said "it is better than "*revolution*;" they, who were ready to justify any thing upon the plea that it was necessary to prevent *revolution*; they, who cursed the name of liberty, because it had been used for the purpose of effecting *revolution*; they, who when they saw England deserted by her allies in the war against France, and saw her impoverished and in difficulties to her lips, still cried out against treating with her, because her government was *revolutionary*; these men, aye, these very men, are now praying, day and night, for *another revolution in France*; and,

if you examine them closely, you will find, that, at bottom, it is upon this and this only, that they build whatever hope they have of the country's finally escaping subjugation by France! This is a change, indeed! Nine years war, ending in 1802, costing us in taxes and loans, not less than SEVEN HUNDRED MILLIONS OF POUNDS STERLING, and some hundreds of thousands of lives; all this to *repel revolutionary principles;* all this to keep down the spirit of revolution; all this to prevent the contagion of French principles from reaching England; all this for Regular Government and Social Order; and, *now* we see those who were the advocates of that war, resting their political salvation upon the hope of seeing *another revolution in France;* and even going so far as to say, that we need expect no peace until such revolution shall take place, whereas they before told us, that no peace was to be had, *because there was a revolution going on in France!* ——Was there ever, then, change more complete than this? In short, the whole is changed, as to both countries, except only, that the Parliament of England remains what it was at the time when "*the* "*Friends of the People*" gave up, and when the more sturdy and sincere *Corresponding Society* was stifled.——It is impossible for any one to excite alarm *now* as to the propagation of *French principles;* no man in his senses can be made to fear the effect of *republican principles* in England; the *time* cannot be pleaded as unfit, for when will there be a fit time if that time is not now, seeing that the "hurricane of revolution," as it is called, is over, and that we have before us a most salutary lesson as to the consequences of going too far.——Therefore, there is now nothing to offer against reform but that which will serve at all times, namely, that CORRUPTION IS NECESSARY TO THE SUPPORT OF OUR GOVERNMENT, a doctrine, which, though it has been openly avowed, is certainly the most infamous that ever was heard of. To me it appears difficult to form an idea of any thing so slanderous upon a government, any thing so seditious, as to say of a government, that *corruption,* that the continual existence and practice of corruption, is necessary to its existence? I appeal to the reader; I appeal to the considerate and moral amongst men; I appeal to that principle of rectitude, which, if not stifled by vice, lives in every man's breast; I appeal to conscience and to honour, whether it be possible to invent a libel upon government more infamous than this? And, to those who hold this doctrine, and yet affect to be anxious for the preservation of the kingly government, I put this question: what can you invent, what can any man invent, what could the united invention of all the geniuses in the world invent, *so likely as this doctrine, to work the utter destruction of that government?* What! in order to *preserve* a thing, will you insist that its existence necessarily implies the existence of corruption? In order to make us keep a thing up, will you tell us, that, in keeping it up, we necessarily keep up corruption? Oh! monstrous! What a base people must we be, if we are to be induced to support the government upon this ground! To suppose that a government can long exist upon such a basis is to suppose the people of England to be what the French called "*demoralized;*" it is to suppose them out-laws of virtue; it is to write the word *wretch* upon each man's forehead; it is to call upon the world, in the name of virtue and of honour, to extirpate the whole race of us from the face of the earth. Taxes! Flogging! What are taxes and what is flogging; what are they to what we should deserve, if we were so base, so infamously base, as to be induced to *love* a government to the support of which *Corruption was absolutely necessary?* What, then, shall we say of those; what will our *Sovereign* say of those, who openly and explicitly declare, that the government under which we live is not to be carried on without corruption; and, what, especially, shall we say, when we reflect, that those who tell us so, those who hold this doctrine, do, at the same time assume the appellations of "*King's friends*" and of "*loyal men,*" while they hold forth to the world as enemies of the King and the whole scheme of government, all of us who contend, that *Corruption is not necessary to the existence of that government,* but, that the kingly power and dignity can be maintained, that the parliament can be efficient for its purposes, and that the whole of the government under which we live and that has descended to us from our forefathers, can be carried on upon principles of morality, and that nothing of an infamous nature is necessary to be done to support either the prerogatives of the King or the powers of the parliament? This is our doctrine; this is the doctrine of the Reformers; and, yet those who oppose us have the impudence to hold us forth as persons endeavouring to subvert the go-

vernment by the means of *calumny;* as if it were calumny to say of the government that it *can* be maintained *without Corruption,* and not calumny to say that it *cannot* be maintained *without corruption!* Let us suppose these different sentiments put into the opening of two different Addresses to the King. Let us suppose the Anti-jacobins approaching him thus:——"Sir, "Conscious that your throne cannot be "supported, or the affairs of the state car-"ried on without a constant violation of "numerous statutes; conscious that bri-"bery and corruption; that perjury and "subornation of perjury; that many of "the crimes the most hateful to man's in-"herent nature as well as the most dis-"tinctly accursed in that Scripture on our "faith in which we build our hopes of eter-"nal salvation; conscious that the almost "constant commission of these crimes, by "great numbers of your Majesty's subjects, "is absolutely necessary to the support "of your Majesty's throne and to the ex-"ercise of the powers of government, we "beseech your Majesty, &c. &c. &c. &c." ——And let us suppose the Reformer approaching him thus:—"Sir, Conscious "that, of all the maxims of the Holy "Scriptures, none is more true, or more "worthy of being held in remembrance, "than this: that "the throne shall en-"dure which is *established in righteous-"ness;*" conscious that to support the "throne of your Majesty and to carry on "the affairs of your government, no-"thing can be more conducive than an "obedience to the statutes, the inculca-"tion of morality amongst the people "at large by the example of the nobility "and gentry, and, especially by those "who are members of parliament; con-"scious that bribery and corruption, and "all the manifold crimes thence flowing, "and extending themselves amongst great "numbers of your Majesty's subjects; "conscious that these crimes, thus ex-"tended, must have a necessary tendency "not only to corrupt the morals of the "people but to obliterate from their minds "all sense of public duty, and, of course, "all love of country, and all sense of duty "towards their King, as the guardian of "the rights and honour of that country; "conscious, that, from this cause the "stability of your Majesty's throne must "be shaken, the lawful powers of the "government enfeebled, and the country "thereby exposed to invasion and subju-"gation, we beseech your Majesty, &c. "&c. &c. &c."——Reader, what would you say of a King to whose ear the former of these could be more pleasing than the latter? A *King,* did I say; far be it from me to suppose that there ever will be a King in England with regard to whom the hypothesis could, for one moment, be put. Nay, it is hard to believe, that any man upon earth, under whatever circumstances placed, could hesitate for one moment as to which of the two he would prefer. Indeed, to suppose any one capable of preferring the former to the latter, is to suppose the existence of a monster to put whom out of the world would be the duty of every man who had it in his power.——What, then, shall we think of those, who scruple not to hold such language; who openly avow their conviction, that corruption is necessary, absolutely necessary, to the support of the government; who tell us, in so many words, that without corruption, the government could not go on; and who, embodying their diabolical doctrine into one close figure of rhetoric, assert, that "the *rotten* boroughs "are the *sound* part of the Constitution;" herein, with a boast "saying to *corruption* "thou art my *father;*" and adopting the horrid sentiment of the king of hell, "*evil* "be thou my *good*"?——What shall we say of such men; and yet, the reader must be convinced, that this is no exaggeration; that this is no more than the well known truth; that it is a truth that cannot be denied. Heretofore *excuses* were made; by some the corruption was *denied;* by others the reform was said to have *danger* in it; some said the cure was said to threaten us with *greater mischiefs* than the disease; others that the *time* was not proper; never, never 'till the year 1809 were there found men of such bold, such barefaced infamy as to avow the corruption; to assert that it was *necessary* to the support of *good government* in this country, and that to put an end to the corruption would be to endanger the existence of the government, or, at the very least, to render it less efficacious for the good of the people.——Those who hold this doctrine are the *true Antijacobins;* they are of the *full-blood.* They are the same set, who, twelve years ago, had "*Regular Government, Social Order,* and "*Our Holy Religion,*" everlastingly upon their tongues. This set, however, we *know.* Their views and designs are not disguised any more than are the means, by which they would see those designs car-

ried into effect. With these writers there is no disguise, *because no disguise will any longer serve their turn.* The TARTUFFE, in Moliere, is a hypocrite till detected and exposed, but when he finds that hypocrisy will no longer serve his turn, throws off all attempt at disguise, turns bully, and those who have hitherto been his dupes he threatens with the use of the means that their folly has placed in his hands.——The Anti-jacobins, however, we understand. That hateful, that persecuting, that relentless set, who, if they had the power, would each of them surpass a Robespierre, or, which is worse, any of those monsters, who for the sheer love of gain, have depopulated whole counties; this set we *know*, and that is something. But, we have other enemies at work, and these more formidable than the Anti-jacobins, because their principles are, in the main, good; and because they even profess themselves *friends to Parliamentary Reform.* ——But these I shall mention more fully in my next, having now placed in a fair light the odious and diabolical doctrine of the *necessity of corruption.*

FLOGGING NEGROES.——The following passage from Mr. BROUGHAM's speech upon the Trinidad question has struck me as very interesting, and as worthy, at this time, of the particular attention of the *people of England.*——"Mr. Brougham "next argued, that the Ordinance of 1789 "was unquestionably a part of the Spanish "law. It was an order of the King, con-"ceived in the most distinct terms, and "commanding the very council by which "it was said it ought to be confirmed, to "consider it as law, and administer it ac-"cordingly. It had been called by Mr. "Smith an almost divine ordinance, and, "comparatively speaking, it was so, for it "afforded much greater protection to the "slaves than any law of ours. The mas-"ter and steward only were permitted to "inflict *a few lashes,* not the driver; and "they were inflicted too only by way of "punishment, and not to quicken the "Negro's hands by the *effusion of his* "*blood,* as in our other West India "Colonies where the British Constitution "and laws were not established, as in this "country.——Another regulation in this "Ordinance, was that no one but the mas-"ter or his steward should be entitled to "execute the sentence. Cart-whips could "not exist in Trinidad for the purpose "of quickening the hands, or extorting "labour from the fingers of the unfortu-"nate slaves. Not even in the presence "of the master could any *beyond a certain* "*number of lashes be imposed;* and even *the* "*degree of force was limited.* No *contusion* "or *effusion of blood* was tolerated; if any "such took place, that was esteemed *a* "*misdemeanor;* and if repeated the slave "was *taken from under the controul and pro-"tection of his master.* Such was the Or-"dinance to which Mr. Smith applied the "epithet of an almost divine code."——This is negro-flogging. This is the manner, in which *slaves* are treated under *Spanish* laws; and, I believe, our own laws for the treatment of *slaves* are as mild, if not more so. A *few* lashes; no *effusion of blood;* no *contusion* even; the *number* of lashes fixed; even the *degree of force* fixed! And this for *slaves,* observe. This is the law for the flogging of *slaves.*

FLOGGING SOLDIERS.——The following Regimental Order, issued it appears on the eleventh of this present month, does great honour to the Royal Duke, whence it has proceeded, and as such I put it upon record, and beg leave to call the particular attention of my readers to it.——"The "Duke of Gloucester cannot allow the "present commanding officers of the two "Battalions of his Regiment, the honoura-"ble Major-General Stopford, and Major-"General Sir John Dalrymple, to resign "their respective commands without offer-"ing to them his warmest thanks, and ex-"pressing his entire approbation of every "part of their conduct, during the time "he has had the honour to be Colonel "of the Third Regiment of Guards.——"The first Battalion, under the orders of "Major-General Stopford, has acted up "to the distinguished character of the re-"giment upon the different services on "which it has been employed, has dis-"played that heroic gallantry for which "his Majesty's Guards are renowned, and "whilst the Battalion has [illegible] "approbation of the General Officers "under whom it has been employed, the "Commanding Officer has been equally "entitled to praise for his strict attention "to his duties, and for the proper disci-"pline he maintained in the corps. The "second Battalion, under the orders of "Major-General Sir John Dalrymple, has "equally supported the character of the Regiment by its uniform good conduct, and the Duke of Gloucester cannot omit on this occasion noticing, *that during the*

"*time that Officer has been at the head of the* "*second Battalion (nearly two years and a* "*half), not one man has received corporal pu-* "*nishment, and no corps was ever in a higher* "*state of discipline.* His Royal Highness "in expressing *the heartfelt satisfaction* this "circumstance has afforded him, which "reflects as much credit upon the Com- "manding Officer, as well as upon all "those under his orders, thinks it incum- "bent upon him to call *the particular at-* "*tention of his whole regiment to this occur-* "*rence,* and to *recommend it to the peculiar* "*notice of all the officers,* who may here- "after succeed to the Command of Bat- "talions of the third Regiment."——Now here we have, from the best authority, one of the most valuable facts that can possibly be stated to Englishmen. When we see this fact, *published* under the authority, and in the name of a prince of the blood, we may surely excuse those, who, being convinced of the same truth, venture to give *their* opinions upon the subject.——Upon the trials, which have lately taken place for libels, written and published upon the subject of *flogging,* it is reported to have been said, that this sort of chastisement *is necessary* to good *discipline.* But, it is, at any rate, clear, that it is not necessary in the regiment here mentioned; and, if not necessary in this regiment why necessary in *any regiment?*——It will be observed, too, that the Royal Duke does not appear to have been with the Battalion in person. It was not, therefore, *his particular superintendance* that was the cause; but, the *general system* of the Battalion.——There can be no doubt, I think, that this order of His Royal Highness has been made public *with a view to induce other commanders to follow his example.* He takes this method of telling all the officers and all the *soldiers* too, of the army, *that flogging is not necessary to perfect discipline;* nay, to tell them, and to tell the whole nation, and to produce proof of the truth of his assertion, *that soldiers ought not to be flogged,* for, that is manifestly the inference, seeing no body (at least so it is to be hoped) will think it right to flog them if it be not absolutely necessary to military discipline.——Now, if this be the case, why have not any of the rest of us as good a right to state the fact as the Duke of Gloucester? "We could not "*know* it;" but, *why* should we not know it? And, if any one had not the advantage of experience, and gave it in the way of opinion upon reasoning, so much the greater the merit in the writer.——However, this is a matter of little importance compared with *the thing itself,* which is of the greatest possible importance, as every man in England under the age of 30 is now liable to be forced into the *Local Militia,* unless he is possessed of *ten pounds.* This being the case, it becomes us to consider well *what a man is subject to* when he is in that militia; for, if we cannot discuss this, and freely too, our hands may as well be chopped off, and, indeed, the breath may as well be forced out of our bodies at once.——Into this subject I will go more fully another time; and, for the present, it is a great satisfaction to know what we now do know under the name of his Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester.

W^M. COBBETT.

State Prison, Newgate,
Tuesday, 18th June, 1811.

P. S.—Below I insert a Letter from MAJOR CARTWRIGHT to the Marquis of Tavistock, to which I beg the readers' attention.

'TO THE MARQUIS OF TAVISTOCK.

June the *fifteenth;* 1811.

My Lord; It was on the *fifteenth day of June* in the year 1215, that the signing and sealing of MAGNA CHARTA shed a peculiar lustre on the virtue and valour of an English nobility and an English people.

The circumstance of dating this Letter to your Lordship on PARLIAMENTARY REFORM; the first of a short series, caused that celebrated event, which took place on the day of which this is the anniversary, rush on the writer's remembrance; and with peculiar force; since, how little soever it may be visible to the eye of the unreflecting, it is nevertheless certain, that the Reformists of this age are embarked in the identical work, and labouring to complete the identical task, which was commenced by our ancestors on the *fifteenth day of June* 1215.

"Those who are truly enlightened statesmen know, that, by the earthquake of the *Norman* conquest, our constitutional column, formed in solid *Saxon* simplicity, was in fact thrown to the ground; and that the self-evident principles of *English* law, ever working in the public mind, have from that time to this (subject at many intervals to counteraction) been gradually again conquering that conquest. They also know that our *Saxon*

liberties, at no period since that epoch, have as yet been enjoyed in full perfection; a circumstance which certain mole-eyed cavillers foolishly imagine they can turn to some use, in favour of long endured abuses, and long practised corruptions.

"But when truly enlightened statesmen have seen the base of the overthrown pillar replaced by our brave unlettered ancestors of 1215 on its ancient pedestal, as recorded in the *first charter*; and when they have also beholden the aspiring shaft once more upreared, by a great effort of public virtue in 1688, as en-registered in the *second charter*, the Bill of Rights, shall they not believe, that the present generation; the descendants of these who thus made such progress in repairing the mighty mischief, will complete the patriot labour, by restoring to the sacred column its genuine capital, now lying on the earth at the foot of the headless column, presenting an affecting picture of decayed magnificence! This, in the eyes of men meriting the name of *statesmen*, were a godlike work, worthy an age of political science and moral taste; worthy a nation ever foremost in the generous deeds of patriotism, for the establishment of rational liberty!"*

Awful, my Lord, and interesting, is the period in which Providence has destined you to act. By fidelity to the country of your birth; a country which, for securing honourable services, confers honourary distinctions and high privileges; by fidelity, I say, to such a country, may you sustain the reputation of the name you bear!

May you by an enlightened conception of *Parliamentary Reform*, and by an integrity not inferior to that of your ancestor whose blood was shed for our liberties, consecrate to the affectionate remembrance of England to the latest posterity, that is, to an imperishable renown, the name of Russell!

The proper object of *Parliamentary Reform*;—A Constitutional Representation of the People in Parliament,† is that capital, my Lord, which alone remains to be restored to the column of our freedom.

In this great work, we have *two* classes of architects, the *moderate* reformists and the *constitutional* reformists; agreed, as they all profess, as to the *end*, although differing as to *means*. As your Lordship, by certain notices lately given in parliament, touching measures you intend bringing forward in the next session, is now it seems preparing to enter in this cause on the field of exertion; and as there are persons of eminence for talent and public virtue, in both the classes abovementioned; it is my Lord, of high importance to your own future happiness and fame, that, before you embark in a work of so much magnitude, involving the very fate of your country, at a crisis the most awful, you should satisfy yourself, whether the *moderate* reformist, or the *constitutional* reformist, be the corrector moralist, the more profound legislator, and the more practical statesman.

But, my Lord, before I exercise the privileges of grey hairs, by submitting to a young nobleman considerations which may aid his judgment, it may not be amiss to take a transient notice of a recent movement *out* of parliament.

Certain *constitutional* reformists feeling the importance of a cordial union, both *in* and *out* of parliament, between the two classes, used their best endeavours to that end; and, as an obvious dictate of prudence, they particularly sought the means of bringing together in the outset, those two members of parliament who had respectively, last year and the year before, brought the great question before the House of Commons, on the two several grounds of *moderate* reform and *constitutional* reform; meaning of course Mr. *Brand* and Sir *Francis Burdett*; who might each be considered as standing at the head of, and representing, one of the classes; and consequently that a cordial union between them personally, could not fail to operate favourably towards that national unanimity so essential to success.

In a select meeting of *fourteen* †, these

* The Comparison, 1810, p. 40.

† Third Resolution of the General Meeting of Friends to Parliamentary Reform, 10th June 1811.

† * Brand, the hon. T. M. P.
Burdett, Sir F. M. P.
Burdett, W. J.
*Byng, G. M. P.
Cartwright, J.
Fawkes, Wm.
Halsey, Jos. M. P.
*Heathcote, Sir G.
*Hutchinson, the hon. H. M. P.
Madocks, W. H. M. P.
Northmore, T.
Oxford, Earl of, M. P.
Strickland, H.
Tracey, C. H. M. P.

two persons were brought together; and the following propositions were agreed on, as a basis and bond of union, on which it was hoped a solid superstructure of national unanimity might ere long be erected.

"Agreed—That the House of Commons does not speak the sense of the nation;——That a Reform of the said House is equally essential to the Independence of the crown and to the liberties of the people: and that, at the General Meeting proposed to be held in the metropolis, it would not be adviseable to move for any *specific plan* being recommended to Parliament for reforming the Representation."

At this first meeting, which was held on the 30th of March, it was farther agreed, that the parties should endeavour to bring an accession of strength to a second meeting to be held on that day se'night, namely the 6th of April. And, on perusing a certain printed List of *eighty eight* members of the two Houses of Parliament, with *one hundred and twenty-six* other gentlemen, *thirty* names were marked by Mr. *Brand*, as those of persons on whom he thought he could rely, for readily joining our new-formed band of united Reformists.

The printed list here spoken of was of persons intended to be invited to assemble in "a select meeting; to consider of arrangements for holding a public Dinner Meeting in the metropolis, under the auspices of a numerous body of stewards from all parts of the kingdom; in order that at such Dinner Meeting the best means of promoting a measure, equally essential to the independence of the Crown and to the liberties of the People might be taken into consideration."

On the very face of the said list it must have been apparent, that those by whom it was produced could only wish for a cordial union of the two classes of Reformists; leaving it to the truth, reason and justice, in their amicable discussions and patriot [illegible] to do the rest.

I come now, my lord, to the second Select Meeting, held on the 6th of April; by which time the *constitutional* reformists had obtained an addition of about *thirty* names,* and the *moderate* reformists an addition of *three*; nor did they ever after add another. After this second meeting, two of those three, and four of the original fourteen, distinguished in the foregoing list by a star, were withdrawn; while notwithstanding this loss, the list finally contained two hundred and sixty five names.

The matter will come to be better understood, when it shall be known how greatly Mr. *Brand* had been disappointed, in his expectation of being joined by at least *thirty* of those whose names he had, as already mentioned, marked on the printed list. So far it seems were any of them from being ready to join, that, according to the report of that gentleman, it had been declared to him (by whom, or by what number, I know not) that unless he himself should withdraw from the union into which he had already entered, and in which the basis and bond already noticed had at his recommendation been adopted, those, or many of those who, in 1810, had supported him in parliament, on the question of *Parliamentary Reform*, would not again give him support on that question if he should renew it.

In this single fact we have in effect a mass of information, very intelligible was the language of it, for satisfying us that the *oligarchy*, which was the subject of animadversion and of the Resolutions in the late General Meeting at Freemason's Hall, on the 10th instant, is by no means confined to the proprietors of boroughs; but is of far wider extent than even vigilant reformists themselves had imagined.

As an appendage to this fact, it seems proper to add, that when the list of those under whose sanction the late General Meeting on the 10th instant was called, amounted to more than two hundred, a *circular*, signed by the Chairman, Sir *John Throckmorton*, was sent to upwards of three hundred members of the two Houses of Parliament; to each of whom "a hope was expressed of being allowed to place his name on that list;" but without success in a single instance.

These circumstances may seem discouraging; but perhaps a right view of the state's disease and the means of cure, will, when all other circumstances are brought under our contemplation, lead us to draw a favourable conclusion; for, after all, the entire House of Commons for the whole United Kingdom consists but of six hundred and fifty eight persons; and, were they ever so unanimous, their sentiments might go but a little way towards a declaration of public opinion.

* Twenty six only were reported; the names of the two Wolseleys and four other Staffordshire gentlemen, which had been secured prior to the first meeting, having been then forgotten.

Here, my lord, give me leave to close the present letter, being, as already intimated, the first of a short series; for he would little understand the subject who should not know, that the points which remain to be controverted for completely settling the public opinion, are few; as he who should imagine it were necessary to say much for your lordship's own satisfaction, would pay an ill compliment to your knowledge, your discernment, or your probity.

With much respect, I have the honour to be, my lord, your lordships obedient servant, J. CARTWRIGHT.

MR. COBBETT,

Sir; The vital spark is not yet extinguished; I am still enveloped in sublunary concerns, although my expectation when I last addressed you was not that I should be permitted to drag on my existence to this late hour, but that I should long since have ceased to recite our (for I include my fellow sufferers, as well as my own) unparalleled case. So long is it, Mr. Cobbett, since the reference to my sufferings have occupied a portion of your Register, that it is not improbable you and your readers may have ceased to recollect, that I am one of those few remaining Merchants, a subject of Great Britain, who carried on trade with America, now the United States, before the sanguinary civil war of 1775; who had considerable, very considerable sums of money justly due to me, from persons in America before that war, who were at the time those debts were contracted, in high credit and affluent circumstances; many of whom were ruined by that infuriated war, and who at the Peace in 1782 became insolvent. It was not until the year 1802, twenty years after that Peace, nearly thirty years after those debts were contracted, that I was told the Government of Great Britain had submitted to the dictation of the United States of America, by agreeing to take £. 600,000 to pay, or rather in lieu of, £. 5,408,706. 6s. which the debtors to British subjects in America owed, or, if Great Britain had not humbly submitted to those terms, that America would have unsheathed the sword. As an individual of this government I am not to complain of the sacrifice; it is not for me to condemn the conduct of men at the helm of affairs, if they deem it to be essential to make a momentary sacrifice of individuals for a collective good: That the aggregate be benefited at the expence of individuals, is a state axiom, I do not deny; but I contend, that compensation should be made to the individual by the aggregate, if the collective body reap benefit from a momentary sacrifice of individual interest, or, if it is deemed requisite that individual injury be inflicted for the presumed general benefit whether good or evil, if the intentions be good, may arise to the collective body. I will not repeat my arguments in support of this doctrine, because they may be found in former Numbers of your Register; and I will not do myself the injustice to suppose, that it is at all necessary to repeat those arguments, because the impression made upon the mind of man, at the bare recital of the injustice which has been hitherto dealt out to me and to my fellow sufferers, cannot I think ever be effaced: I will only therefore observe that we the Merchants of Great Britain trading to America before the ill-judged and unnatural Gothic war of 1775, have for five-and-thirty years been sacrificed for the good of the state, or what was so esteemed by those at the helm of affairs; of no consequence is it, whether the result has been the benefit of the state; such was the supposition, and we should therefore have been and we ought to be morally and politically indemnified.—It is requisite that I here observe, the "Board of Commissioners appointed by Act of Parliament "under the Convention with the United "States of America," who are about to close their arduous labours, for arduous they have been, and I must do them the justice to observe, that I sincerely believe them to have conducted themselves towards us, in as equitable manner as their ability delegated to them by Act of Parliament has enabled them to do, for it was totally out of their power to award us our just due, have finally decided, that the amount of claims which the Americans stand indebted to British subjects, and which they were bound to honourably amount not to £. 5,408,706 6s. the sum claimed, but to the sum of £. 1,420,000 only; because upon the face of this statement promulgated to the whole world, there appears to be a sum of no less than £. 3,988,706 6s. claimed, which the Board of Commissioners have deemed proper to disallow, a circumstance which unexplained carries with it evident marks of fraud and iniquity, accompaniments not belonging to the character of mercantile

men in general in the year 1775, whatsoever construction may in the 19th century be put upon the character and motives of mercantile men in the present day. Sir, the Board of Commissioners in apportioning the composition money of £. 600,000 among men who had *bonâ fide* claims to the amount of near 5½ millions sterling, decreed, that that composition and agreement with the American government, extended only to the claims of creditors, whose demands against their debtors could have been actually recovered from them, at the expiration of several years after the Peace, had the Courts of Law in America been freely open to the prosecution of debts due to British subjects, as by the Treaty of Peace it had been assumed by the American government they should be, and not secluded as they were by the existence and operation of impediments for many years after the ratification of the Treaty of Peace. I regret much that the subject, although horribly familiar to me by reason of the excessively injurious consequences which have arisen, requires that I state to you, and through you to the public, the situation more particularly in which we have been placed. The American government agreed to give the sum of £. 600,000 as a compensation to the British government for taking upon itself the demand of the British creditor against their individual American debtors, rendered irrecoverable by the legislative acts of the federal and local governments of America, and in full for losses occasioned by the existence of impediments, which had arisen against the recovery of British debts by the decisions of the Judiciary of the several individual states, and the verdicts of the Juries, composed of men universally interested in the subject brought before them to decide upon, and contravening the 4th Article of the Treaty of Peace. This however in the sequel, referred scarcely to one fourth of the *bonâ fide* demand of the creditor; because, the Board of Commissioners decreed, that demands alone against debtors who were solvent for several years after the Peace, could be taken into consideration, and relief thereupon granted.—They determined, that if any debtor, whom I proved to be solvent and able to pay his debts in 1775, but whom I could not at that time compel to pay my demands upon him, because (*inter arma silent leges*) hostilities had taken place, and the Courts of Law were occluded to me, was not solvent or visibly capable of paying the whole amount of his debts, until the expiration of 7 or 10 years afterwards, for not only did they decree that he was to be of capacity to have paid in 1782, but for such duration of time afterwards, as if the Courts of Law had been open to the complaints of British subjects or impediments had not existed would have been requisite to have enabled me to have recovered my demand in due course of law, that I had no claim upon the £. 600,000 because I had sustained *damnum absque injuria*, that it was immaterial to me whether impediments did or did not exist if my debtor was insolvent, although such insolvency was in consequence of a war begun in support, it was alledged, of the Rights of the Crown, and in maintenance of the privileges of the people, which Rights and Privileges were at the Treaty of Peace in 1782 surrendered to the Americans, who were left in quiet possession of the privileges they claimed in 1775, and which for seven years they contended for, and ultimately compelled the British government to acknowledge the justice of their claim, and therefore had the Courts of Law been open to me it is true I might have procured a judgment for the amount of my debt, but I could not have received any part from my debtor, who had become a man of straw, consequently the decision of the American Judiciary and the verdict of the American jury would have been *vox et præteria nihil*, that no loss whatever accrued to me except that arising from the executive acts of my own government, and in speaking of the executive government, I wish it to be understood as also embracing my opinion of its legal advisers, of whom in the selection of them the advice of Horace is not unworthy of attention, *Reges dicuntur multis urgere culullus et torquere mero, quem perspescisse laborant, an sit amicitia dignus;* and that therefore I was entitled to no remedy under the compromise for £600,000. The honourable members of the board are wholly unknown to me, and alas! how should they be otherwise, pent up and incarcerated as I have long been and still am, and during the remainder of my sublunary existence having no other prospect than continuing a perpetual prisoner, *quis talia fando temperet a lachrymis:* but I cannot refrain from contributing my humble testimony, humble indeed it is, and still more so connected with my most humble situation, to their accuracy of judgment in this respect, of them I do not

complain, presumptuous in me it would be to dispute the propriety of their decisions on that head. I cannot complain of such of their proceedings, for their hands were fettered by an Act of Parliament, a certain road was pointed out to them to pursue; thus far, they were told, thou shalt go and no farther; they did so, and after eight years patiently and arduously pursuing the only path they could pursue, (with alas! eight years additional sufferings to the claimants) they have I verily believe, although from the nature of my situation, I can have but limited information for my assertion, honourably arrived at the last stage of their proceedings.—The Board have decided, that £1,420,000 are due to the Claimants; and to our cost, to the cost of the unfortunate sufferers, the Board no doubt regretting their total inability to award us 20s. for every pound of our *bonâ fide* demand, and which they determine to be justly our due, can award us only £.600,000, which is after the rate of £.46. 8s. 10*d*. and a fraction per cent. after waiting and partaking of every human affliction for thirty-six years and upwards: *voluptas solamenque mali.* I must, however observe, for I wish to be minutely accurate, and I profess it to be far from my intention to misrepresent even the most trifling circumstance, that to the sum of £600,000 there is to be added £59,493 (included in my calculation of the ratio of per centage before mentioned) produced by investing a portion of the composition money in Exchequer Bills; and which if such proceedings had been originally adopted, would have produced considerably more; that this was not sooner adopted, I presume not to attach culpability to the Board. It cannot be supposed, that their attention, amidst the weighty business before them, could be suffered to be drawn aside and diverted to the distresses of the claimants, or to the possibility of affording any additional relief to them, from the fund deposited in the Bank of England, subject to the disposal of the Board; they had enough to do in the exercise of the duties imposed upon them by Act of Parliament, and beyond their limited duties, they were not bound to go, or to view the distressing state in which the Claimants have been suffered to remain for nearly forty years. But it is somewhat surprising, when the Bill was brought into the House of Commons, for apportioning the £.600,000 among the Claimants, that it did not present itself to the capacious mind of the present Chancellor of the Exchequer, who, when Attorney General, introduced the Bill, or to the present Earl of Liverpool, that the introduction of a clause, authorizing the Commissioners to lay out the £.600,000 in Exchequer Bills, the instant that sum was paid over by the Americans to the British Government would have been proper: still more surprising was it if it did not strike the mind of some of the then 558 British members of the House of Commons, that some of the Claimants did not present such clause to the view of the House; one would not at least have thought, that they would have struck whilst the iron was hot, particularly so, when the Clerk of the Irons might, in *virtute officii* have introduced the clause, had such been introduced to his notice. No, Sir, such clause suggested itself to no one among them but myself; I did submit my view of the case to a few of the Claimants, but the idea was scouted: What was the observation; has there not been delay enough, without clogging the proceedings of Government, by arresting its potent arm now extended to remunerate us, in introducing to its hands a representation, which must impede its progress! To me it was ultimately left, to suggest the investment of the composition money in Exchequer Bills, who would antecedently have brought the subject forward; had not my own acute sufferings precluded me from thinking of little else, than the means of driving from my presence, the horrors of hunger and thirst, barred and bolted within the confines of a prison. But, on my suggestion it was, through your means, Mr. Cobbett, enabling me as you did to communicate my sentiments to the public in your Register; that a Bill was brought into Parliament, and was at length passed, authorizing the Board, to invest the remaining portion of the £.600,000, and which has produced in addition to that sum £.59,493, though if such Bill had been, as it should have been, brought in when the £.600,000 was originally paid by the American to the British Government, a very handsome addition to that £.59,493 would have been made, and a much greater allowance apportioned to the Claimants. But although the Board have decided that out of the sum of £.5,408,766. 6s. claimed by the British creditors for debts due from the citizens of America, a sum of £.1,420,000 only, is due and chargeable on the fund of

£. 600,000, *non liquet*, that the balance of £3,988,766. 6s. is not *bonâ fide* due to the Claimants; or, that this latter sum is a fraudulent charge brought forward by dishonest Claimants or desperate adventurers; no such thing.—The Board have correctly decided, that the deficit we are at present compelled to submit to, comes not within the purview of the composition; that the American government were not responsible for it, and consequently, that we have no claim on this fund of £. 600,000 which was to clear away claims on the ground of existing impediments in Courts of Law, and otherwise against the recovery of our demands, that that deficit due from persons well able to pay in the years 1775, and who continued well able to pay until the date of the Treaty of Peace, but who might have immediately afterwards become insolvent, did not enter into the contemplation of either government, which confined themselves to losses by, or in consequence of, impediments alone. But they have not decided, I will venture to say in one single instance, that that deficit arises from fraudulent charges by the British creditor, or by reason of any improper proceeding whatever on his part. If such be the case, and I boldly venture to challenge those who by virtue of their official situations cannot but know the fact to disprove my assertions, I submit to every unprejudiced person, for as to argument to prove the propriety of that which I advance, it is unnecessary, having heretofore adduced my reasons in support of my present assertion, whether the government of Great Britain is not morally bound to make up to the Claimants, the remaining sum of £. 3,988,766. 6s. I will not occupy a greater space in your paper than is absolutely requisite, by succinctly shewing, as I have in my former communications done at length, that government is bound to indemnify an individual, in all cases where his property has been surrendered, or sacrificed, or taken from him against his will for the collective good; but I will merely advert to the case of the American Loyalists, as they are termed, who have been indemnified for their alledged losses; they were men, I speak of the major part, for undoubtedly there were some among them who merited every relief which has been extended to them, and whose communications to government were sincere and founded upon correct date, from whom Great Britain received not a single eventual benefit; on the contrary, by their misrepresentation of the general inclination and temper of the Americans to the British government, the British government was induced to add millions to the National Debt, and thousands to the tens of thousands it has been the fate of this country to lose of its subjects, to its fallen heroes; some of those remunerated Loyalists have been paid for the loss of property estimated at a value which had America continued under subjection to Great Britain to this day, would not have produced to the Claimants a single shilling: Compare this description of characters, with the estimable and truly essential mercantile character of British merchants in the scale of benefit to the British nation, which of these, if either, should be sacrificed? To which of these is Great Britain most beholden, and which of these ought she, is she bound on the broad ground of general policy, to uphold, not sacrifice, remunerate, not impoverish, support, not suffer to languish in prison, foster not annihilate, cherish, not drive to desperation? Assuredly that man, or body of men, from whom she has received and yet does receive assistance, and by whose means she is enabled, how much soever you and I, Mr. Cobbett, may differ in this respect on the subject of Commerce, to support her existence. So long as the government of this country has to boast of our capacity to support the National Debt, and under which we are told we have stood firmly and proudly stood too, (but that this country may swell that evidence of her prosperity as it has been deemed, to an unlimited or additional extent, is to my mind disputable,) so long do I contend that Commerce is absolutely necessary to us; and to support which the mercantile interests of the country is not the least contributory to it; the mercantile interest, therefore, should not, it must not, be anathematized and maltreated, as have been the American merchants, those I mean, as I am, or alas! rather once was, of the old School, our halcyon days, the Golden Age of Commerce should be restored and encouraged, for with the advantages resulting to individuals, are incorporated reduplicative benefits to the state. One word to you, Mr. Cobbett, by way of Episode; That commerce may be at all times and under all circumstances requisite to the flourishing condition of the country or contributory to its existence, I, with you, deny; although perhaps upon very different grounds;—Had this country not

to uphold the great National Debt, which we all labour to maintain, I grant that commerce would not, to the extent it is carried, be requisite, nor perhaps at all necessary, but so long as our Colossian shoulders have to support the Debt we have to bear with, I consider commerce, and I think you will accord with me, to be absolutely requisite. But to resume;—If government should, however, be of opinion, that the deficit of £. 3,988,766. 6*s.* be a compound of fraud and incorrectness, and that it is consequently not bound to pay; or, if it is deemed not bound to indemnify the individual, for acts adopted by them tending to the collective good, and which, in my opinion, they are morally bound to do, and in various instances have done, surely in every point of view it is bound to make good the loss or deficit between £. 1,420,000 and £. 659,493. The Board have decided, that claims have been made amounting to £. 5,408,766. 6*s.*; of these they determine to be good, £. 1,420,000, striking off a sum of £. 3,988,766. 6*s*; but that although they decree £. 1,420,000 to be good, yet they have only funds in hand to the amount of £. 659,493, to discharge the sum of £. 1,420,000, because government, to maintain a good understanding with the United States, chose to sacrifice and abandon, *pro tempore*, the British merchant, and elected to offer him as an expiatory sacrifice at the shrine of the republican government, which is after the rate of £. 46. 8*s.* 10*d.* per cent. not ten shillings in the pound! But surely if government chuse, or is compelled, for political reasons, to sacrifice the creditor by surrendering his *bona fide* claim, or which is tantamount by compounding for it for the general good, the collective body is bound to indemnify him, and apportion that boon to the American government, a surrender of the British merchants property among the many, instead of suffering the whole weight to fall on the individual: Such ever has been the case, except in the instance hitherto of the British merchant trading to America before the Revolutionary War, and it would be singularly hard, if in the present case a novel rule should be adopted for the establishment of a precedent unjust and injurious in the highest degree, founded on individual ruin. By compounding our Debts on the part of government in our behalf, and without previously consulting us or obtaining our sanctions, we should, if government refuse to indemnify us, not only contribute more than our proportion to the exigencies of the State, while our Brethren and fellow subjects equally reap the resulting benefits with us without contributing one shilling, but we are rendered unable to resort to our debtor, who becomes released from our demand without our sanction which arose from the mutual contract between debtor and creditor, and which contracts ought not to be rescinded, except by the same authority, unless the resulting benefits to the State may require it; and even not then, unless compensation be ultimately made to the individual. It is much to be regretted, that after so long a lapse as eight years, during which the Board have sat upon the subject of these claims, the amount paid is not quite 10*s.* in the pound, upon those claims which the Board deem to come within the description of the treaty of peace of 1782, and the subsequent treaty of amity, commerce and navigation, entered into in 1794; much more beneficial would it have been to the Claimants had they been told eight years ago, as they are now by the Board, we can allow you only about a ninth part of your claims to come upon the composition fund, and of that ninth part, which we estimate to be as much as you might possibly have recovered in America, had the Courts of Law been open to you there, as they should have been, and as they were by the Americans agreed to be, that fund enables us to give you £46. 8*s.* 10*d.* for every £100. *bona fide* due and owing to you; if such had been then told to the claimants as it is now, years of misery, of expence, of expectation, of fruitless hope, would have been spared to the miserable and lingering creditor. Had such been done eight years ago, it could then but have been what it is now, a mere mechanical estimate and ratio of division, formed by the Board in the same manner and on the same fallible grounds, as do juries assessing damages in a complicated cause, where it is not possible to arrive exactly at the truth, and which they are nevertheless obliged absolutely to decide with their oath of impartiality before them, and on a close and diligent investigation of all circumstances equitably, according to the best of their judgment adopt; and which, giving the Board the utmost latitude of good conduct, is at best but a very uncertain and fallible judgment. Seeing how the decisions have been ultimately

made it is also to be deplored, that those who have had the good fortune to procure large awards, and those who have had but a very small amount of the composition money dealt out to them, have been equally subject to expence; and that those who have been at infinite pains in procuring testimony from America at enormous expence, have fared but a shade better in the general estimate, than those who have done little more than presented the statement of their cases. It is the duty of government to relieve its subjects, on one portion of whom the adoption of certain measures unavoidably tends to partial injury; and the least government can do, is to indemnify the creditor to the amount acknowledged to be their due, but to pay which we are told, the American government did not advance a sufficient sum, when the British government deemed it to be politic to release the individual British creditors' demand upon the American debtors: And to effect this purpose, it does in my opinion behove the Board, in the report of their proceedings which will be incumbent on them to make to government on the eve of the final sittings, to set forth to view the just claim the creditors have to be indemnified, at least to the extent which the Board have decided their claims to be good; and which claims were by the treaty of peace with the United States, undertaken to be paid to them by the debtors or their government. But far indeed beyond this extent have we fair ground of claim upon the British government: By the treaty of peace was secured to us, or proposed to be secured to us, the non-existence of impediments, but in the calamities of war there are various injuries resulting to the subjects of a power making war, the charge of which must be supported by that government, for the burthen can neither be cast upon the resisting power, nor upon individuals of either state: Of such injuries are among others, those of losses, the necessary and unavoidable consequence of the general calamity—ruin, the war brought on multitudes of debtors who were alive at the end of the war—from confusion in which it had involved the affairs of others who were dead, and whose estates had fallen into the hands of administrators negligent, dishonest, or wasteful, embracing injuries arising from the general calamity, and excluding those which arose from direct or evasive impediments of the law; the greater part, therefore, of our *bona fide* claims which the Board have rejected, arises from the natural and necessary consequences of the war, and consequently are not chargeable upon the fund of £.600,000, but upon the fund of the British nation, those claims have not been rejected, because they were fraudulent, but because the fund did not apply to them. Surely the magnitude of the loss to a portion of the subjects of Great Britain, and which they are unable to bear, should be taken into consideration by the state, and the burthen made to fall equally upon all. The following short statement will perhaps elucidate my subject without trespassing upon you by further explanation at large:

		£.	s.
Total amount of claims, sterling		5,408,766	6
Ditto, decided to be good claims under the convention with America		1,420,000	0
Amount of claims not cognizable by the Board, arising out of the resulting injuries of war, and not provided for by treaties, remaining, I contend, as a charge upon the British government		3,988,766	6
The Board have decreed the amount of claims chargeable upon the American government, to be as above		1,420,000	
For the satisfaction of which, the British government compounded with the United States, for	600,000		
And to which add interest made on exchequer bills, part of that fund.....................	59,493		
		659,493	
Deficit, which the British government acknowledges to be due to us, but from the payment of which the American government has been released		760,507	

There can be no question that government should indemnify us the amount of

£.760,507, because it is acknowledged that our claims are good to that amount, and had they not been surrendered by the British government for political reasons, were demandable and recoverable either from the American debtor or government; and this indemnity should flow to us spontaneously, without compelling us to incur further expence, which we can ill submit to in making application to parliament for redress, but we have a further claim upon government, for the injuries to our property in consequence of the war; these injuries or some of them are included in the loss of our debts not good at the peace, but which were good at the commencement of the war; for loss from the destruction of books, vouchers and other papers; for loss from the embarrassments of debtors after the commencement of the war, and before the peace, and generally for loss of whatever decription, occasioned by the act and consequences of war. It is the duty of governments to render war as little destructive as possible to the finances of its own subjects, and in all cases not to suffer individual loss to fall on any one description of persons, but either to apportion the loss among the collective body or indemnify the individual sufferer. If government receives benefit from a partial momentary sacrifice, government, not the individ should ultimately bear the burthen, *Qui sentit commodum sentire debet et onus.* If a contrary doctrine should ever be adopted, inevitable injury would arise to the state as well as to the individual, and the principal contributors to the revenues of the country, the mercantile interest, would swell the black catalogue of insolvents and be classed in the same page, to his own destruction and the loss of the state, with A RUINED AMERICAN MERCHANT.

June 17, 1811.

Tower Street, late St. George's Row.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

PORTUGAL.——THE WAR.—— *Downing-street, June* 15, 1811.—*A dispatch of which the following is an extract, has been this day received at Lord Liverpool's office, addressed to his Lordship by Lord Wellington, dated Quinta de Gramicha, 30th May,* 1811.

We invested Badajoz on the 25th instant, on the right of the Guadiana; and the ordnance and stores for the siege having been brought forward, we broke ground last night.—The enemy have retired their main body upon Llerena, and hold the advanced posts of their cavalry at Usagre. I enclose the copy of the report of Major-General the Honourable William Lumley, of a very gallant affair of the cavalry near that place on the 25th. The Major-General has reported that he received very great assistance, upon this occasion, from Major Holmes of the 3d Dragoon Guards, who was acting in the department of the Adjutant-General, and from Lieutenant Heathcote, of the Royal Dragoons, who was acting in the department of the Quarter-Master-General, as well as from the officers mentioned in his report.

Camp near Usagre, two A. M. May 26, 1811.

SIR—As will have been stated to you yesterday verbally by the officer I sent for that purpose, I have the honour to acquaint you, that having, as I before reported, driven the enemy's rear guard from Usagre, I occupied that post on the night of the 24th, by placing the Spanish troops in front of the town, with their Tiradores well in advance, towards the enemy, and the Portuguese and British cavalry, with the four six-pounders, in rear of the place; a small brook, hollow and deep ravine, and narrow defile, being on this side of the town. About six o'clock yesterday morning it was reported to me that the enemy's cavalry were advancing in force, and that there was reason to believe they were accompanied by artillery and infantry; conceiving reports might exaggerate the fact, and not wishing to yield the post to inferior numbers, the 13th Light Dragoons and Colonel Otway's Portuguese brigade of cavalry were ordered to cross the ravine to the left of the town, through the narrow fords and passes which had been previously reconnoitred, and Brigadier-General Madden's brigade of Portuguese cavalry in like manner to the right, with orders to retire by the same passes if necessary. The heavy brigade of British, with the guns, being still in reserve behind the town.—Upon the nearer approach of the enemy, it was evident they were advancing with the whole of their cavalry, and five or six heavy guns (eight pounders.) This being ascertained, and upon opening their first gun the line was ordered to retire, which they did slowly, in excellent order, and without loss; the Spanish troops filing on the main road through the town,

which had been left open for them. A smart cannonade now commenced from the opposite heights, the superiority of numbers and weight of metal decidedly in favour of the enemy; but the superior skill and well-directed aim of Captain Lefevre and his corps, with only four six-pounders, was most pre-eminently conspicuous. The enemy now committed a most daring attempt, or rather an error, for which they were severely punished. In spite of two of our guns, which bore directly for a few paces on the road, three of their chosen regiments, 4th, 20th, and 26th, dashed through the town and formed rapidly on the flank of the 3d Dragoon Guards, which corps, concealed by a small hill, I verily believe they did not see, and in front of the 4th Dragoons; themselves presenting two fronts. A charge of the 3rd Dragoon Guards was at this moment ordered on the right, and a simultaneous movement of the 4th Dragoons, directed most judiciously by Brigadier-General Long at the same moment on the left, where I had requested him to remain, decided the point.—The enemy wavered before our cavalry reached them; but almost in the same instant they were overturned and apparently annihilated. The affair took place so near the brook and bridge which immediately leads into the town, and which I had forbid the cavalry to enter, that it was impossible for them to pursue; it is difficult therefore to decide upon the enemy's loss; many severely wounded escaped through the town, others threw themselves off their horses, and escaped over the brook and through the gardens, but besides seventy-eight prisoners, twenty-nine lay dead on the spot, many were also observed lying dead on the bridge and in the first street; and a peasant reports, that from thirty to fifty were sent off wounded to their rear on horses and cars.—I must not omit to state that a portion of the Count de Penne Villamur's Spanish cavalry gallantly supported the charge on the left of the 3d Dragoon Guards, as I am informed Brigadier-General Madden's brigade did on the right; but the dust caused by the charge was so great, I was myself unable to observe on that flank.—I am positively assured from the report of the prisoners, that the enemy had thirteen regiments of cavalry in the field, which, though not exceeding from two hundred to three hundred men each, gave them so great a superiority over the force under my orders, composed of three nations, many of them as yet but little known to each other in cavalry movements, that I feel fully justified in not placing a deep ravine and defile in my rear, and attempting to defend the town, which is only defensible by infantry, from an attack on the other side.—I have the peculiar satisfaction to add, that the advantage gained has been almost bloodless, on our part, although occasionally for a few seconds, of necessity exposed to the range of artillery and a charge made against a Corps Elite of the enemy, who, on the other hand, visibly suffered from our artillery, in addition to those lost in the charge.—I feel myself under the highest obligation to Brigadier-General Long for his zealous, well timed, and active exertions during the day, as well as for his assistance at all times.—To Brigadier-General Loy, commanding the Spanish cavalry (the Count de Penne Villamur being sick at Villa Franca,) and to Brigadier-General Madden, commanding the Portuguese division, I am highly indebted for their readiness in obeying, and promptitude in executing my orders; to the Honourable Colonel De Grey, commanding the British brigade of heavy cavalry, and to Colonel Otway, commanding the Portuguese brigade, both under the orders of Brigadier-General Long; to Colonel Lord Edward Somerset, commanding the 4th Dragoons; to Colonel Head, commanding the 13th Light Dragoons; to Major Weston, commanding the 3d Dragoon Guards (Sir G. Calcraft being sick at Villa Franca;) and to Captain Lefevre of the Royal Horse Artillery, my very best thanks are due, as well as to every officer and soldier, for the promptitude and steadiness with which every, even retrogade, movement was performed in the face of a superior enemy.—The advantage gained will not only in some degree lessen the enemy's superior cavalry, but will, I trust, still further tend to render him fearful and timid in all his movements.—I have the honour to be, &c.

W. LUMLEY, Major-General.

Marshal Sir Wm. Beresford, &c. &c.

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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TO THE READERS.

After the next Week, which will close the present Volume, I shall publish only ONE NUMBER in the Week, and that, on the SATURDAY, as formerly; and, I shall not publish any *Double Number* at the end of each Month as I used to do; but merely one Number in a week, and a sheet with *Tables* and *Index* at the end of each Volume.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

FLOGGING SOLDIERS.——On Tuesday, the 18th instant, SIR FRANCIS BURDETT brought forward, in the House of Commons, his long-expected motion upon the subject of military flogging in our army.——The debate, owing to a long debate, on the same evening, in the House of Lords, has been very imperfectly reported in the news-papers. Indeed, it has not, from what I can learn, been made to contain a tenth part of what was said by SIR FRANCIS. Nevertheless, I shall insert it, just as it has appeared in the COURIER newspaper; for, defective as it is, it contains matter, that, when known, must do good.——The *instances* cited by SIR FRANCIS BURDETT are certainly very strong; but we may be well assured, that he did not state them without good foundation. His authority was called *anonymous*, and, therefore, not to be relied on; but, what did he say; why, that he had his information from *gentlemen of character, who had been eye-witnesses of the facts*; and whose names he would communicate, *if the House would go into an inquiry;* but that he would not communicate these names unless it was to be attended with some advantage to the army and the public, seeing that the communication might *expose* (in a way that need not be named) those who had the merit of thus standing forward. If, indeed, the Honourable House had consented to go into an inquiry respecting the flogging; if it had thought it worth while to put Sir Francis to the *proof*, relative to the man's being *flogged for blindness*, for instance, then, he would have been bound, not only to *name*, but, if possible, to *produce* his witnesses; but, his naming them could do no good, unless an inquiry took place, and of those witnesses the naming of them might have been the ruin.——There were some of the cases, however, which admitted of easy proof, without implicating any body, and these Sir Francis had only to name, as he did. For instance, the case of the two men in Gibraltar, who *chopped off each a hand*, in order to get out of the service! What a horrible thing! What must the feelings of those men have been, before they came to that point? What must have been their disgust, their abhorrence, their despair! It was not insanity. It was not that feebleness of mind which produces suicide in some cases, nor that shame or want that produces it in other cases; there was nothing cowardly in the act. On the contrary, an uncommon degree of courage. The act manifestly proceeded from a settled conviction, that no suffering could surpass what the parties endured; and that, in order to get rid of that state of existence, in which they were, it was worth their while to venture their lives.——These men are, it seems, or were (for they may be dead now) tried, flogged, and afterwards kept constantly at some sort of hard and degrading employment, with orders for no soldier ever to speak to them. They were not *discharged*, lest others should thereby be *encouraged to follow their example*. Good God! Encouraged to follow an example of chopping off their own hands! If these two men had obtained their discharge by such means, it was feared that others would follow their example! There could be no good reason for keeping them but this. Their presence in their regiments could not tend to do the service any good. The commanding officer would naturally wish to get rid of such men, the very sight of whom must have been disagreeable. They could be of *no real use;* for, as to the labour about a garrison, there are always hands enough to do it, and, as to arms, it was quite out of the

question for them to use arms of any sort? So that, the object of detaining the poor wretches in the service must have been to convince others, that if they did chop off their hands, they would not get clear of the army the sooner for that. This object might be thus answered for any thing that I know; but, what must be the state of that man, who stands in need of such an example? What must be the state of the man, who needs *any* motive, no matter what, to induce him to forbear from cutting off his limbs? There are none of the prisoners in the King's-Bench or Cold-bath fields or any where else, except under sentence of death, that would not rather undergo any punishment that the law can inflict on them, than *cut off their hands*. Yet these soldiers, in order to get out of the army, cut off their hands!——It is *possible*, that this statement may have been erroneous; but, there can be no doubt that Sir Francis received the information, and that he believed it to be true. At any rate, it may be easily verified; and if any thing be worthy of the attention of the parliament it is this.——The fact was stated in all the news-papers about two years ago, of many soldiers having *blinded themselves* in order to get free from the army. I never heard that fact contradicted; but, suppose it was true only to the extent of half a dozen men, what a horrid thing it is to think of! And how loudly does such a fact call for something to be done?——The Judge Advocate deprecated the practice of making the House a sort of *military Court of Appeal*. It was no appeal that was now made by any one in the army, or by any part of the army. It was a great question of military law, that law to which the whole of the able male population of the country are now exposed. Every man in England, able to bear arms, is, as the law now stands, liable to be flogged; for, every such man is liable to be compelled to take up arms and to submit to military law, and that law renders any one subject to it liable to be flogged. Nothing is more clear, therefore, than that, as the law now stands, every man in England, capable of bearing arms, is liable to be flogged.——Let me ask, therefore, what there is in all the matters in which we take an interest that can concern us more closely than this. Let me ask what there is that can more loudly demand the attention of a member of parliament, who bears in mind the ends for which he has been placed in that situation. Talk of property and *liberty*, indeed, what are they; what do they mean while the flogging question is undecided? Let any man who has sons consider, that if they are 18 years of age, they are liable to be *forced* to be Local Militia men, unless they have *ten pounds each* to pay in the way of *fine*; and, when Local Militia men, they are liable to be flogged; hence, it follows, of course, that every young man in England who is 18 years of age and under 30, is, unless he has ten pounds in his pocket ready to count down, liable to be flogged.——And, will any one tell me, that this is a matter that ought not to be *discussed?* Will any one tell me, that this is a subject upon which men ought not to express their sentiments? For my part, I cannot see, why the soldiers should cease to be objects of the attention of the press, merely because they are soldiers; but, at any rate, when all the able bodied men in the country are liable to become, any day or hour, subject to military law, it surely becomes us to inquire into the nature of that law, and to express our sentiments freely thereon. We talk a great deal about the *Bill of Rights* and some other celebrated statutes; but, what of these, compared to the law of which we are now speaking? What of all these, while the law we are now talking of applies to every man of us, who is able to carry a musket?——I shall be told, perhaps, that the *rich* have nothing to apprehend from it; that all peers, members of parliament, and the learned in the law, physic, and divinity, are not liable to the Militia law; and that the sons of private gentlemen can afford to pay the fine. Very true; but, ought we, ought such a man as Sir Francis Burdett, ought a real representative of the people, to like the law the better on this account? The boast of our laws has been, that they *operate on all alike;* and it is quite surfeiting to hear, sometimes, the endless eulogiums on our laws, when a case of any notoriety happens to be decided in favour of a poor man when his opponent is rich. But where is the ground of this boast in the case before us? The rich man can purchase an exemption from the liability to be flogged; but the man who has not ten pounds to count down cannot purchase such exemption. Does it not, then, become every man to consider well, whether this sort of punishment be necessary?——It is not long, comparatively speaking, since the very talk of an army such as we now have would have frightened

people. By degrees we have seen the army, of one sort and another, augmented to a pitch, that, at last, no inconsiderable part of the whole nation is liable to the military law; and, who can tell how much farther the augmentation will go? Who can tell what part of us will be, at last, left unsubjected to this law? Does it not, then, become us to consider well what sort of law this is? If we have no feeling for the soldier, we may, at least, be expected to have some for our sons, our brothers, and ourselves. It is never *all at once* that any great change is made in the state of any people. By degrees this change in our state has come upon us. By slow degrees, and by varying its shape and its manner of approaching us, the military system has attained to its present extent. It has now enveloped no small part of the community; and whither it tends no man can possibly mistake. It will, perhaps, have its course. Nothing that I know of will stop it; but, at any rate, we ought to endeavour to make it as bearable as may be.——The strongest thing against the practice of flogging, is, the *experience* of many of our own officers, *that it is not necessary.* A comparison had, before, been drawn between our service and that of Napoleon. That was not relished; that was held to be seditious; but we can now appeal to some of our own officers, who, wherever they have tried it, have found a different course preferable.——I will here quote, from the report of Mr. BROUGHAM's speech upon Mr. DRAKARD's trial, the sentiments, expressed upon this subject by Sir ROBERT WILSON, Sir JOHN STEWART, and GENERAL MONEY. The first has the following words:——" "Corporal punishments *never* " " *yet reformed a corps*, but they have *to-* " " *tally ruined many a man who would have* " " *proved, under milder treatment*, a meri- " " torious soldier. They break the spirit " " without amending the disposition, " " *whilst the lash strips the back, despair* " " *writhes round the heart*, and the misera- " " ble culprit viewing himself as fallen " " below the rank of his fellow species, " " can no longer attempt the recovery of " " his station in society. Can the brave " " man, and he endowed with any gene- " " rosity of feeling, forget the mortify- " " ing, vile condition in which he was " " exposed? Does not, therefore, the cat- " " o'-nine-tails defeat the chief object of " " punishment. Gentlemen who justly " " boast the most liberal education in the " " world, have familiarised themselves " " to a degree of punishment which *cha-* " " *racterizes no other nation in Europe.* " " England should not be the *last* nation " " to adopt humane improvements.— " " *France* allows of flogging only in her " " marine. The present age is a remark- " " able epoch in the history of the world. " " Civilization is daily making the most " " rapid progress, and humanity is tri- " " umphing hourly over the last enemies " " of mankind. But whilst the *African* " " excites the compassion of the nation, " " and engages the attention of the British " " legislature,—the *British soldier*—their " " fellow-countryman, the gallant, faith- " " ful protector of their liberties, and " " champion of their honour,—is daily " " exposed to suffer under an *abuse* of that " " power, with which ignorance or a bad " " disposition may be armed." "——Now, here is not only censure on the system of flogging, not only censure on *our* system, but praise of the system of the *French*. Here is every thing said that any writer has been accused of saying; and, I ask again, what right Sir ROBERT WILSON had to say it any more than Mr. DRAKARD?——Next comes Sir JOHN STEWART, who is now the Commander in Chief in Sicily. He says, "The frequent in- " " fliction of corporal punishment in our " " armies tends strongly to *debase the* " " *minds and destroy the high spirit* of the " " soldiery—it renders a system of in- " " creasing rigour necessary—it deprives " " discipline of the influence of honour, " " and destroys the subordination of the " " heart, which can alone add voluntary " " zeal to the cold obligations of duty." " He further says, "The perpetual recur- " " rence to the infliction of infamy on a " " soldier by the punishment of *flogging*, " " is one of the most *mistaken modes for* " " *enforcing discipline* which can be con- " " ceived."—And then, as if there were " some fatality attending the discussion of " this question—as if there was something " which prevented any one's touching the " subject without comparing the military " discipline of France with our own, Ge- " neral Stewart is scarcely entered on his " argument before he is in the middle of " this comparison. He says, "In the " " *French* army a soldier is often shot, " " but he rarely receives corporal pu- " " nishment, *and in no other service is dis-* " " *cipline preserved on truer principles.*" "

——GENERAL MONEY, in the year 1806, published a pamphlet, in the form of a

LETTER to the late Mr. WINDHAM, wherein he says, "" I beg leave, Sir, to submit "" to you, and to his Majesty's ministers, a measure, the adoption of which "" will, *in the opinion of every military man* "" *I have conversed with on the subject*, bid "" fair to put a stop to desertion. When "" a man deserts, and he is taken, he is "" liable to be shot; that, indeed, is seldom inflicted for the first offence, but "" he is punished in a manner that is not "" only *a disgrace to a nation that boasts of* "" *its freedom and its humanity*, but is an "" *injury to the recruiting our army,—it* "" *strikes such terror into the peasantry* "" *of the country*. The culprit is *tied* "" *up to the halberts*, in the presence "" of the whole regiment and receives "" six or *eight hundred* lashes,—sometimes "" a *thousand*. He *faints!*—he recovers, "" and *faints again!*—and some *expire* "" soon after the punishment! It *wounds* "" *my feelings* when I reflect on the *dreadful sufferings* of men I have seen, and "" been obliged to see, thus *cruelly* punished;—and what other epithet can "" be used than *cruel?* I have told men "" that *I wished the sentence had been death;* "" and true it is, that there are men who "" have *preferred death to the disgrace and* "" *punishment.*""—It is quite impossible to say any thing more strong than this. But it is worth observing, that all this had no effect; that the practice continued, and that, with the sole exception of SIR FRANCIS BURDETT, in the year 1807 and 1808, no one ever noticed it in parliament.—— The DUKE OF GLOUCESTER has now publickly declared, that his regiment is the *better* for not being flogged; that discipline, so far from being the *effect* of flogging, may be carried to greater perfection without it. We have this statement now under this Royal Duke's hand; and, with this before us, is there any man, who will pretend, that the practice ought not to be abolished as soon as possible? Every military man, who has written upon the subject of flogging, has condemned it, not only as cruel in itself, but as injurious to the service in various ways. No one has ever, that I know of, expressed, in print, a different opinion. And, what, then, could be more proper than the motion of SIR FRANCIS BURDETT to address the Prince Regent to use the speediest means of putting an end to the practice?——The JUDGE ADVOCATE said, that this was *an improper time* for the motion, seeing that parliament was just about to rise; but, what was that circumstance to the question? The parliament would have done all that Sir Francis wished when it had requested the Prince Regent to discountenance the practice. That could be done now as well as in any former part of the session, and, perhaps, better; but, be that as it may, a thing ought not to be delayed for *a year* because it has been delayed *six months*. There is no reason in that. In short, this objection to the motion on the score of time, is like the objection to the time for *parliamentary reform:* any time but the *time present*.——It was further said, in answer to SIR FRANCIS, that parliament had done something this session by the *new clause in the mutiny act*. That clause did really nothing at all. It has given *no new powers* to Courts martial; and it has not, in any respect, *taken away a particle of their power*. They have just the same power to sentence men to be flogged that they had before; the same discretion as to extent of lashes (which has no limit); the commanding officer has all the powers that he had before as to causing the sentence to be executed; the same crimes remain punishable as before; and, in short, as a *law*, as being *obligatory* upon any one, the Mutiny Act remains just what it was before.——*Last year* a soldier might be flogged as long as he could bear flogging for being absent from his quarters at drum-beating time: and *so he may still*. I do not say, that it *would* be done; but I say, that it *may* be done; and I repeat, that the clause so much talked of has made no change at all, none the least in the world, in the *law*. It does, in fact, amount to a mere *hint* to officers, that they would *imprison* rather than *flog*. It may have some effect; and as far as it has an effect, it will do good. But, should the parliament stop here? Is it for *law-givers* to send forth *hints?* It is not hints that they send us, i'faith, upon the subject of the Income Tax and Assessed Taxes. They do not content themselves with hints when they are calling upon the people to maintain this army. And, why should they have stopped at hints in this case? —— Still, however, I must allow, that there is some merit in the hint, though I may differ in opinion, perhaps, with MR. SUTTON, as to whom that merit belongs; for, certain it is, that, in spite of all that Sir ROBERT WILSON and Sir JOHN STEWART and GENERAL MONEY wrote and published about the matter; in spite of all that they and that every body else could say about the matter, certain it

is, that, *till this last year*, nothing was *done*, or attempted to be done, or even talked of, by the government. In short, it was not 'till *the press* seized hold of the subject, that any change was even hinted at. Sir FRANCIS BURDETT had, indeed, begun before. He made his motion for a return of the courts-martial, in the year 1807, and he spoke against the Local Militia Bill in as much as it exposed the young men of the country to be flogged; and it is very curious, that what Mr. SUTTON eagerly took occasion to state as having been done by the Duke of York, namely, the causing of returns to be regularly made of all regimental courts-martial, is the very thing that Sir FRANCIS BURDETT proposed three years ago. This, to be sure, will be a very excellent regulation. It will enable the government to see, at any time, in a moment, how the work of punishment goes on. It will answer many good purposes; and the utility of it is so manifest, that one cannot help wondering, that it was *not adopted before*!——Mr. PERCEVAL seems to have said very little to the point indeed. His principal observation was, that he did not know where the Honourable Baronet picked up his notions, "whether he found them in *any periodical* "*publications that he was in the habit of read*"*ing*." It must be a periodical publication *not of this country*, then, if he did so pick up his notions; for, if any writer in England were to venture to attempt to do justice to the subject, he would have reason to remember it as long as he lived. But, what signified it, where Sir FRANCIS picked up his notions? What had *that* to do with the matter? This, however, is always the custom of those who have nothing to say in the way of *argument* or *fact*, and who must say *something*.——Mr. YORKE was the only person that defended the practice of flogging. He said, that the English army *always had* had this practice in it. Upon this same ground what might not be defended? Why, there have always been robbery and murder in England; but ought we not to endeavour to put an end to robbery and murder? There has, I dare say, always been *drunkenness* in the English army, and plenty of it; would you, therefore, say, that you would not wish to put an end to drunkenness? This is a principle of reasoning that is at war with all improvement, with truth, wisdom, and virtue.——But, I cannot refrain from observing, that this doctrine of *unchangeable* customs is not held so firmly *on the other side*; but, on the contrary, when we complain of any of the new and extraordinary changes that have been adopted of late years, we are told of *the change of circumstances*; we are told of *the times*; that the times demand a departure from ancient usages; and, in short, that we live in times without precedent, and therefore, ought not to expect precedent for the acts of our government.——After all, however, it is very clear to me, that a change will take place as to this practice of flogging; and the cause is, that so large a part of the nation is now become liable to that punishment. When there were only 20 or 30 thousand men so liable, people thought less of it; but, now they think very seriously of it; there is an universal sentiment rising against it; another year will, I am satisfied, see it put an end to; and, this will not be the first instance in which SIR FRANCIS BURDETT has took the lead in bringing forward that which all men have finally agreed in regarding as greatly beneficial to the country: may as certain success await his endeavours to procure us a *parliamentary reform*!

BATTLE OF ALBUERA.——We have now the French account of this battle.——The Duke of Dalmatia says he took SIX ENGLISH COLOURS, that is to say, the colours of three regiments; the 3rd, 48th, and 66th. Mr. PERCEVAL predicted that the enemy would boast of having taken TWO of our colours; and, he was right, *as far as he went*. That the enemy has these six standards there can be no doubt; for the Duke would not dare, Duke as he is, to say so, if he had them not to produce at Paris.——He states the English part of his opponents at 10,000 infantry, and 3,000 cavalry. This is only about two-thirds of the number that I gave them (See page 1413); but, the fault was not mine. I could not know that the several battalions were so much reduced since the month of February last, when the strength of them was laid before the House of Commons. This I know, that *pay* for 20,818 men, horse and foot, was voted for the Corps of English and Germans in the Battle of Albuera; and, if Soult be right in his estimate, our army estimates differ very widely from the *real strength* of the several Corps.——His own force Soult states at 18,000, and ours at 30,000, which is, perhaps, nearer the truth than any thing that has yet been published; for Marshal Beresford does not pretend to speak of Soult's

force as of a certainty.——The number of the prisoners, which the French have *carried off* are stated at 800 English and 1400 Spaniards. It will be observed that Marshal Beresford *could not get at any account* of the Spaniards taken prisoners! These enemies of ours are a malicious race of men; but, in nothing so malicious as in their accounts of our *victories*.——The battle appears from the best accounts to have been a most bloody one. If it be a *victory*, it certainly is one of the dearest ever bought; and, I cannot help thinking, that there is great danger of approaching battles still more bloody; for this defeated French army seems to be preparing for a new attack.——I said, in page 1418, that I suspected the French to have *carried off some of the Spaniards*; and this now appears to have been the case. Indeed, when I saw, that Marshal Beresford could not tell what was the amount of the Spanish loss, I could not doubt of its being very serious; for, his want of ability to get at their returns must have arisen from the broken and dispersed state in which they were.——What is *passed*, however, cannot be helped. Let us look *forward*, and see what we have to expect in the future.——I have been very much surprized at the *statement of Numbers* on the part of the French commanders; because, the numbers they give us do not seem to correspond with any thing that we have been told at home, or that we have a right to expect.——We paid last year 30,000 Portuguese Troops, and we had there 30,000 British troops, agreeably to a convention between the two nations. This year our Honourable House, encouraged by the brilliant victories of the last campaign, have voted 60,000 Portuguese troops, and, I should suppose, that we must have sent out 30,000 English troops since last August. The Portuguese troops are, of course, to be kept up complete, as there is full pay for the 60,000; and, I will not suppose that any very great number of our troops have been *lost*, seeing that we have had hardly any prisoners taken from us, a very few thousands killed, very few lost by deaths; seeing that, in the language of the Morning Post, our army has *always* been, in "the *highest health* and "spirits," and, as to *desertion*, there can hardly have been any from *our* ranks, while we have been informed that the French have had deserters from them by whole battalions at a time. From these facts, facts a thousand times asserted in all our venal prints, I venture to conclude, that we have 110,000 men in Portugal and on its confines; while, if I am to believe the same prints, the French cannot have half the Number.——But, we have here a new statement in the COURIER news-paper; to which statement we must now pay particular attention, seeing that it is said to come from "THE MOST AUTHENTIC "SOURCES."——This statement we shall have to refer to many a time between this and Christmas; and, I take this earliest opportunity to apprize the author of it, that I shall, let what will happen, always hold him to this.——"It is believed that "there will be another battle in Portugal. "The French are putting in motion a con"siderable part of their disposable force, "which they are about to concentrate, "with a view of again taking a position "upon, and endeavouring to maintain, "the line of the Tagus.——With this de"sign General Marmont began to move "from Salamanca towards Avila, on the "26th and 27th ult. whither he intended "to transfer his head-quarters, while a part "of his army was to be cantoned at Tala"vera de la Reyne. Drouet, with 5,000 "men, also took the same direction on the "16th. These movements, and the inten"tions which they indicate, have not "escaped the vigilance and sagacity of "Lord Wellington. He will not fail "closely to observe them, though he "may not proceed to open and direct "resistance, until after the fall of Badajoz "and of Ciudad Rodrigo. The latter "place it does not appear to be the inten"tion of the enemy to maintain; for they "have already destroyed the redoubts on "the heights of San Francisco, and mined "most of the principal defences. Bada"joz was not expected to surrender on "the 4th of June, as mentioned in the "last Lisbon Papers, but it could not well "hold out beyond the 10th. When we "know the obstinacy of Buonaparté's "character, and with what tenacity he "adheres to projects once formed, it "will not excite surprize, that he should "make another attempt to retrieve his "affairs in the Peninsula, and again to "establish his forces in the positions which "they formerly occupied. This, how"ever, he can have no hope of accom"plishing without a fresh attack and a "complete defeat of the Allied Army. It "would appear from the movements of "the enemy, which we have already "noticed, that they do meditate this de-

"sign, and that in order to accomplish it, "they will immediately collect and con-"centrate all their disposable force in the "Peninsula. We may therefore look to "an engagement between the French and "Allied forces upon a far larger scale "than has yet taken place. We subjoin "an accurate account of the forces which "the contending parties can respectively "bring into the field:—

FRENCH FORCE.	Men.
"Marmont's	25,000
"Soult's	10,000
"Victor's	10,000
"Sebastiani's	7,000
"From Madrid	2,000
"Convalescents, &c. &c.	5,000
"Total disposable	59,000

ALLIED FORCE.	
"Lord Wellington's British	35,000
"Gen. Graham's do. from Cadiz	7,000
"Portuguese	20,000
"Disposable under Lord Wellington	62,000
To which may be added the Spaniards:	
"Under General Blake	9,000
"General Castanos	7,000
"General Ballasteros	4,000
"General Freyze	11,000
	31,000
"British and Portuguese	62,000
"Grand total of the Allies	93,000

"It is even supposed that sooner than not "make a grand effort to recover their as-"cendency in the Peninsula, it is the de-"sign of Buonaparté to evacuate all the "fortresses, and abandon every secondary "object in order to bring the whole of the "French force to bear at once. But "even in this supposition we feel no alarm "—our confidence of final success would "remain unabated. The Allies, acting "in the same manner, would still retain "a numerical superiority of 20,000 men; "the number of the French being in that "case 121,000, and those of the Allies "141,000. We have only to repeat, that "this estimate of the amount of the re-"spective forces of the contending Powers, "*is derived from the most authentic sources.*"— What, reader, where is Marshal Beresford? With Lord Talavera, perhaps. What! and have we, then, but 42,000 English troops in all, in Spain and Portugal, and only 35,000 under Lord Talavera? Only 20,000 Portuguese out of the 60,000 that our Honourable House has, months ago, voted a year's pay for?——Reader, bear in mind, that *a year ago,* we had 30,000 English troops in Portugal. Yes, a year ago! And, how many thousands *have gone thither since* I will leave you to guess; but, this, I know, that, from one quarter or another, troops have been going to Lisbon for the last nine months, from every part of this kingdom and from some of our colonies. What, then, are become of them? Well, but our *Portuguese!* Our 30,000, that we had last year, are sunk down to 20,000, and not a word about *the other 30,000 to be added this year!*——If this really be the state of the armies, there is very little difficulty in foreseeing the result, unless we can get more troops out in a very short space of time. Here are 59,000 French against 49,000 English; the former having *a superiority of cavalry;* for, as to the Spaniards and Portuguese, I do not reckon them at all. They are nothing to be *relied* on. They may be both faithful and brave; but, somehow or other, we do not find them *effective.*——I see no prospect of a termination to this Portuguese war. Thirty or forty thousand fresh troops from France would give our transports another summer's work; and to *what end?* We shall be but where we now are. Unless we can muster a force sufficient to attack the French, and to *follow up* our attacks, until we see them fairly out of Spain; unless we are able to pursue a plan of this sort, we shall do worse than nothing: we shall exhaust ourselves without injuring our enemy and without preventing the final subjugation of the countries, which we have undertaken to defend.

WM. COBBETT.

State Prison, Newgate, Friday, June 21, 1811.

FLOGGING SOLDIERS.

Debate in the House of Commons, on Tuesday the 18th of June, 1811.

Sir F. BURDETT rose to make the Motion of which he had given notice, respecting corporal punishments in the army. He said, the subject had for several years weighed and pressed upon his mind, and

he at length determined to bring it forward to the House; but having, from time to time, heard from several gentlemen, high in the army, that Government had an intention to abolish it, he had been induced to withhold from making any Motion, wishing rather that the measure should voluntarily flow from them, than that it should be adopted from the interference of that House. It had been said, at the time of passing the Mutiny Act, that a clause would be introduced, which would have the effect of abolishing this scandalous punishment by degrees: but having found from the clause in the Local Militia Act, that was not the case, he thought it was his duty not to lose a moment in coming down to the House, to give a notice on the subject; and he had only brought forward the case of Taylor as an instance of what was necessary to be done. Finding, however, that the case of a Local Militiaman did not perhaps sufficiently apply to the case of the general adoption of this punishment in the main body of the army, he had given up that case, and thought it best to proceed on the motion which he should have the honour, before he sat down, to submit to the House. There were other reasons which urged him much to come forward with it. The press had been treated with uncommon severity on account of mentioning the disgraceful punishment of flogging our soldiers. Very severe sentences had been passed on two public writers for having said that these degrading punishments in our army had ——

Sir M. Wood spoke to order, and was proceeding to comment on the speech of Sir Francis Burdett——

Mr. Brougham spoke to order, and said, if the Honourable Baronet who spoke last, was allowed to proceed in that way, he should move that the debate be adjourned.

The Speaker said, Sir M. Wood had not shewn any thing to prove the Hon. Baronet whom he had interrupted, was out of order: he must do that, and not comment on the Honourable Baronet's speech.

Sir M. Wood then moved that the gallery be cleared.

[The Gallery was then ordered to be cleared; but when most of the strangers had withdrawn, in consequence of the motion not being persisted in, they were re-admitted.]

Sir Francis Burdett (on our re-admission into the Gallery) was speaking on the motion of which he had given notice. In the view that he took of this subject he was sanctioned by the opinions of many general officers, and persons who had eminently distinguished themselves in the service of their country. Many of those officers not only agreed with him in theory, but had proved in practice, and in the discipline of their corps, that the system of flogging is not essential to the discipline of the English army, and that it was as unnecessary as it was cruel and disgraceful. Among the many bright examples of officers that knew how to maintain proper discipline in their regiments without flogging, he thought it would be injustice not to mention the illustrious name of his Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester, who for the last three years had kept his regiment in a high state of discipline without having recourse to flogging: and it appeared to him that his conduct in this respect did equal credit to his abilities as an officer, as it did to the amiable qualities of his heart. He was sorry to be obliged to state another most remarkable instance of the inefficacy of pursuing an opposite line of conduct. He must say that the 15th regiment of dragoons was a regiment long distinguished for its efficiency in the field, and for its peaceable, modest, and proper demeanour in every respect, before his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland got the command of it. Until that time, punishments of this nature had seldom been known in it; and it was a melancholy thing to state, that more cruel punishments took place within a very few months after the Duke of Cumberland was appointed to the command, than had taken place in that regiment ever since the period of the seven years' war, down to the time in which he had got the command of it. The excellent pamphlet of Sir Robert Wilson upon this subject, was, as he supposed, in the hands of every Member; and therefore he should content himself with stating, generally, that that gallant and distinguished officer most decidedly reprobated the system of flogging. He understood, also, that the present Commander-in-Chief wished, as far as was in his power, to get rid of this ignominious and cruel mode of punishment; and he must do him the justice to say, that he understood that in the management of his own regiment a very mild system of discipline had always been pursued. He thought it would be also doing injustice to

the known humanity and benevolent nature of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, not to suppose that he also felt alive to the sufferings of our brave soldiers, and that he also would be very anxious to free them from the degrading and cruel punishments to which they are now exposed. He therefore by no means thought the improbability of succeeding in this object was as great as it appeared to many men. He would mention, also, a militia regiment which had been commanded by Lord Euston, now Duke of Grafton. This regiment had long been considered as a pattern regiment, and many other officers endeavoured in vain, by the severity of punishments, to make their regiments equal to it; and yet Lord Euston brought his regiment to this perfection without having recourse to flogging. The instrument called a cat-o' nine-tails was not known by the drummers of that regiment. When persons of such rank and acknowledged merit as he had mentioned, had proved by practice that the best discipline can be kept up in the army without flogging, he conceived himself entitled to state, that it would be well for the British army, in every point of view, if the example and authority of such men were generally followed. In the cases that he should think it necessary to state to the House, he derived his information from persons who were in situations that gave them the means of knowing, and of whose veracity he had no doubt. He did not think it proper to name his authorities in the first instance, although many of them had given him permission so to do. He considered that naming them now, might possibly do injury to those individuals without being of any public advantage; but if the House had granted an enquiry, he would certainly have brought them forward as witnesses to prove the statements he should now make. He had been informed by a surgeon of a regiment, that a man under his care who had a defect in his sight, had literally been flogged for being blind, (murmurs from the Ministerial benches.) The case was this: the surgeon who gave him the information was a young man at the time, but this soldier had been under his care, and had even undergone many painful operations for the defect of sight, which he was convinced was natural. This case, with many others, was referred to a senior surgeon, who was a hasty and careless man. His report, was, that there was nothing the matter with his sight, that it was all a pretence to avoid duty, and that he was (to use a term he did not understand) a malingerer (maligner.) The young Surgeon finding his professional judgment thus impeached, appealed to the judgment of another surgeon of still greater practice, who coincided with him that the defect of sight was real. Nevertheless the man was brought to a trial by Court-martial for being a malingerer, and the man was actually condemned, and did receive a hundred lashes. When the surgeon of superior standing afterwards told the officers that the man really had a natural defect in his sight, the answer of one of them was—'Well! what signifies a hundred lashes to a man of his description?' This case he would be ready to prove if an enquiry should take place. Another instance he had to state of severity of punishment was, that at Gibraltar, two men had been so harrassed and disgusted with the service, that to get rid of it they chopped off, each of them, one of their hands. Instead of gaining their object, and getting rid of the service, they first received a severe punishment for this offence; and after they had so received their punishments, they were condemned to eke out the remainder of their lives in servile employments, and no soldier was allowed to speak to them. He must, however ask, upon this case, what must have been the disgusts which those men had received, to induce them even to cut their own hands off, and how harassing must that service have been, which they would take such methods of endeavouring to free themselves from? There was another case of a soldier of 70 years of age, and who had served for upwards of 50 years with great credit and an excellent character. He unfortunately got a little in liquor, and was sentenced to be flogged. In vain he stated his length of service, his never having been before sentenced to any ignominious punishment, his wounds, and his age. The answer to him was, that his age and his length of service should have made him know better; and he was flogged. The very same day, another soldier, a young lad of 16, was condemned for some impropriety of conduct. He pleaded his youth and inexperience: but he was answered, that on that very account he must be made to learn his duty; so that youth or age, inexperience or long and faithful services, were urged equally to no purpose, as a mitigation of the severity of punishment. When he was confined in the

Tower, he was unfortunately an eye-witness of the severity of the punishments that were inflicted on very old men for trivial offences. One of those whom he saw flogged had been thirty years in the army, and had received no fewer than seventeen wounds in the service of his country. It was, indeed, a most painful sight to see an old man, whose breast was scarred with honourable wounds, having his back lacerated with ignominious stripes for some petty offence. He saw another old soldier flogged, who had been twenty-seven years in the service. As to the severity and cruelty of the punishments he could not have had an idea of it if he had not been an eye-witness. Great as the corporeal suffering must be in such cases, he thought the shame and disgrace of it was still worse. There were but few persons who knew what a severe instrument of torture the cat-o'-nine tails was. Every lash inflicted by it was, more properly speaking, nine lashes. These were pieces of whipcord, not such as Gentlemen used to their horse-whips, but each of them as thick as a quill, and knotted. This dreadful engine of torture was frequently applied by the strength of fresh men relieving each other until human nature could bear no more suffering; and then, if pains were taken to recover the unhappy sufferer, it was only to enable him to undergo fresh agony and farther pain. What appeared to him to be the most disgusting thing in the whole transaction was the attendance of the surgeon, whose business appeared principally to detect any lingering principle of life which could enable the man to undergo more torture; and his art and knowledge, with an almost impious profanation of the healing art, was exercised principally for the purpose of renewing the faculty to bear fresh tortures. He really did not believe that in the description the poets gave of hell, there were any tortures equal to what is called a military punishment. He believed the principal part of the complaints of the soldiers, and of the reasons for which they were flogged, was, that they were often dissatisfied with the manner in which their pay, and what was called "necessaries" were furnished. (The Hon. Baronet here read an extract from a work of Major James, in support of his opinion, that such was the general cause of discontents in the army, and military punishments.) He had often thought, that if instead of nothing but punishment for offences however slight, soldiers could stand before a court-martial to determine what rewards, what honours, or what increase of pay they were entitled to for gallant services, the army would get on much better. At present, the system pursued was degrading to the whole army, to the officers who ordered and witnessed the punishment, as well as to those who were condemned to endure it. The Gentlemen in this country are thus exposed to witness what no other Gentlemen in Europe are obliged to see. These severe punishments were not inflicted for serious offences only, but on the most trifling matters of regulation in the regiment. There was nothing so trivial either in dress or equipment for which a soldier might not be flogged. When the number of desertions which took place every year was considered, and the punishments which might be inflicted for such desertions, he calculated that five millions of lashes might be annually inflicted on this account, for he must always calculate every lash given with a cat-o'-nine tails as nine lashes. We often heard of how many strokes a minute was given by a steam-engine; but the flogging system would far exceed, in this respect, any powers of the steam-engine. It was the opinion of almost every experienced officer, that no regiment, or no soldier, was ever corrected by those military punishments. The men who suffered the punishments were, in a manner, driven from their rank in existence, and afterwards appeared heart-broken, and ashamed to look their comrades in the face. The House had lately expressed its sympathy for the sufferings of West India slaves, but there was nothing in the West Indies which could be at all compared, for cruelty, with the manner in which the English soldiers were flogged. How painful it must be to their feelings when they marched against an enemy whom they knew was never flogged, to think of their own discoloured shoulders, and dishonoured carcases? It was melancholy for them to recollect that, if their bodies should be found upon the field of honour, although their breasts might be pierced with glorious wounds, their backs would exhibit the cruel marks of disgrace. It was no honour for any man to command persons liable to be flogged, as it was no honour to command galley-slaves. The Hon. Baronet here read a long letter from Sir Robert Wilson, wherein he stated "that he had the mortification to hear a Russian Minister tell

the Emperor, that nothing was finer than to see an English regiment on parade, but that nothing was more disgusting than to see their camp in the morning, and witness the cruel and inhuman punishments that were constantly inflicted there." Drakard had, in fact, very much libelled the Russian nation, when he stated that they had copied the barbarity of our military punishments. British officers, however, found that they could discipline the people of other countries without resorting to the cat-o'nine tails. The Portuguese were allowed to have arrived at great proficiency in discipline, but they were never flogged as our soldiers are. The great Frederick of Prussia once governed his army, in a great measure, by the stick of the Corporal: he, however, soon found the error of his system from the number of desertions, and latterly adopted a very mild system. In this country the system of cruelty and torture had been introduced, principally with the view of Germanizing our soldiers; but the German soldiers in our pay were quite astonished at this mode of discipline, as nothing like it has been practised in Germany during their recollection. "If British officers can make good soldiers of Germans, Portuguese, and every other nation without flogging, what a scandal it is to this country to say that it is necessary with the English alone? In the army of our enemy, it must always be recollected, that there were rewards as well as punishments, and Parliamentary influence was not necessary to obtain promotion. As to the cruelty with which English soldiers were treated, he insisted that it was greater than the common feeling of mankind could bear to witness, if exercised on a beast. If any man was to use a horse, or any other animal with such cruelty in a public place, his brains would probably be knocked out by the people. After a variety of other observations on the cruelty and inefficacy of the system of flogging, he concluded by stating, that, considering the advanced period of the Session, and the impossibility of now going into the enquiry, he thought it the best way to move for an Address to the Prince Regent, which he did to the following effect:—

"That an humble Address be presented to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, humbly praying, that his Royal Highness would be graciously pleased to take into his consideration the practice of flogging soldiers, and that he would issue such orders to the Commanders of regiments, as should be calculated to restrain, and finally to abolish that cruel, unnecessary, and ignominious mode of punishment."

Mr. Brougham seconded the motion.

Mr. Manners Sutton did not think he was called upon to follow the Hon. Baronet through the variety of statements which he had made in support of his motion. There was one observation, however, which pervaded the whole of the Hon. Baronet's speech, in which he (Mr. S.) most cordially concurred; and that was, that the question was of the utmost moment, as it involved the vital interests of the army. The House he trusted would go along with him in that sentiment, and when they were engaged in a discussion affecting so important a branch of the state, would look with impatience for some peculiar circumstances to warrant the motion being made at this late period of the session. No such peculiar circumstances had been stated, but the Hon. Baronet had insisted upon the expediency and necessity, in the first place the Hon. Baronet ought to have shewn to the House, that there were facts which would induce strong suspicion that military punishments were greatly abused. Had he done so? Had he shewn that to be the case? He certainly had not. If his object was then, by the statement which he had made, simply to get rid of corporal punishments, that object could be attained by what the Legislature had done already. By the clause introduced in the last Mutiny Act, Parliament had recommended and enacted, That in all cases where corporeal punishment could be dispensed with, without danger to the Army, the practice of flogging should be abolished. Let the House compare what had been done then with what was now asked, and see if any necessity or expediency could arise for the motion. When such was the disposition of Parliament, aided by the general intention of those who superintended the concerns of the army, was it not too much to bear hard upon, and to treat with a degree of levity, as it seemed, the Officers composing Courts Martial? *(Hear! hear,)* Would the Honourable Baronet say that these Officers would be adverse to inflicting the punishment of imprisonment for crimes, when they considered such imprisonment an adequate substitute for flogging? Unless the Honourable Baronet meant to doubt they would, and to cast a suspicion upon the inclination of the Offi-

cers composing Courts Martial, his views were met by the Legislature. He could not avoid lamenting that the Honourable Baronet should be induced, in his description, to over-rate and draw an exaggerated picture of the proceedings of Courts-Martial. Did he mean to say, that fair trials had been had? It was utterly impossible he should so contend. In many instances he (Mr. S.) could state, from his official knowledge, that the recommendation of the Legislature had been resorted to the moment the law allowed. Even before the Mutiny Act authorising it was printed, applications had been made upon the subject from certain Courts Martial to know whether they might safely imprison, instead of inflict corporeal punishment; and the answer that was returned was in the affirmative. In his opinion it was not advisable wholly to dispose of corporeal punishment, unless it should appear that imprisonment was a safe substitute; and at the same time he was prepared to admit that if the Honourable Baronet had or could shew any circumstances of aggravated cruelty, they ought certainly to be inquired into, but he had not brought forward any serious case. He had contented himself with appealing to the feelings rather than to the justice of the House. Some of his statements (though the House could not expect him to be able to answer all in the shape they appeared) were grounded upon misinformation. For instance, the Hon. Baronet some days ago had mentioned the case of a local militia-man accompanied with a description calculated to arouse the feelings. This night, however, the Hon. Baronet had abstained from all mention of it, no doubt from the knowledge that he had been imposed upon. Indeed from inquiry he (Mr. S.) had reason to believe (not having heard the statement) that the Hon. Baronet was misinformed. The fact was, that when the local-militia men were assembled, many recruits were collected some days before at the head-quarters; reports had reached the Colonel's ears, that the bread was not so good as it ought to have been. The Colonel consequently wishing to remove the cause for complaint, sent for the contractor, and gave him strict injunctions to be careful respecting the bread. In the course of that night in which the complaint was made, numbers of the corps arrived not in a state of soberness, and the complaint was again renewed. The Officers of the corps desired that the bread should be brought, which was done, and they tasted it; and the result was, that they decided it was good. Still murmurs went on partially, and these men who arrived in the night, heated with liquor, joined in the complaint; the bread was kicked about the streets whole as it was, untouched and untasted, of course they could not have the knowledge whether the complaints of their comrades was well or ill founded. In this state of things samples were sent to the Inspector General of the district; he decided that the bread was good. This, however, did not satisfy the men; they placarded the town with bills, complaining that sour bread was served out to them, and they abused and hissed their Officers, until at length, from their riotous conduct, it became necessary to notice them in a serious manner; some were apprehended, and among them this man who had written the song. He was brought to trial, and upon the clearest evidence convicted of being the ring-leader in the riots; for this he was sentenced to receive corporeal punishment, which was inflicted. *(Hear!)* The House would be glad to hear, in contradiction to the statement of the Hon. Baronet, of the hardship of this man's case, that after the punishment, he was the loudest in admitting the expediency of it, and in extolling the lenity which he had experienced. Mr. S. read a letter from the Surgeon of the Regiment to which the man belonged, which stated that he was present when two of the man's comrades called upon him, to remonstrate upon the little courage he had shewn in allowing what had been done. "The man desired them to be silent, said, what had happened was right, for without discipline he was convinced the regiment could not exist, that his sentence was just and lenient, and that the execution of it was most merciful." *(Hear, hear!)* This statement, Mr. S. conceived was most important to go forth, as it served as an explanation of the Honourable Baronet's statement, and shewed that great severities and cruelties were not inflicted. The Honourable Baronet had mentioned cause of horror which appeared to him to be aggravated in the detail. Regular Courts Martial did not particularly come under his (Mr S.) consideration, but with respect to General Courts Martial, an order was issued by the present Commander in Chief, directing all Generals of Districts to make a return to the Office, of Courts Martial, the nature of the cases, the pu-

nishment inflicted, and the character of the men convicted; which return is made every six months. He mentioned this in answer to the observations, and to shew that the Board were not indifferent to the proceedings of Courts Martial. With respect to the desertions in Ireland, the Hon. Baronet was wrong when he stated the number at 879. That number related to the offences, because many individuals could commit the offence several times before they were apprehended. Some parts of the Hon. Baronet's speech had excited his surprize, for he was sure that the British soldier was not an object of opprobrium or of compassion; nay, indeed, his conduct evidently shewed he did not feel himself that he was. There were persons, who pretended to give accurate informations respecting the transactions in the army, and it was to be lamented, that any Member of Parliament should be prevailed on to take up any supposed cause for complaint, without having investigated whether any real grounds existed for it. (*Hear, hear!*) The frequency of bringing military matters before the House of Commons, was a source of much mischief, especially in ordinary cases. It became the Hon. Baronet, and others who had been in the habit of bringing such cases forward, for the future to examine deeply into the truth or falsehood of them. If they did not, they would undertake tasks which could not be satisfactory to themselves, nor to the army. (*Cries of Hear, hear, hear!*) So far was he from thinking that the state of discipline was the consequence of corporeal punishment, that he believed it arose more from the skill of the Officers and the good harmony and understanding which prevailed between the men and their superiors. This produced a mass of regulation, which served as an *impetus* in the hour of danger to the accomplishment of all those splendid victories and glorious achievments, which not only had been the themes of British praise, but the admiration of the world. (*Hear, hear!*) It was not to the physical strength of our army principally, or that the other nations were peopled with cowards, that we owed our success (far be it from him to say that), it was to the discretion, the management, and the controul of the army; the attachment of the men to their officers, which existed most prosperously for this country more than in any other nation, that England was at this moment triumphantly victorious. The object of the motion might be to correct errors, but it would be feared, produce evil consequences. Was it then too much to ask the House not to accede to it? Besides the Hon. Baronet had not, supposing it were carried, proposed any thing in lieu of corporeal punishment. Did he mean to propose shooting? He (Mr. S.) apprehended not. All that could be reasonably done in the way of law had been already done; and it would be prudent to see what effect was produced before any thing farther was attempted. For these considerations he should oppose the Motion.

Mr. Brougham regretted that the actual statement of that motion seemed to have totally escaped the honourable member, whose speech was much more like a prepared anticipation of a speech expected, than an answer to one made. The cases which his hon. friend had adduced had been objected to, but he would not trouble himself about those cases. He was satisfied with shewing from the principle of reason and law, that the system of flogging was unwise. This was the object of the motion, and nothing relating to any particular case: he was only anxious to bring the House to a pledge that it would proceed on the subject next session. The Judge Advocate had spoken of his amendments, and the effects he expected from them. But what was the change? The mutiny act had, since the Revolution, allowed of a latitude of punishment for higher offences, and a court martial might sentence to imprisonment or flogging. By the 22nd section of the Act, a court-martial could go to any extent of punishment that did not injure life or limb. There was of course no change in the law: or if the hon. member said there was any change, he said what was not law. The law allowed latitude of corporeal punishment, and imprisonment was such. If it was still to be insisted that there was a change, it must reduce itself to a hint to courts-martial, that they might look rather more to imprisonment than they had done. But all this was feeble. Flogging for mutiny, &c. would continue to the amount of eight or ten hundred lashes, and the change produced by the amendment would be nothing. Why was not the amendment introduced into the first section, and made adequate to supersede capital punishment, as the only thing that could be superseded by the amendment? The courts martial having already had power of imprisonment for inferior of-

fences, would find their powers neither increased or diminished by this alteration. Taylor's case was of small interest compared with the general question. He had lately expressed himself strongly in abhorrence of the flogging of negroes, a race less connected with us than the objects of the motion, and the House were loud in their detestation of the cruelty Why not, when it came nearer home, and among a gallant and manly race of beings? The spectacle of a military flogging was one of the most horrid; and that, not on the testimony of persons of peaceful habits, but on the authority of officers educated in the view of them. But those were the very men who talked of them in the most powerful language. The representations of those officers would have been answered, if they were capable of being answered, but they were not. They had given their names in the face of the whole army. If any thing could have been said there were venal pens enough to vindicate the cruelty. That the punishment was ignominious, was on the testimony of officers of no common distinction: General Stewart, Sir Robert Wilson, and General Cockburne. Flogging turned the indignation at the crime, against the punisher. Why was not torture a regular punishment? Except a *dictum* and a solitory passage in the Bill of Rights, there was nothing about the abolition of torture, because it never was the law of England. On the trial of Fenton for the murder of the Duke of Buckingham, there was an attempt at examining by torture, but the Judges declared that it could not be administered by the law of England. That law prohibited any unusual or cruel punishment. The punishment was not merely obnoxious as not reclaiming the culprit, but as an offence to public decency. His hon. friend had been called on to point out a substitute for flogging. The law had done it already by pointing out imprisonment. There were other modes of making discipline secure, such as deprivation of pay and restraint of food. But now we took the wretched victim down from the triangles, an object for the dissecting room or for the hospital, to be hung up again, and receive another such punishment. The Duke of Gloucester thanked his Lieutenant-Colonel for not having had a single flogging in his regiment for two years and a half. (*Hear.*) Was there any decay of discipline on that account? The practice was ruinous to the soldier. He lost his spirit, feeling and character. The motion should have his support.

Lord PALMERSTON argued against the motion. His Right Hon. Friend had been misrepresented. He had never said that the House of Commons had implied their censure on the practice of flogging, by acceding to the introduction of the new clause in the Mutiny Bill. What he had said was, that they gave Courts Martial the alternative between that and other punishments. The cases adduced by the Honourable Baronet were, with one exception, anonymous. But if the House were to judge of the cases which the Honourable Baronet had named, the House must be satisfied, of the fallacious grounds on which the Hon. Baronet had proceeded. Imprisonment was not equivalent to flogging. There were many cases of military delinquency for which no punishment but corporeal punishment was suitable. In disturbances, for instance, which tended to mutiny, it was necessary that the punishment of the offenders should be immediate in its operation, and impressive in its effect. As to the punishment of death, he did believe that many of those who were brought to the halberts would be much obliged to the Honourable Baronet, if they were told that at his particular intercession they might be shot. The Hon. Baronet had thought fit to load the military service of his own country with opprobrium, and to characterise it as the worst in Europe, and one into which foreigners were deterred from entering. The House had been too busily employed in acknowledging the achievements of the British army, to render it necessary to say any thing on the subject, although certainly the assertion with respect to foreigners came with a bad grace from one who had formerly so strongly reprobated the introduction of foreigners into our military service. After stating the minute attention paid by the Commander in Chief to the proceedings and sentences of Regimental Courts Martial, for the purpose of preventing any unnecessary severity in the treatment of the soldiers, the Noble Lord concluded by expressing his dissent from the motion, as unnecessary and injurious.

Mr. WHITBREAD recalled to the minds of the House the time when punishments at the discretion of the Commanding Officer of a regiment, and without any Court Martial, were defended as necessary to the discipline of the army. Yet those capri-

cious punishments had been discontinued with the most beneficial effects. So would it be with the punishment of flogging. About 17 years since he had remonstrated against the practice of bringing out men to receive the second part of their punishment. He was happy to find, that, if he understood the Judge Advocate, that Hon. and Learned Gentleman admitted that it was illegal. Discussion on such subjects he considered as always productive of advantage: and he instanced the case of Jefferies the seaman as a proof of his assertion. The manner also in which the Judge Advocate had explained the introduction of the word "imprisonment," into the Mutiny Bill at the present year, was an additional proof of the advantage of discussions, and he was persuaded that it would shew Courts Martial the way in which they ought to consider the subject. After reprobating in very severe terms the practice of flogging, he proceeded to admit that those parts of the Hon. Baronet's speech which related to hospitals, stoppages, &c. were extraneous and unfounded. As to pay, clothing, quarters, attention to health, &c. he was persuaded that no army was so well off as the British. The general system was good, and he sincerely believed that the situation of the British soldier was as good with respect to comfort, and with the exception of this one black spot, better with respect to honour than that of any other soldier in the world. Though the address might not be carried, he was persuaded that the effect of the discussion would be, that in a year or two the practice of flogging in the army would be generally acknowledged to be wholly unnecessary.

Mr. YORKE observed, that the question was whether they should abolish altogether a method of punishment which had existed since Great Britain had an army, by the summary mode of an address to the Report proposed at a late period of the Session in a thin House, and founded on no established fact of existing abuse. He defied Gentlemen to instance an army at any period, and in any country, but the discipline of which corporeal punishment was not found indispensible. It was so found in Greece and Rome. In the times of the greatest Roman freedom the Consul was accompanied by the Lictors, with their fasces, in order to inflict summary and severe corporal punishment on offenders, and he was persuaded that the discipline neither of an army nor of a navy could be maintained without a reference to those ancient modes of punishment. In conclusion, he gave it as his opinion, that they might go farther and fare worse; as other changes in the system which had been proposed, might lead to consequences of which Gentlemen had formed no idea, but which might be found mischievous in the extreme.

Mr. W. SMITH contended, that the same arguments which were now used in favour of the present system, might in former times have been urged to prove the necessity of the torture. Similar reasons might be given in opposition to any other plan of reform that might be proposed. The present mode of punishment would, however, it was his opinion, be ultimately exploded, and something had already been done towards effecting so desirable an object, by the discussions which had taken place, and the consideration which had in consequence been bestowed on the subject. He was confident that in very few years military flogging would be one of those things which would not only be no longer resorted to, but people would hold up their hands and wonder that it had been tolerated so long.

The CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER did not think that even those who were most for changing the system, on considering the nature of their own arguments, and the terms of the motion, would give it their approbation. It had been said by the last Speaker, that the motion only went to recommend it to his Royal Highness gradually to effect an alteration in the punishment inflicted in the army. If this were really the sole object of the motion, would it have been worded as it was? Would it have been deliberately drawn up so as to cast a stigma on the present system, and also to cast a stigma on the Parliament for having permitted it to continue so long. The resolution called upon the Prince Regent to restrain, and finally to abolish the present mode of punishment, which it pronounced to be cruel, ignominious, and unnecessary. Was it for that House to come to the conclusion that that punishment was unnecessary, which was said to be cruel and ignominious, and then merely vote an Address to the Prince Regent, praying that it might be gradually abolished. If they came to the Resolution proposed, they ought not go much farther. He (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) was not disposed to admit, that such a motion ought at any time to be brought forward,

but if ever there was a period on every account more improper than any other at which such a one could be made, that period was the present. He was certain no man could expect that it would be carried. If, as had been said, all that was good was to result from discussion, it must be confessed that the Hon. Baronet had very ingeniously fixed on the best time for bringing it forward, as in the present instance nothing could be expected to follow discussion. As every thing was going on as well as could be wished, this was thought the most proper time for bringing the subject forward. Because it was unnecessary. This was the period at which it was supposed to be most proper. The Right Hon. Gentleman then proceeded to shew that there were grounds for instituting an inquiry. An inquiry, though he did not believe was desired by the Honourable Baronet, he (Sir F. Burdett), had received information which he (the Chancellor of the Exchequer), did not doubt the Honourable Baronet thought such, that he might rely on it with perfect confidence. —The Hon. Baronet might believe it, but would the House believe it on his statement? This they could not do, as the House had it before them, that the Hon. Baronet had been in the habit of picking up stories, which when names were given, were traced to their source, and proved to be perfectly unfounded. Ought they then to believe those assertions? Ought they to have any weight with the country because they went forth uncontradicted and "uncontradictable," as the case stated was anonymous? There might be some errors in the system, but they had the admission of an Hon. Gentleman opposite, that there never was a system in which the ease and comfort of the soldier were so much consulted. Gentlemen talked of the advantages of the French service. How could the House listen to it? What good could be expected from an attempt to prove, that of all services that of the English was the worst? What advantage could result from representing the English soldiers as being those who were most degraded, not only degraded among themselves, but so degraded as to be pointed at by their fellow-subjects with the finger of scorn. (*Hear! hear!*) If the Hon. Baronet were only supported by those who believed such a sentiment general, he (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) thought he would not have even a teller to his motion. He knew not whence the Honourable Baronet drew his notions of the disgrace of the soldiers in the British service. He could not tell whether the information on which they were founded was drawn from the periodical publications he might read, or from any society with which he might be in the habit of meeting, but this was the first time for a number of years that he had heard the army spoken of in such terms. With respect to the division, he could feel no apprehension, but he thought if Gentlemen looked at the question fairly, those who were in favour of a change would hesitate before they gave the present motion their support.

Mr. C. Adams was against the motion, and he hoped the Hon. Baronet would not press it to a division.

Mr. Whitbread, in explanation, said, in answer to what had been advanced in the course of the debate, that he did not think the flogging received by seamen at the gangway equally disgraceful with those frequently inflicted on soldiers. There was, however, one mode of punishment in the navy, flogging round the fleet, which he thought equally disgraceful.

Sir F. Burdett, in reply, denied that the arguments of the Right Hon. the Chancellor of the Exchequer had at all either shaken his conviction of the necessity of his motion, or his resolution to attempt to execute it. Rational discipline stood on one hand, and correction by the cat-o'-nine-tails on the other, and nothing should hinder him from supporting a measure of mercy. He disdained to retort on the insinuations which he believed that the Chancellor had used against his motives for his motion. He sustained his opinions on the cruelty of punishment, and quoted, as an act of wantonness, a poor soldier who had been flogged because he got married. He did not know that punishment awaited on virtue. The Militia Ballot was a severe conscription, and hung heavy on the middling classes of the people; and by that very law every man of England was born to be flogged. He persisted in pushing his motion to a division.

For the motion	10
Against it	94
Majority	—84

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COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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"The whole of my case is now before your lordships, and I leave it for your consideration, with that " hope as to the result, which the reputation of British justice would encourage me to entertain. But, agair [illegible]
to conside [illegible]
sufferi [illegible]
my [illegible]
port my punishment with firmness; but although I were to be confined in the dungeons of Dionysius, I would not exchange places with my prosecutor. I must conclude, with expressing a conviction that every part of the alledged libel being *true*, as I am ready to prove, it is *perfectly justifiable*."——MR. FINNERTY's Speech, in the Court of King's Bench, Feb. 7, 1811.

TO THE READERS.

After the next Number, which will close the present Volume, I shall publish only ONE NUMBER in the Week, and that on the SATURDAY, as formerly; and, I shall not publish any *Double Number* at the end of each Month as I used to do; but merely one Number in a week, and a sheet with *Tables* and *Index* at the end of each Volume.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

MR. FINNERTY.——The *Petition* of this gentleman, together with the Debate thereon, will be found in another part of this sheet.——I have seen with real pleasure, that, upon this occasion, *no* one thought it right to raise his voice in support of abuse of power, a thing which has given me singular satisfaction, because I have never before heard of any abuse, however enormous, of any conduct in a public functionary however infamous, which did not, in some one or other, find a defender, or, at least, some one to endeavour to palliate it.——MR. FINNERTY's conduct in this instance, like his conduct in the Court of King's Bench, has been just what it ought to have been, and will, I am sure, secure him the applause of every man, whether in England or in Ireland, who is a friend, aye, every man who is not a sworn enemy, of freedom and humanity.——His petition is a plain statement of facts; it is a complaint couched in decent and firm language; good taste is discovered through the whole of it; and, so far from any whining or crying; so far from any recantation of what he had before said, he sets out by re-asserting the substance, repeating the substantial charge, which he before brought before the public, preferring to suffer himself, though of that suffering he had had so dreadful a taste, to any even the smallest sacrifice of the cause of truth and of Ireland.——The ill-treatment of Mr. Finnerty no one can now doubt of. SIR FRANCIS BURDETT and MR. BROUGHAM asserted, that friends of theirs had asked to *see him* and were *refused*. I know a very respectable gentleman from Scotland, who, not long ago, was at Lincoln, and who wished to pay Mr. Finnerty a visit as "a mark of that respect which," to use his own words, "had been excited in "his mind by Mr. Finnerty's conduct "when before the court of King's Bench." The request of this gentleman, though manifest, evidently to the eyes of any one who saw him, a man of respectability, and who went, I believe, in company with a gentleman of Lincoln; the request of this gentleman was refused, and that, too, as he informed me, without any cause assigned, other than that "*people were not permitted "to see him.*"——Is this treatment, I do not say for a *gentleman*, I do not say for a man of *great literary talents*, because if such men commit *crimes*, they ought to expect punishment as well as men of inferior station and endowments; but, is it treatment for *any* man whose offence, at the utmost, bears no other character or name than that of a *misdemeanour*? if this sort of treatment, *a cell* to lodge and be in day and night, except an hour, or 3 hours, to be brought out to move his limbs; if this treatment, precisely that of the worst of felons, can be given to Mr. Finnerty, or to any one imprisoned for a libel, why may it not be extended, at the will of the Keeper and Magistrates, or, whoever has the power, to any one who has committed a common assault? Or, indeed, to any

one who has done any thing as a punishment for which imprisonment is inflicted? ——The *liberty of the press!* Do we talk of that; do we boast of that, if a gentleman, who is imprisoned for having made what has been determined to be *too free a use of his pen;* if such a man is to be treated like the worst of felons, shall we still have the impudence to revile Napoleon for *his* oppressions of the press? He caused to be *shot* the Bookseller PALM, whom, by the bye, he *accused* of treason. But, suppose this accusation to be false; suppose Palm to have been guilty of nothing more than the crime of writing and publishing against acts of tyranny, public robbery, or the most cowardly and base cruelty; suppose this, it was *mercy to shoot him* in preference to such treatment as Mr. Finnerty complains of. The situation of the cell, in which this gentleman is confined, is the most unwholesome that can be imagined; a *nasty smell* in it at all times from the sewer going just under the floor. This, as every one must know, is very disagreeable at any time and under any circumstances; but, what must it be in a case where the inhabitant of the apartment has but *that one;* where he is confined to it twenty-three hours out of the twenty-four; where he cannot get out to change the air; in short, what must it be where a man is confined in a *Privy,* day and night, and that, too, with the full expectation of being compelled to remain there for *eighteen months?* We have heard accounts of the tyranny of Napoleon; we have heard that he has Bastiles all over France; we have been told of his cruelties towards those who offend him with tongue or pen; but, if he has ever exercised any cruelty greater than this upon any of those offenders, I have never seen any thing like proof of it. But, why tell us of Napoleon? Why attempt to justify any thing that is done here by referring to worse done in France or elsewhere? What comfort is it to me when my finger is chopped off to know that Frenchmen have their hands chopped off? The question is, whether such treatment as Mr. Finnerty has received be fitting to be given to any man *in England;* aye, even to *a felon.* But, as I said before, what a pretty state is the *press* in, how finely is it *honoured,* if any man for merely using it too freely (for that is the amount of the charge); if a man, for this, be liable to be treated like a felon; if he be liable to be put upon the footing of a felon; if, in short, he be liable to be treated as Mr. Finnerty has been treated, what an honourable state the press is in in "this *land of liberty!*" and how anxious literary men must be to labour in the prevention of any thing that would probably lead to a change in their situation! Being in so comfortable and honourable a state, they must be the most stupid as well as most ungrateful of men, if they do not devote their days and nights to such exertions as are calculated to ensure the stability of such a state of blessedness! ——It must, however, be acknowledged, that the unnecessary severities and abominable insults, accumulated upon MR. FINNERTY, do not appear to have received the approbation of the Secretary of State, who (and how it comes to be so I know not) appears to have a sort of controul in matters relating to the King's prisons. He does not appear to have approved of this treatment of MR. FINNERTY, and he seems to have lost no time in inquiring into the matter, though his inquiries were not quick enough, or, rather, the answer to them, to prevent the Petition from coming before Parliament. But, he said, that certain *indulgences,* allowed to Mr. Finnerty, had been taken away in consequence of *misconduct.* Now, what were these *indulgences?* Why, being permitted to come out of his noisome cell during *three hours in a day* and *to walk in a yard amongst other prisoners!* And these are *indulgences,* are they? These are *indulgences* to a gentleman, charged with no other offence than that of making too free an use of the press, and who, by the mode of proceeding against him, was precluded from proving the *truth* of every word that he had said.? These are *indulgences* towards such a man, are they? Where is the felon; where is the wretch who has committed unnatural crimes; where is the murderer of neighbour, friend, brother, mother or wife; where is the wretch, however infamous or horrid his crimes, who has not *the same indulgences?*—— Yet, even of those indulgences his *misconduct* was to deprive him. This misconduct was not *named* distinctly; but it was designated pretty clearly by the words *indecent* and *indecorous;* and, I dare say, the reader will easily divine the full extent of it. I am no advocate for *indecent* and *indecorous* conduct; but, if this conduct amounted to no more than what we witness in a great portion of men, every day of our lives, and what no law

which no usage visits upon any one as a crime, why was it to serve as the ground of inflicting additional punishment upon Mr. FINNERTY? Why was he, more than any of the rest, or all the rest of mankind to be put under this new kind of "moral restraint?" Unnatural, hypocritical, abominable pretence! I do not say, that this was a pretence on the part of the Secretary of State; for he does not appear to have said that he looked upon it as any ground at all for abridging Mr. Finnerty of his *indulgences*; and he seems to have stated it merely as the ground of justification with the keeper and the magistrates.——But, as SIR FRANCIS BURDETT observed, it almost always happens, that, when a man complains, either in behalf of himself or others, if it be, in any way, a complaint against people in power, he is sure immediately to be answered by *some charge against himself.* For instance; if a man were to publish a book against selling seats in the House of Commons, or trafficking in them, whether with Redding or any body else; if a man were to do this, he would be answered by assertions or insinuations against his *loyalty*, or against his *credit*, or against his *chastity*, or against his *wisdom*; or against his conduct when he was *a boy*; and, if nothing could possibly be raked up against himself, he would be answered, his charge against seat sellers, against the vile traffickers in this worst species of corruption; this charge would be answered by telling him of what his *parents* or some of his *relations*, at some time or other, had done. Thus, in this case, Mr. FINNERTY is shut up *twenty one* hours out of twenty four in a gloomy, noisome, poisonous cell, with no friend permitted to come near him; and, when he complains of this, and further, that the twenty one hours are augmented to *twenty three*, leaving him but *one* hour in the twenty four to be free from the stench of his kennel; when he complains of this worse than felon-like treatment, we are told, that he had been *indecent* and *indecorous* in his airing hours!——I have never heard the story about this *indecorum*; but, I think, it now ought to be told out to the full; nothing ought to be left to imagination; justice to Mr. Finnerty demands that his accusers should speak out here; and, if they do, we shall, I am certain, have to present the world with a pretty specimen of the *indulgences* shewn to this gentleman.——In answer to what SIR FRANCIS BURDETT said about the ruinous effects of sending Mr. Finnerty to a distant jail, it was observed by the Secretary of State, that he was *sent thither by his own request*, and for the *sake of his health*, Lincoln being one of the most *wholesome* prisons in England.——The Secretary of State has forgotten, or never knew, what passed upon this head, as will clearly appear from the following extract from Mr. FINNERTY's speech, on the last day of his appearance there:——"Here I must take "leave to submit an observation, which I "think due, in justice to myself; and "which I offer without any disposition "to reflect upon the character of any set "of men. In consequence of my conduct "in opposition to their favourite candidate at the Middlesex Election of 1802 "and 1804, I understand that the magistrates of that county are collectively and individually, if I am rightly "informed, some of them even avowedly, "my enemies. Now as Cold Bath "Fields' prison is notoriously under their "controul, I submit to your lordships the "impropriety of committing me to their "custody. In fact, from what I hear of "that prison, and from the state of my "health, to send me there would be to "*consign me to actual death under the sentence of a nominal imprisonment.* It "would be more humane, my lords, at "once to dispose of me as Buonaparté "is said to have disposed of Palm, the "bookseller: for *rather should I meet death "at once than be compelled to endure the tedious agonies of that dissolution, which "must be the consequence of a* CLOSE IMPRISONMENT. This statement I submit to your lordships, assured that you "will give it a due consideration, bearing "in recollection that wise maxim of "Blackstone, which all wise judges should "have present to their minds, namely, "'that second to the duty of administering public justice, it is the duty of a "'judge to give public satisfaction.'"——This was what Mr. FINNERTY said; this was his request to the court. He besought them not to send him to Cold Bath Fields, and for *what?* Why because the *close imprisonment* he expected there, would kill him. But, was this *requesting to be sent to a distant jail?* Oh, no! but, on the contrary, in that part, of the same speech, which I have taken for my motto, he points out to the Judges how ruinous the prosecution had been to him, seeing that *his subsistence depended upon his talents;* and it was very evident that he could not employ those talents *in the country*, and,

that, therefore, he could not wish to be sent to a distant prison, if he must be sent so some prison or other.——However, let us suppose, that, with regard to his *health*, at any rate, the Judges wished to be merciful to him; and this is the notion clearly conveyed, and, indeed, expressed by MR. RYDER, for, he says, that, on account of his health and at his own request he was sent to Lincoln, that being one of the most wholesome prisons in England. Well, now, if this be *true*; if the Judges did send him to Lincoln for the *sake of his health*; if they did send him there, because he represented that *close imprisonment* would be a sentence of death under the name of imprisonment; if they did send him there because he represented to them that it would be more merciful to shoot him, as Buonaparté was said to have done with Palm, than to send him to waste away in *close imprisonment*; if it was with this view, if it was that he might not be thus killed, that they sent him to Lincoln, how has their view been accomplished? He has *been kept in close confinement*; he was put into a felon's cell; he was denied the access of friends; he was allowed less time for air even than the felons themselves; and, to crown the whole, the dark and gloomy place in which he was confined, was constantly noisome, foul, stinking, to a degree sufficient to ruin the health of a man of constitution the most robust. This is the way in which have been fulfilled the *benevolent* intentions, upon which, as Mr. Ryder says, the Judges acted *in regard to Mr. Finnerty's health*! He was, under a sentence said, as to the locality of the prison, to have proceeded from the Judge's mercy as to his health; he was, under this sentence dying in that very *close imprisonment*, which, as he had represented to them, would be the certain cause of his death! *Who*, then, was the *cause* of this close imprisonment? Who was it that contravened this object of the place of imprisonment? And, above all, who was it that was the cause of making the imprisonment so intolerably severe? Who made it, in short, what it is represented in the Petition, at which, I must say for the Honourable House, every one appears to have been struck with horror? ——Mr. RYDER took occasion to introduce the name of LORD CASTLEREAGH upon this occasion, and to say, that, as soon as that Lord heard of the way in which Mr. FINNERTY was treated, he hastened to declare, that *he by no means wished the punishment to be rendered unusually severe.* If I had not read this in two or three papers, I should not have believed the words to have been uttered. What! Is it thus then in England? What! when a man is *in prison* has the prosecutor *still a power over him!* What! is the prosecutor still to be consulted as to how the man shall be treated! And this in this fine free country too!——No, no, no. It is not *so*. Mr. Ryder does not appear to have said *this*. No: he does not say, that Lord Castlereagh has still a *power* over Mr. Finnerty, and that that gentleman is *liable to be treated in any way that Lord Castlereagh pleases.* No: he does not say that. But, what does he say, then? What does he say; and why does he bring in Castlereagh's name? If Castlereagh has *no power* over Mr. Finnerty, either directly or indirectly, if he has and can have no *influence* as to that gentleman's treatment; if Mr. Finnerty is now completely out of his clutches and in the hands of impartial and invariable law and justice; if this be the case, why mention Castlereagh's *wishes* upon the subject; why state what Castlereagh wished to be done or left undone; why make any statement about Castlereagh's wishes any more than about the wishes of Redding or any body else? What! Is Mr. Finnerty to hear upon being taken out of his stinking cell, that *Castlereagh does not wish him to remain there?* Mr. Finnerty knows his man; he knows well what value to set upon this declaration of Castlereagh's wishes; and, if I know any thing of his character, he would rather end his days in his cell, than he would owe his release from it to those wishes. Indeed the manly, the excellent, outset of his petition proves this. He there re-asserts the substance of what he had said before, and what he may say again, in another form, and in *a situation and under circumstances very different from the present.* That change I live in hopes of seeing; and if I did not confidently expect to see that day, I should not, as far as politics are concerned, care a straw if I never saw another.——Here I must stop for the present; but, I shall not fail to resume the subject in my next, the treatment of Finnerty being an object as much more important to us than the battles of Lord Talavera, as our own rights, liberties, and lives are more important to us than the question of who shall be masters of Spain and Portugal.

BUONAPARTE's SPEECH, and the other subjects, on which I should like to offer some remarks here, I have not time for now. They must, therefore, be postponed till my next.

W^M. COBBETT.

State Prison, Newgate,
Tuesday, 25th June, 1811.

MR. FINNERTY.

DEBATE *in the* HOUSE *of* COMMONS *on presenting the* PETITION *of* MR. FINNERTY. —*June* 22, 1811.

MR. WHITBREAD said, he had a Petition in his hand from a person confined in the Castle of Lincoln, complaining the treatment he there met with, as not warranted by the judgment of the Court which had sent him there. It was from a gentleman pretty well known in the House, Mr. Finnerty, who had been found guilty of a libel. He had read it through, and as he perceived nothing improper in it, and as it was accompanied by certificates of ill health, and the opinions of his medical advisers that a less rigorous mode of confinement was essential to his recovery, he could feel no hesitation in presenting it. He had in the first instance recommended to Mr. Finnerty to pet tion the Prince Regent, through the Secretary of State for the Home Department. He had accordingly done so, and the Right Honourable Gentleman had written to the High Sheriff of the County to procure information; but within these few hours no answer had been received.—Under these circumstances he had approved of submitting the Petition to the House, and it was precisely the same as that intended to be laid before the Prince.

The Petition was then brought up, and read as follows:

"To the Hon. the House of Commons of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, the Petition of Peter Finnerty sheweth—

"That in consequence of a letter published in the Morning Chronicle, complaining of grievous injury sustained by Petitioner and by his countrymen in Ireland, Petitioner was indicted for a libel at the prosecution of Lord Viscount Castlereagh. That upon receiving notice of trial for the said libel, Petitioner found that the witnesses most material to his defence were absent from England, and therefore he had a motion made in the Court of King's Bench, for the postponement of the said trial, which motion was rejected; contrary, as he understands, to the usual practice of that Court. Petitioner being unable to establish any defence in the absence of his witnesses, thought it expedient to let judgment go by default, without, however, any consciousness of guilt, being, as he offered, when brought up for judgment, ready to prove by the most irrefragable testimony, the truth of his allegations; particularly with respect to the infliction of torture in Ireland in the months of May and June, 1798. That Petitioner was, notwithstanding, sentenced to 18 months imprisonment in Lincoln Castle, where he has experienced, and continues to experience, a degree of rigour unprecedented in modern times—unauthorised by the terms of his sentence—and in direct hostility to the mild and merciful character of the British Constitution.

That upon the night of his arrival at this castle in the month of February, Petitioner, although evidently in a bad tate of health, was committed to a felons' apartment, where he is still compelled to remain. That finding his appeal to the jailor's consideration quite ineffectual, Petitioner had a remonstrance presented to the visiting magistrates of the prison, of which the following is an abstract:—

"I am confined upon a ground floor, in a cold gloomy apartment, the door of which is nearly opposite to my bed, and opens into a yard about twenty-five feet square, enclosed by a wall about thirty feet high—so high, indeed, as to exclude the free current of air. In the centre of this yard is a grate, from whence issues the most offensive smell, owing, as I understand, to the common-sewer of the debtors' prison, which runs underneath, and which smell annoys me even in my cell. By this smell I am prevented taking any exercise in that yard, while I am denied the opportunity of enjoying air and exercise in the area which surrounds the prison, and to which all the other prisoners are admitted throughout the day, xcepting only the common felons and myself. Of this privation I have the more reason to complain, because from the state of my health, being subject to indigestion and violent spasmodic affections in the stomach, I have been uniformly advised by all Medical men whom I have had occasion to consult, to seek the enjoyment

of fresh air, and to take as much exercise as I could bear. Such has been the opinions of Doctors Lipscomb, Wright, and Stanton, whom I have consulted in London; and such also is the opinion of the Physicians to whom I have had occasion to resort since my arrival here, and whose certificate is annexed. Such treatment as I complain of is, I am persuaded, as contrary to the intention of the Judges by whom I have been sent here, as it is, I submit, inconsistent with that to which any man committed for a misdemeanor, ought to be subjected."

"That about a week after the Petitioner's arrival here, he was, in consequence of this remonstrance, visited by the magistrates, one of whom, in the course of conversation, observed, that they (the magistrates) could not compel the jailor to accommodate Petitioner with rooms in the front of the prison; adding, that he understood another person confined for a libel (whom he named) paid three guineas a-week for his accommodation in another prison. To this observation Petitioner said, that he could not afford to pay so much; upon which another of the Magistrates observed, that his (Petitioner's) subscriptions "were likely to be considerable." In a few days after this visit, Petitioner was allowed to take exercise for three hours each day, which, according to his request, was fixed at from eight to nine in the morning, from one till two in the afternoon, and from five till six in the evening. But this arrangement was soon after altered, and an order issued, that such Petitioner should take exercise for 3 hours in succession, namely, from eleven till two o'clock. Against this order Petitioner again remonstrated; but the orders respecting the treatment of Petitioner have throughout varied in such a manner, as to justify Petitioner in stating, that they are dictated by a spirit of oppression.

"That, for a period of nearly five weeks, Petitioner was not allowed to go into the area for the enjoyment of air and exercise at all, in consequence of which his health suffered so severely, that the medical Gentleman who usually attended him, thought it necessary to call in another physician; and Petitioner despairing of any redress from the Magistrates, had the certificates of these two Gentlemen transmitted to the Sheriff, copies of which certificates are hereunto annexed. The Sheriff in reply, as Petitioner understands, communicated his opinion to the Magistrates, that Petitioner should be allowed the air and exercise recommended by the Physician, but still Petitioner has been allowed only one hour each day, namely, from one until two o'clock; and if it rain at that period he is not permitted to go out at any other hour, his application to that effect having been peremptorily refused. Upon one occasion, indeed, Petitioner being severely afflicted by a head-ache, to which he has been subject for some time back, sent a request to the gaoler that he might, in consequence of his illness, be allowed to go into the air of the Castle-yard, even for half an hour, in lieu of the hour from one till two o'clock, but this request was rejected. That this allowance of air and exercise granted to him, Petitioner most sensibly feels, and his medical attendant has so represented it, but in vain.

"That there are various other instances of oppression and injustice, of which Petitioner has to complain, but by the repetition of which he does not think it right to trespass upon the patience of your Honourable House. Your Petitioner, however, cannot overlook this circumstance: that about a fortnight after his arrival here, a person who came from London to attend him in his illness, was excluded from the prison, and a prisoner appointed to attend him, whose integrity he has cause to suspect; but whom, nevertheless, he cannot dismiss, because no other person will be admitted, even the person who dresses his victuals being refused admittance. That under such circumstances Petitioner appeals to your Honourable House for relief, trusting that you will not sanction such severity as cannot be justified by the sentence passed upon him, such as he presumes to assert was not in the contemplation of the judges by whom that sentence was passed, such as is wholly unusual in this country.—Petitioner particularly and earnestly requests that your Honourable House, in consideration of the very weak state of his health, and the aggravation of his complaints, by the mode in which he has been hitherto treated, and which, if continued, must terminate in incurable disease, will be graciously pleased to take such steps that Petitioner may be forthwith removed into an airy apartment, and allowed the air and exercise necessary for the re-establishment and preservation of his health—that such apartment may be easily afforded him, as there is room amply suf-

ent in the front of the jail, the jailer having set apart 13 rooms for his own use, while his family consists of only three persons.

"Petitioner begs leave to represent to your Honourable House, that on or about the 27th of May last, a Petition, couched in terms such as Petitioner hopes were respectful, and signed by your Petitioner, was transmitted through the Secretary of State to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, representing the situation of Petitioner.

"That Petitioner has waited in the humble hope of meeting redress, through the clemency of his Royal Highness; but having this day heard that the Secretary of State for the Home Department, owing to some delay, which to your Petitioner, suffering under such privations, appears extraordinary, has not yet been able to obtain the information which he professed it his duty to seek, previously to his offering his advice to the Regent upon the Petition presented. Petitioner therefore fearing the speedy prorogation of Parliament, has submitted his case to the consideration of your Honourable House, not from any doubt of the justice or clemency of his Royal Highness the Prince, upon whose liberality he has the utmost confidence; but from the impatience of a man unjustly oppressed, and suffering under the pains of disease, brought on by the treatment he has received.

"All that Petioner requires, is an airy apartment, with the opportunity for air and exercise, which the prison yard affords.

"And Petitioner will ever pray,

"PETER FINNERTY."

"*Lincoln Castle, June* 10, 1811.

A Copy of Dr. Charlesworth's first Testimony to the Magistrates of the County of Lincoln.

Being professionally consulted by Mr. Finnerty, I am called upon to state my opinion, that his health already much impaired, must materially suffer from the confinement to which he is now subjected, and from the alleged coldness of his room; and that a warm room and every possible advantage of fresh air and exercise are indispensibly necessary, not only for the chance of his recovery, but even for the preservation of his present state of health. —I have the honour to be, Gentlemen, Your most obedient Servant,

(Signed) E. P. CHARLESWORTH, M. D.
March 1, 1811.

Copy of Dr. Faussett's Testimony.

Being called upon, in my professional capacity, to visit Mr. Peter Finnerty, in the Castle of Lincoln, I found him affected with many severe complaints, arising from disease of the digestive organs, with which, from his own testimony, he has at different times before, when deprived of the opportunity of air and exercise, been in a slighter degree affected. From the testimony, also, of Dr. Charlesworth, who has attended Mr. Finnerty during the greater part of the time he has been here, these complaints existed to a considerable degree of severity in his first coming, but almost entirely went off, on his being allowed a freer air, and more extended place of exercise.—Within the last three weeks, since he has been again more closely confined, they have returned in a much aggravated form.—It is my opinion that there is little or no chance of his health being restored, without a freer allowance of air and exercise than the confined court to which he is at present restricted, will admit of, but, on the contrary, every prospect of his complaints going on increasing.

(Signed) JOHN FAUSSETT, M. D.
Lincoln, April 29, 1811.

A Copy of Dr. Charlesworth's second Testimony.

After presenting, as addressed, the subjoined testimony, Mr. Finnerty was permitted to walk three hours a day in the area surrounding his prison; and in a week or ten days after that time, was so far recovered from his complaints as to render a continuance of my visits unnecessary.—Immediately upon his return to close confinement, my professional assistance was again required, and in the course of three weeks, I find all his former symptoms not only returned, but greatly aggravated.—Under these circumstances, it is my opinion that the same or a stronger necessity of fresh air and exercise exists than did at the time of my former application, of which the following is a copy. (Signed)

E. P. CHARLESWORTH, M. D.
Lincoln, April 29, 1811.

Mr. RYDER stated, that he had that day received a letter from the High Sheriff, the delay of which was owing to his having been in town, and having left directions behind him, under the expectation of an immediate return, that his letters should not be sent after him. It informed

him (Mr. Ryder,) that Mr. Finnerty had at first enjoyed only one hour of exercise in the open air, which period was afterwards extended to three. This indulgence, however, it was found necessary to withhold, in consequence of the extreme irregularity and impropriety of his conduct, and which was stated to be of a description not more inconsistent with decorum than with the rules and discipline of the prison. He was in possession also of certificates contrary to those mentioned by the Hon. Gentleman. He had, however, no objection to make every further inquiry necessary to prove whether it was possible to relieve the inconvenience complained of. His Noble Friend (Lord Castlereagh) had, it was but just to say, manifested every desire to render the confinement of Mr. Finnerty as mild as was compatible with the sentence.

Mr. WHITBREAD said, he knew not what Mr. Finnerty's conduct might have been; but the charge rested entirely on the authority of the letter received by the Right Honourable Gentleman. But even if this was the case, he could not see why he should be denied airy apartments. The certificates which he had received were signed by three very respectable Physicians (we believe Drs. Lipscombe, Charlesworth, and Taylor,) and were therefore entitled to belief. The observations of the Magistrates, as recorded in the Petition, were under any circumstances highly improper (*Hear!*); nor was a want of money a just reason for adding to the rigours and severity of the punishment of any offence. The conduct of the Sheriff likewise was very indiscreet.

Sir FRANCIS BURDETT did not know what powers were vested in the Magistrates or Gaoler to convert the Prison into a House of Correction, and inflict solitary confinement at their discretion. This appeared to have been done in this instance, and an acquaintance of his had informed him, that in passing through Lincoln, he had wished to see Mr. Finnerty, but was refused admittance. It likewise seemed to him that the Secretary of State was not a proper person to be appealed to, or any of the executive Ministers of the Crown.—Enough had certainly been said to induce the House to take the Petition into full consideration, and extend to the Prisoner all the relief and accommodation that was consistent with the nature of the sentence.

Mr. BABINGTON said a few words, but in a tone inaudible in the Gallery. We believe he stated that a friend of his had been denied access to Mr. Finnerty.

Mr. HUTCHINSON thought that the allegations contained in the Petition were of a nature that required an answer very different from that which had been as yet given. There could be no doubt that Mr. Finnerty had entered the prison in which he was now confined in a state of health much impaired—a circumstance which in itself ought to have been sufficient to have ensured Mr. Finnerty every possible indulgence consistent with his situation. Indeed, he thought that this might have been rendered without any very extraordinary exercise of humanity. But instead of this, it appeared that he had been treated with downright cruelty. It was, indeed, a statement of cruelty so excessive, that in his opinion it would be to the disgrace of the House if they suffered it to remain upon their Table uncontradicted and unremedied. There were some parts of the Petition to which the Right Honourable Secretary had given no answer—one especially, which appeared to him to require the fullest explanation, if indeed it could admit of any—and that was, that the gaoler, with but three in family, monopolized to himself the exclusive use of thirteen separate rooms; while Mr. Finnerty, at the manifest risk of his life, was to continue for eighteen months confined in a damp and noisome cell. He would ask, was this to be endured?—(*Hear!*) Was it to be endured that a gaoler was thus to assume the power of making an infinite difference between punishments which the Courts of Law originally meant to be the same. (*Hear!*) Upon what ground did this gaoler take it upon him to refuse Mr Finnerty's friends access to him? Was this a part of his sentence? and were they to leave Mr. Finnerty in such a precarious state of health as he then was, to the discretion of a man who seemed so capriciously and cruelly to have abused his trust? He felt himself bound to entreat from the Right Honourable Secretary, some distinct declaration upon this part of the subject, pledging himself to interpose his authority, in the remedying what appeared to be a system of oppression. Another circumstance, not very satisfactorily explained, was the great lapse of time that had intervened between the time of the letter of the Secretary of State to the Sheriff, and the receipt of the Sheriff's answer; such delay might have been of fatal consequences in cases where the

health of the individual aggrieved had more rapidly declined.—As far as the present question personally related to Mr. Finnerty, he confessed that he was one of those who did not think it the less deserving their attention on that account. He did not stand forward to defend Mr. Finnerty's violation of the laws of his country, for which violation he was now making so severe an expiation; but however culpable Mr. Finnerty had been, he (Mr. H.) could not forget that Gentleman's past life. At a very early age, when a mere boy, he began the world by turning the advantages of a good education into the means of honourable subsistence for himself and family; it was his misfortune while yet a boy, to live in times when it was criminal to complain of oppression—times which every honest and honourable mind must have witnessed with indignant regret—times in which such a system of oppression and persecution was pursued, as must, if persisted in much longer, have ended in the ruin of the country—in such times, and under the impulse of those feelings which they were but too well calculated to excite in every ingenuous mind, did Mr. Finnerty pass the limits of temperate discussion, and so bring down upon himself the weighty visitation of the law. To this offence Mr Finnerty had been led by those sentiments which in periods more favourable to the cause of liberty, have distinguished the brightest characters in the history of this country. He had been in that instance, as well as in a subsequent one, right in principle, a rooted attachment to the cause of his oppressed country was that principle, and it was a principle from which, however punishment might remotely flow, disgrace never could. In this country, as in his own, the same principle had led him into the commission of a similar offence. He had in both cases told the truth beyond the licence of the law, and in this case, as well as in the former, he suffered in the cause of his country, which was the cause of truth and justice. He thought it, therefore, extremely harsh that a man so suffering for telling the truth, unjustifiably should be classed with the greatest culprits and felons in the admeasurement of his punishment, at the insolent discretion of a gaoler. (*Hear!*) There was besides a circumstance in the sentence of the Court on Mr. Finnerty, which must have operated with peculiar severity in his case. It was well known that Mr. Finnerty had been for many years employed in this great city in a way most flattering to his literary talents, and, he believed, as productive in point of emolument as it was honourable. What then must have been the sufferings of this unfortunate gentleman, not only to have been thrown into gaol for eighteen months, but to be banished to so remote a distance as Lincoln, from the scene of his industry, and thus cut off from his literary connections, and perhaps the means of common subsistence (*Hear!*)? Under all the circumstances of the case, he thought it most particularly deserving the attention of the House. He concluded, by entreating of the Right Honourable Secretary to take the most speedy and effectual means of putting a stop to the system of oppression, by which Mr. Finnerty appeared to have been so shamefully persecuted.

Lord Castlereagh said, that his Right Honourable Friend, the Secretary for the Home Department, had done him but justice in giving him credit for his wishes, respecting the mitigation of Mr. Finnerty's sufferings. When he had first heard of that gentleman's application upon that subject, he did not feel himself prohibited from interposing with his Majesty's Government, for the immediate and effectual repression of any undue severities which might have been experienced by Mr. Finnerty (*Hear, hear!*). In claiming every exemption from such oppression, he thought that the Petitioner was asking not for indulgence, but for justice. (*Hear, hear!*) Neither could any proceedings that might be taken in consequence of this Petition, be considered as a mark of indulgence to the Petitioner, it would be in effect but remedying a wrong, restoring Mr. Finnerty to a right. In saying this much of the motive of the present application, which appeared to him, if Mr. Finnerty thought himself aggrieved, to be a very justifiable appeal, (*Hear, hear!*) he could not help alluding so far to the remote cause of the Petitioner's present situation. He (Lord Castlereagh) had not, he trusted, been remarkable for following up with any vindictive animadversions, attacks of a certain nature, but the one made by Mr. Finnerty, was, he must say, so gross a libel, not merely personally upon him, but upon the Administration in general of Ireland at that time, that he thought his passing it over in silence might have been misinterpreted as a tame acquiescence in the truth of charges so extremely heinous. He had, therefore, no

alternative left him, but such an acquiescence, or the discharge of a painful public duty; in the discharge of it he had been influenced by no private motive. The House would do him the justice to admit, that in attacks of that kind, merely affecting himself personally, he had not proved himself extremely querulous; *(Hear, hear!)* but in the present case had he passed it over, he should have really thought himself guilty of a great breach of public duty; that duty, however, having been now discharged, he should have great pleasure in forwarding every means for the removal of any oppressive usage, which the Petitioner may have experienced. *(Hear!)* Nor indeed should he have been unwilling to have been instrumental in applying to the fountain of mercy, had not the repetition of Mr. Finnerty's assertion of the truth of his statements of torture, &c. in the Petition now upon their table, tied up his hands effectually from any such interposition.—It did not however preclude him from joining with the House in providing that the wrongs of which the Petitioner complained, should be redressed.—Having said so much upon the question, as affecting Mr. Finnerty and himself, nothing that had fallen from the Honourable Gentleman who spoke last, should tempt him to go then into the discussion of the conduct of the Irish Government during the times so warmly alluded to; but this he would take the liberty of saying, that upon that question, when brought before Parliament in a way likely to be subservient to the purposes of truth, he should be prepared to meet that Honourable Gentleman, or any other, and to prove to the satisfaction of the House and of the Country, that the general conduct of the Irish Administration, (he spoke not of individual instances of cruelty, which nothing could justify), was at that time fully justifiable.

Sir SAMUEL ROMILLY said, that this appeared to him to be a case of the very last importance; there was one material fact which had not been at all explained by his Right Hon. Friend (Mr. Ryder). When this person was sent to the castle of Lincoln, there to be confined pursuant to sentence; the gaoler locks him up in a solitary cell appropriated to felons—upon what authority did the gaoler venture to do this?—the prisoner was not sentenced to solitary imprisonment—a punishment concerning which, however, he believed, there were no small doubts, as whether there were any sanction of it to be found in the laws of England—but be that as it might, if there was such a distinction, was the imposing of it to be left in the hands of a gaoler? *(Hear, hear!)*—this would be a power beyond any thing exercised by the King's Bench. That Court sentenced one man to twelve months imprisonment—another to eighteen—another to two years—but what is the difference of a few months more or less confinement, compared with that of solitary confinement in a felon's cell, shut out from every intercourse, and even the means of earning subsistence withheld; and was this fearful discretion to be left to the whim of a gaoler? *(Hear!)*—This was not the case of a private individual—it was the case of the public—this was putting into the hands of every gaoler the severest punishment that could be inflicted on a British subject short of death. Another consideration was, that the punishment of the rich man would be essentially different from that of the poor man, though confined for the same offence, and under the very same sentence—*(Hear, hear!)*—from gaolers it might not be so wonderful—but what were they to say to Magistrates who could have the face to tell this wretched man, that for three guineas a week more he could be accommodated with a better apartment? What! was this language for Magistrates, who officially stood between the prisoner and oppression, to make use of in answer to an application for redress? *(Hear, hear, hear!)* This was a circumstance which could not rest there; it was certainly very late in the Sessions, but even so he thought that this fact and others, particularly the power so shamefully usurped by the gaoler, ought to be made the ground of a parliamentary enquiry. *(Hear, hear!)* He never read the libel on the Noble Lord, but if it was as bad as that libel upon the Magistrates, he scarcely knew what punishment could be too excessive. He repeated that he thought the conduct of the Magistrates did furnish a ground for parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. WILLIAM SMITH said, that his Hon. and Learned Friend had said every thing he meant to have said upon the subject. If the gaoler can put a man in solitary confinement, how is that man to get redress? He gives, perhaps, a letter to the turnkey to put in the post-office, and he throws it behind the fire—how then is it to be known? The man may die, and the

gaoler may report him as having died in a fit, and bring all his turnkeys to swear to it. He wished to know, who was answerable for all this—which of the five parties already mentioned in the course of the Debate had the responsibility—was it the Secretary for the Home Department, the Court of King's Bench, the Magistrates, the Sheriff, or the Gaoler?

Mr. DAVIES GIDDY admitted that the conversation alleged to have been held with the Prisoner by the Magistrates was on their part, very reprehensible, but there could be no doubt, that even in saying what they did, their motive could not have been of any base or unworthy description.

Mr. Secretary RYDER, in explanation, stated, that the one hour's air and exercise had been at first enlarged to three hours, at different times, one hour each time, and that on certain gross and indecent improprieties having been committed by the prisoner, that time had not been lessened; but it was thought adviseable that he should take the three hour's exercise at once, from eleven till two, every day—the cold of the apartment had been remedied by a baize door. It was a mistake to represent Mr. Finnerty as under solitary confinement. He was under no such thing—as to the complaint made by an Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Hutchinson) of the severity of banishing the petitioner to a gaol so distant from the metropolis, it was in compliance with the earnest applications of the prisoner's friends that he was not sent to a prison in the immediate vicinity of London, but sent to a country gaol, and one which is considered the healthiest in England. He understood that there the offensive smell complained of did not exist. He professed himself however, ready to recommend the adoption of every measure likely to promote the health and accommodation of the prisoner, and at the same time consistent with the precautions necessary to prevent a recurrence of the same indecent irregularities to which he had alluded.

Mr. WHITBREAD said, that it appeared from various statements of Mr. Finnerty, that the Gaoler had acted towards him in the most brutal manner possible, answering all his applications for redress by messages through the turnkey conveyed in terms the most insolent and scandalous. He hoped the Right Honourable Gentleman would engage to get Mr. Finnerty one of the front apartments in the more airy part of the prison.

Mr. Secretary RYDER could not give any other than the general pledge he had given, qualified by the conditions he had annexed to it.

Mr. CHARLES ADAMS hoped now that the Right Honourable Gentleman had promised every thing necessary to remedy the grievances complained of by Mr. Finnerty, that the object of the petition had thus been gained—since that was the case, he hoped the discussion would not continue the whole night. An Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Hutchinson) had favoured them with a high and elaborate eulogium on Mr. Finnerty, and had certainly in the course of it brought merits of that person to light, which he had never before heard attributed to him. He hoped, however, now that the wishes of the House were known upon the subject, that there would be no necessity for any more eulogies upon the great services and great talents of Mr Finnerty.

Mr. HUTCHINSON said, in explanation, that in what he had said of Mr. Finnerty, he did not affect to pass any eulogy upon him. He had merely stated, what he understood to be facts; and if these facts were of a nature so praise-worthy as to amount in effect to an eulogy, he did not see why the statement of them should have been so offensive to the Honourable Gentleman's delicacy. He might, however, call it eulogy if he pleased; but while it was true, he (Mr. Hutchinson) should not be ashamed of it, if Mr. Finnerty deserved it. He (Mr. H.) did not think it ought to be withheld from him merely because he happened to be at that time an unfortunate prisoner, pining in a cell. His motive in saying what he had of Mr. Finnerty was to do away that prejudice which he feared had been but too active against him in this country, and which was, perhaps, in part the cause of the oppressions under which he now laboured, and which it would be to the disgrace of that House to have heard, and not remedied.

Mr. C. ADAMS, in explanation, said, that he did not doubt the statement made by the Honourable Gentleman; but had said only that he had attributed to Mr. Finnerty qualities by which he had never before heard of his being distinguished.

Mr. BABINGTON explained.

Mr. BROUGHAM agreed with the Noble Lord who had expressed himself so handsomely on this question, that this was an application for justice, not indulgence.

He wished to set the Right Honourable Secretary right as to one point—he was present when the sentence was passed on Mr. Finnerty, and the jail then mentioned he perfectly recollected, was the Castle of Lincoln. He contended that the statement in the Petition amounted to an allegation of solitary confinement. A Learned Friend of his had applied for admission—he at first got a flat refusal, but on his pressing his right of access, he was told that Mr. Finnerty did not wish to see any body. This evasion would not serve—his friend insisted upon Yes or No, and intimidated them into their duty. The Learned Gentleman then proceeded to comment upon the great hardship and injustice of lodging in the hands of a Gaoler a power he may so easily pervert to satisfy the mean purposes of private pique. He insisted that the allegations of Mr. Finnerty respecting the dampness and noisome smell of the room were perfectly correct. Let the Magistrates or Gaoler who doubt them be treated with a night or two's lodging in the same apartment, and perhaps they might be then better disposed to agree with him. A common sewer passed through the middle of the room immediately under the flooring and emitted a most noisome effluvia.

Sir FRANCIS BURDETT said, he now recollected another friend of his who had called, and had been refused access to Mr. Finnerty. He was however admitted to him at a subsequent period; and so dark was the room in mid-day, that Mr. Finnerty was obliged to read the letter he brought him at the grate by the light of the fire.

Mr. RYDER repeated what he before said as to the advice he should give for the redress of Mr. Finnerty, stating at the same time, that he had understood that the persons charged with the custody of the Gaol of Lincoln, had in general discharged their duty with fidelity and attention to the general accommodation of the prisoners.

The Petition was then ordered to lie on the table.

OFFICIAL PAPERS.

PORTUGAL.—THE WAR.—*Proclamations of Lord Viscount Wellington, K. B. Marshal General of the Armies of H. R. H. the Prince Regent of Portugal, &c. &c. &c.*

(Concluded from page 1565.)

.... The Portuguese Nation knows now, by experience, that the Marshal General was not mistaken in the nature and extent of the evils with which she was threatened, nor less of the only means of cautioning against, or of stopping its effects; which were, and are still, a firm resolution of resisting; removing and concealing all goods and effects that may contribute to the subsistence of the enemy, or facilitate their progress.—Near four years have elapsed, since the tyrant of Europe invaded, with a powerful army, the kingdom of Portugal; that invasion had for its motives,—not personal defence,—not to avenge insults, or injuries, that the benevolent Sovereign of this kingdom might have offered to him;—not, lastly, for an ambitious desire of augmenting his political power; for the Portuguese Government had, without resistance, condescended to comply with all demands of the tyrant;—No, his object was an insatiable desire of booty, and of disturbing the tranquillity, and of carrying off the riches of a nation, which enjoyed the sweets of peace for nearly half a century.—The same wishes occasioned, in the year 1809, the invasion of the Northern Provinces of Portugal; and the inclination to pillage and theft occasioned that of the year 1810, which happily has been just now frustrated; and the Marshal General appeals to the experience of those who have witnessed the three invasions, who may testify, whether, during those invasions, the conduct of the French army has been other than seizing, plundering, and perpetrating every kind of outrage that their barbarous and atrocious disposition could suggest to them; and whether, from the General to the private, they were not delighted in the practice of such excesses.—Those countries that did submit themselves to the tyranny, had not a better fate than those which resisted; the inhabitants lost all their goods, their families were dishonoured, their laws trampled upon, their religion banished, and above all, they were deprived of that honour, that manly resistance to the oppression, against which all the inhabitants of Portugal have given so singular and happy instances.—The Marshal General, at the same time that he announces the result of the last invasion, thinks it to be his duty to remind the inhabitants of Portugal, that notwithstanding the danger which threatened them is removed, it has not entirely disappeared.—The Portuguese nation has yet riches, which the tyrant will strive to

plunder: she is happy under the moderate government of her benign Sovereign, and this is enough for the tyrant to endeavour to destroy her happiness: she has successfully resisted, and, of course, he will not leave any thing undone that can be done to subject her to his iron yoke.—The nation must not slacken in their preparations for a firm and decided resistance. Every individual capable of taking arms must learn their use, and those who, on account of their age or sex, cannot take arms, must have previously fixed on a spot, the most concealed, and of the greatest security, to retire to; adopting at the same time the necessary arrangements to shelter themselves in it, whenever the dangerous moment approaches.—The effects of value, which tempt the avarice of the Tyrant and his Satellites, and which are the object of their invasion, must be previously buried; each individual concealing theirs, and not trusting the secret to the weakness of those who have no interest in keeping it.—They must take proper measures to conceal or destroy the provisions, which they cannot transport to places of security; as well as every thing which may contribute to facilitate the progress of the enemy; because it is notorious, that the enemy's troops seize upon every thing they find, and leave nothing to the lawful owner.—Should these measures be adopted, however superior the numbers of the enemy's forces may be, that the desire of plunder and of vengeance may induce the Tyrant to send to invade anew this country, the result shall be certain; and the independence of Portugal and the happiness of its inhabitants shall be firmly established, with eternal honour to the present generation.

WELLINGTON.

Head Quarters, 10th April, 1811.

THE period of time which has already elapsed during the stay of the enemy on the frontiers of Portugal, has happily furnished the Portuguese Nation with an experiment of what they are to expect from the French.—The inhabitants of some towns had remained in them, trusting to the promises of the enemy, and vainly persuaded that, treating the enemies of their country in an amicable manner, could thus conciliate and reduce the enemy to act towards them with sentiments of humanity, and a clement behaviour,—that their goods should be respected—their women protected from a brutal violation, and their lives secured.—Vain hopes! the inhabitants of those resigned towns have suffered all the evils that a cruel enemy could inflict; their goods have been plundered; their houses and furniture burnt; their women atrociously violated; and the unhappy inhabitants, whose age or sex did not provoke the brutal violence of the soldiery, have fallen victims to the imprudent confidence placed in the promises, which had only been made to be forfeited.—The Portuguese now see that they have no other remedy to avoid the evils with which they are threatened, but a determined and vigorous resistance, and a firm determination of obstructing, as much as possible, the progress of the enemy into the interior of the kingdom, removing from their reach every thing of value, or that may contribute to their subsistence or facilitate their progress. These are the only and sure remedies to frustrate the evils with which the people are threatened.—The army under my command shall protect the greatest possible portion of the country; but it is obvious, that the people only can deliver themselves, by resisting the enemy, as well as by saving their goods by removing them out of the reach of the enemy.—The duties, however, which bind me to H. R. H. the Prince Regent of Portugal, and to the Portuguese Nation, oblige me to make use of the authority vested in me, of forcing the weak and indolent to endeavour to save themselves from a danger, and from the evils which await them, and to save their country. And, in consequence, I do declare and make known, that all Magistrates, and persons in authority, which shall remain in their towns or villages, after having received orders from any military officer to retire from the same towns or villages; and all persons of any condition whatsoever, who shall maintain the least communication with the enemy, or aid or assist them in any thing, shall be considered as traitors against the State, and tried and punished according to the deserts of so heinous a crime.

Head Quarters, August the 4th, 1810.

WELLINGTON.

ALMEIDA.—GEN. BRENNIER'S *Report to his Excellency Marshal Duke of Ragusa, Commander in Chief of the Army of Portugal.*

Salamanca, May 17.

Almeida was invested on the 7th of

April. In consequence of the orders I had previously received from the Prince of Neufchatel, and the Duke of Istria, I had prepared mines to blow up the fortifications. I continued this operation after the place was invested, and before the end of April there were 140 cavities ready to be charged. I thought that the army, after having rested some days, would make a movement upon Almeida; every thing was ready to send away the artillery and ammunition. During this period the cavities would have been charged, and but few days would have been necessary to have finished every thing. I did not expect the movement of the army till from the 10th to the 15th of this month; and in order to afford me time to await till then, I had established an extremely rigorous economy, which I superintended myself with the greatest severity; by the means I had calculated that I should have sufficient provisions till the 25th, and I was resolved myself to prolong it by one means or another till the 1st of June.—The day after my being invested, I was closely pressed at all points in a severe manner, every day the sharpshooters fired upon my cattle, and forced it into the garrison—I then determined to salt part of it.—Persuaded that the enemy could not have brought with him besieging artillery, I thought that, knowing the weakness of my garrison, he might attempt some *coup de main*. In concert therefore, with the commandants of the engineers and artillery, I adopted all possible dispositions to repulse him; all the flanks of the bastions were strengthened by cannon loaded with grape shot; hatchets, axes, were placed on each bastion; *poutre* (large bullets) were ranged along the parapet; loaded howitzers and grenades were placed within reach, as well as red-hot balls, and torches to light the ditches; I made the troops repeat their manœuvres, in order to make them acquainted with the point of alarm night and day.—On the 15th I was summoned to surrender by Major General Campbell, who observed to me that the circumstances of the campaign deprived me of all hope of being succoured; that the weakness of my garrison deprived me of all the means of defending myself. I replied verbally, that if he thought my garrison too weak to defend the place, he had only to try to take it, and that I had no other answer to make. On the 17th, Lord Wellington demanded an interview with me, which I thought it my duty to refuse.—I made a sortie on the 28th in the morning, I drove away the English posts, we killed some, and made four prisoners. I made another sortie upon the Portuguese posts, and made three prisoners, but I never made the attack on the side by which I sallied out of the garrison.—On the 3d of May I heard a cannonading and firing, which announced to me the approach of the army; on the 5th I thought there was a serious affair, and every moment I expected a communication.—On the 7th, I received orders from the Prince of Essling, by a soldier of the 6th light infantry, to blow up the place, and retire with the garrison upon Barba de Puerco; I immediately ordered the cavities to be loaded and the artillery to be destroyed; we employed for this latter object the means we had before tried upon an unserviceable cannon, viz. to discharge cannon into the mouths of the pieces; by this means we destroyed cannon, howitzers, and mortars. The cartridges were thrown into a well, and into the ditches at the foot of the walls that were to be blown up, the balls were also thrown into the ditches to be buried, the carriages were in part sawed, and the others placed on the parapets that were undermined; in short I believe that no precautions to render unserviceable all that might be useful to the enemy were omitted.—And here I ought to return thanks to the talents and activity of the officers of artillery and engineers.—On the 9th all the cavities were charged, but the works for the destruction of the artillery were not finished, and I stayed one day more in order to leave nothing to regret.—On the morning of the 10th I assembled the principal officers of the garrison, I read them the orders of the Prince of Essling, I did not conceal that our expedition was full of difficulty and danger, that once out of the garrison, the fire set to it, we should find ourselves obliged to cut our way through to rejoin the army in the midst of obstacles of all kinds, or to fall with honour; that the place once destroyed the intentions of his Majesty would be perfectly fulfilled, that that single object ought to animate us, that we were Frenchmen, and ought to prove to the universe that we were worthy of being so—that if our expedition succeeded it would cover us with glory, whatever the effect might be to us personally. All testified the most courageous devotion. I then informed them of the dispositions I had

determined upon, as well as the manner in which I reckoned upon reaching the enemy's posts, and I shewed them the route I meant to take. And wishing to march in two columns to have less depth, and to overthrow a larger front of the enemy, which gave me beyond their line more latitude for my movements, I gave them all the necessary instructions for the march of the two columns, and as a basis, I announced, that the left column should be the column of direction; the two *elite* companies of the 5th battalion of the 89th regiment were to march at the head of the left column, composed of the said battalion, to clear the passage for the column that followed them. The two companies of cannoneers marched at the head of the right hand column for the same purpose. This column, commanded by the Chief of the Battalion of Engineers, Thruiller, was composed of different detachments of the 6th and 8th corps. The Sappers were to remain in the town, part to set fire to the train, another part to hinder the inhabitants from deranging our operations, and to protect the sortie of all—they were afterwards to form the rear-guard—they were commanded by the Chief of the Battalion of Engineers, Morlet, who remained in the place till the train had been lighted, and who was obliged to cut his way a second time with his sappers through the enemy's posts, which had joined in our rear.—I placed the baggage at the tail of each column. I foresaw, that in any case it could not follow us, and I was not sorry to place it in a way to be taken in order to occupy the enemy.—After having agreed with all the officers about the preliminary details of our operations, I went, as usual, to walk about the town and the ramparts. I conversed with all the soldiers; I was enabled by an air of security and confidence, to remove from their minds all doubt or uneasiness upon the result of our operations, and I saw every body full of confidence, and even enthusiasm.—at night fall, I made all the garrison take arms to prevent any one from being absent, and to be ready as soon as all the dispositions were completed, for we worked to the moment of our departure—at 10 o'clock, all being ready, I sent orders to all the advanced posts of the half moon and covered ways, to come in the greatest silence within the Barrier whence we were to depart. At the moment of beginning the movement, I gave, as a watch word, Buonaparté and Bayard, and we all set off under the auspices of glory and honour.—I went out the last. I then sent orders to the Chief of Battalion Morlet, to place the fire in the boxes. It had been agreed upon that this single order should suffice, because it was to be a private signal, as soon as he had the certainty that the lighted matches were placed, in order that the fire should be set to the powder at the same time. Every thing was perfectly well executed. My two heads of columns began to be engaged with the enemy's posts at the very moment of the explosion. All were penetrated, and I continued my route rapidly, always harassed on my rear and flanks, as I had foreseen.—The baggage was pillaged. I would not have any guide, because he could only shew me the ways which I would not take, and because he could only infuse uncertainty into my movements not being able to fix out by night the different points of direction which I had long studied by day, the moon served me as a compass. The different brooks or rivers which I crossed, and whose existence I was acquainted with, also contributed to insure my direction. I was harassed as far as Thurone—there they abandoned me—in fine at daybreak I was between Villar-de-Cuervas and Barba de Puerco. I took my way to the Agueda. Between those two villages, before I arrived on the summit, the enemy's cavalry had reached my right, and marched in a parallel line after me, to stop me, or to point out to the troops that were on their march in pursuit of me, the route I had taken. I saw on my left some elevations crowned with troops. I manœuvred to avoid them, and I arrived at length at a path which led to the bridge of San Felices.—The two columns which had always marched in sight and within reach of each other, arrived together on the left bank of the Agueda in the same order in which they had left Almeida. They had always marched in order in spite of rocks, rivers, and precipices.—The rear-guard of the Sappers had joined some moments before the rear of the left column. I perceived some troops on the other side, which I found by my glass to be French, and we descended rapidly to the bridge. The enemy poured in on all sides; they had reached the rear of my column; I had the grief of seeing some of my brave comrades perish. At length General Renier, commanding the second corps, sent troops towards the bridge and protected our passage. He received all the wounded,

and sent them to San Felices, where we all united. I lost in this operation but sixty men, and the whole garrison is arrived.—I annex the report of the Commander of the Engineers, and also M. Lechene's, the Captain of Artillery. I also annex a plan of the place: all marked in black shews the works that were blown up.—(The Letter concludes with bestowing praises upon different officers.) (Signed) BRENIER.

SPAIN.——*The Council of Regency to the Spanish [illegible] on the Anniversary of May 2.*

That memorable day, Spaniards, on which the nation rose to the Majesty of independence, from the depth of servitude and dismay, has now come round for the third time. What grand, but, at the same time, mournful recollections does not its return excite!—When Napoleon was issuing from Bayonne his decrees of blood—when, madly impatient, he was accusing [illegible] of remissness for not precipitating [illegible] means of terror—he did not perceive [illegible] these atrocious counsels, recoiling upon the very iniquity which planned them, would be destructive to their treacherous agents. The second of May dawned; the French had fixed upon it for completing their murderous plots; and the people of Madrid, indignant at the outrages which they suffered, rose at once to revenge them, or to die. Ill armed, without plan, without chiefs, they did not hesitate a moment to attack those veteran battalions, formidable by their arms, their victories, and their union. The patriots died fighting nobly; or they perished by treachery, while thinking themselves protected by the truce which disarmed them. But the blood which was shed could not be confined to the Prado of the Capital; it spread itself over the soil of the Peninsula; it every-where excited enthusiasm; and at one and the same time, and with one voice, the signal was every-where given for this rancorous, sanguinary, and desolating war, similar in all respects to the execrable aggression which gave it birth. —It was then said by our treacherous enemies, and their unworthy partizans, "How rash and unavailing your attempt! You have neither arms, magazines, nor soldiers; your Generals and Officers want experience and military knowledge; your poverty is great, your ignorance greater; you must lose every battle which you hazard against the most practised troops in the world; the war will disorganize, will ruin every thing; and your impotent efforts, instead of saving that shadow of a country which you adore, will plunge it in misery and desolation, and load it with much heavier chains than those you now wish to escape."—Spaniards, you rejected with horror these vile suggestions and devoted yourselves to adversity, certain of shaking off ignominy by resistance, and of finally establishing, though at the expence of immense labours and numberless exertions, that independence and happiness to which you aspire. True it is, that the stupid tyranny to which you were previously subject had left you without mounds to oppose to the inundation. A furious sea broke in, and covered with its waves an unprotected country: but it must one day abandon it again; and the inundation, though now destructive, (in like manner as the earth is fertilised by the conflagration of forests or the ashes of volcanoes) will deposit in your soil all the germs of prosperity and abundance.—What combats, what vicissitudes, what contrariety of events, have you not experienced during these three terrible years! Conquerors at first, then conquered; formidable again by the force which you opposed to your enemies; favoured by the war of Austria against the Tyrant, but too soon deprived of that powerful assistance; condemned again to experience all the rigour of destiny, and reduced to extremity; threatened with the dissolution of empire by the separation of some distant provinces; yet always firm, always magnanimous; encountering adversity without being overcome by it, forming new establishments amid your very ruins, and dismaying the enemy by your ceaseless efforts.—If from this stormy and uncertain spectacle impartial Europe and posterity turn their eyes to your political and civil march, how much will they [illegible] to compensate for your military misfortunes! What were you before the second of May? Grief to recollect it, and shame to utter it!—slaves, bending under the yoke of tyranny; obeying, like a worthless herd, the empire of despotism and caprice. *(To be continued.)*

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